



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

P 352.5

73d Jan. 1861.













THE  
SOUTHERN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

---

*N. S.* VOL. X.

---

*Whole N. S. XXVI.*

CHARLESTON:  
C. MORTIMER, PUBLISHER.  
LONDON:  
TRUBNER & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.  
NEW-YORK: CHARLES B. NORTON, 71 CHAMBERS-STREET. BALTIMORE: J. S.  
WATERS. RICHMOND: J. W. RANDOLPH, MAIN-STREET.  
COLUMBIA, S. C.: E. L. BRYAN.

1854.

P. 352.5

1860, Sept 18  
Gift of  
Rev. J. P. Peabody  
of Cambridge.

---

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1854, by  
C. MORTIMER.

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the  
District of South-Carolina.

---

INDEX  
TO THE  
TENTH VOLUME,  
NEW SERIES,  
OF THE  
SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

---

A.

**ABREGÉ DES VOYAGE DE LA HARPE**, 70;  
Account of Africa 70; Abyssinia, Life  
in, by Parkyns, 513; Addison works,  
524; Africa and the American Flag,  
530; Africans at Home, their savage  
barbarity, the same from critical no-  
tices, 71; their own belief in the su-  
periority of the white man, 73; their  
Fetiches, 75; fond of bloodshed, 79;  
proportion of slaves, 83; number of  
wives, 88; make their pavements of  
human skulls, 98; Fetiche Tree, 98;  
Tricks of the Priest, 98; Allegiance,  
what, and to whom due, 401, 402;  
Allston, on sea coast crops, 271;  
American Society, Essays on, 855;  
Amazon, the, Exploration by Lieut.  
Herndon, notice of, 243; Apheila, and  
other poems, 530; Apuleius, Works  
of, 235; Arabs, History of, in Spain,  
by Foster, 513; Armenia, by Curzon,  
534; Atherton, lately Mary Mitford,  
536; Attic Philosopher, in Paris, 255;  
Atmosphere, Lecture on by Puryear,  
255

B.

**BARTER**, Essay on formation and publi-  
cation of opinions on, 526; Banks,  
minority report on, Virginia, 260;  
Banks and Banking, objections to  
present system, plan for new one, 220;  
Barclays, of Boston, 253; Bartlett,  
boundary commissioner, 518; Bee-  
cham, John, his account of Africa, 87;  
Bellinger, Mr., Law School in Colum-  
bia, 259; Bernhardt Von G., out-  
lines of Grecian Literature, 145;  
Bentham, Jeremy, opinions as to  
equality of mankind, 885; Black

Sea, Russian Shores of, 261; Black-  
wood, Magazine, 523; Boston Ora-  
tors, 529; Bohn's Libraries, 523;  
Blake, Lemuel, Constitutional Text-  
book, as expounded by Danl. Webster,  
522; Boys, Book for, 257; Bremer,  
Miss, Homes of the new world, 355;  
Brice, James, Classic and Historic  
portraits, 252; Brown, Aaron V., his  
Address, 523; Brumby, Professor,  
Essay on Agricultural Chemistry,  
272; Burke, Life of, and notice of,  
244; Burns Democracy in America,  
525; Butler's Analogy, Review of,  
205; Account of Butler, 205

C.

**CÆSAR AUGUSTUS**, compared with Louis  
Napoleon I, character of, 2; Calavar,  
by Bird, notice of, 533; Campbell,  
Poems, notice of, 270; Carew, Sir  
Jasper, by Lever, notice of, 527;  
Carey, notice of poems, 245; Char-  
leston College, Magazine, notice of,  
272; Chemistry of common life by  
Johnson, 257; Chesneys, Russo-  
Turkish Campaign, 512; Church,  
history of, 251; Cicero, writings of,  
Bohn's edition, 244; Classics, neces-  
sity of understanding the, 145; Coast  
Survey, observations on, 239; Con-  
federacy, What, 403; United States  
Government, a confederacy, 408;  
Alexander Hamilton's opinion, 404,  
420; Convention, no nearer the peo-  
ple than the Legislature, 424; can  
only be called by the legislature, 418;  
Contrat-Social, of Rousseau and fal-  
lacies, 385; Cotton, its culture in  
India decreasing, 241; Corinne,  
notice of, 252; Coast Survey, obser-

ventions on, 289; Courts, cannot decide political questions, speaks under the law and cannot make it, 481; Cousin, Lectures on the true, beautiful and good, 517; Cowper's works by Southey, notice of, 535; Cromwell, Oliver, by Guizot, 269  
D.

DEMOCRACY, much corrupted by foreign additions to our population, 435; DeQuincey's, Philosophical writer, and other men of letters, character of, 248; Dietetics of the soul, 525; Divorce, See marriage and divorce, 382; Dorr, his case, 480; Dumas, Forrester's notice of, 258  
E.

ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT to be *appointed* not *elected* by the States, 416; Elements, the States constitute the elements of which the Union is composed and legal voters constitute the elements of the State governments; Negro's constitute no element, 348, 415, 428; Eternal, dispute as to the word, 521; European, Reviews, 256  
F.

FETICHES, of the Africans, 75; Fields, James, Poems of, 286; Footprints of famous men, 524; Forsyth, William, Napoleon at St. Helena, 97; French Protestants, History of the Refugees by Charles Weiss, 238; Forrest, William, Sketches of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, 249; Frost, John, Heroic women of the west, 253; Florida, East, her lands and agricultural productions, 304; Farmer's manual, 304  
G.

GIBSON'S ROMS, Edition by Bohn, 254; Gervinus, Professor at Heidelberg, mistake as to American institutions, 393; German Literature, Handbook of, 257; Gliddon, George R., Types of mankind, 274; Government, constitutes sovereignty, 383; of the U. S. formed by the government of the States and represents the States and not a *people*, 411; Mr. Walker's Tract on, 121; Mr. Walker defended against Mr. Rhett, 122; Issues between them, 122; Doctrine of the general welfare discussed, 123; no remedy for construction but amendment of the Constitution, 131; Constitution gives the power, 136; not remitted to enumerated powers, 137; government, partly federal, partly national, 137; Constitution not rati-

fied by the governments of the States, but by the people, 138; two or more peoples cannot be united for specific purposes, without becoming as to those purposes one people, 139; legislatures had not the power to ratify, 143; legislatures have no power to grant powers to the people, 144; Political philosophy of, 37; Natural state of man, 38; must be different for different people, 64; General Government neither admits or operates on the numerical principle, has no right of suffrage, 394; General Government. See Government and Political Elements, 383; Opinions as to sovereignty of the people, 392, 407; *Grace Greenwood*—Haps and mishaps. Slight and fall of superlatives, and sometimes ludicrous raptures, 242; *Guizot*—his Cromwell, 269  
H.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE. Inimical to the South, 503; false in their professions, 503; abusive terms of the South, 509; Hentz, Mrs., Planter's Northern Bride, 255; Gazetteer of the World, 534; Higher Law. Derived from the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, 413; same as Lynch law, *ib.* Hosmer's Poems, notice of, 265. Huguenots, see history of French refugees, 223; Human race, unity denied and duenity contended for, 274. Hunter, Mr., speech of, 260.  
I.

INGULPH'S CHRONICLES OF CROYLAND ABBEY, 515; India, Caffer's account of, 241; their cotton decreasing, 241; Iron Corsair, by Mary Clarke, 528.  
J.

JOHNSON, Chem. of Common Life, 257  
K.

KEITH, Mr., Speech of, 261; Keps, Catcombs of Rome, 536; Kennedy, Mr., his Rob. of the Bowl, 269; Knout and the Russians, by Laguna, 535.  
L.

LAW SCHOOL, by Mr. Bellinger, Columbia, S. C., 259; Legislature of the States. May do whatever is necessary for welfare or safety of the States, 411; Les Savanes, par Adrien Roquette de la Louisiane, 167; Lewes, G. K., exposition of Comte's Philosophic Position, 240; London, sauntering about, by Schlessaiger, 254; Lockwood, Scenery, 259; Lowe, Sir Hudson, conduct of at St. Helena, 97; Luther, life of, 250.

## M.

M'DOUGALL, J. C., speech, 582; Mose-ly, Joseph, political elements, 388; Maritime Conference, held at Brus-sella. Part of Lt. Maury in it, 240. Martineau, Miss, retrospect of wes-tern travel, 365; Marriage and Di-vice discussed, 382; Masantes, Se-nor don Augustin, Farmer's Manual or Compendium of East Florida, 304; Maurice, Theological Essay, 268; Mowatt, Mrs., Autobiography, 251; Maury, Lieut., private worth and public usefulness, 240; sailing di-rections, 267; Merivale, Romans un-der the empire, 1; history tedious and unsatisfactory—an incompetent man, 2; Mechanic Arts, influence of, 524; Meek, report on Education, 262; Moore, Thomas, notes from letters to Powers, 520; Menciach, or life at the Loom, 257; Melbourne, Islands, 264; Mudia, feathered tribes of Ba-hia Island, 519; Mormons, and Utah, 525; Moore, memoirs of, by Lord John Russell, 254; Message and documents of prest. U. S., 528; Military Academies of South Caro-lina, account of, 191.

## N.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, treatment by Sir Hudson Lowe. Forsyth's ac-count of him at St. Helena reviewed; his treatment, 97; imprisonment ne-cessary, but in many circumstances, treatment impolitic, cruel and bitter, 104; Napoleon, Louis, and Augustus Cæsar: their fortunes and conduct compared, p. 1; acts the same; 6, each had his uncle; 5 and 6, their antecedents; 11, character of Au-gustus; 11, character of Louis, 27. Necessity, basis of all law, 394-413. Navy, improvement of, speech of Mr. Malloy, 528. Negro, different race from white man, 278. Newton, Hon. W., address of, 268. New Novels, 527. Norfolk, sketches of, 249. Nott, Dr. Josiah C., Types of Man-kind, 274. Norton, Mrs., Sorrows of Rosalie, 550.

## O.

ORATOR's touchstone, 516; Orr, Mr., re-port on the Indians, 517; Otei, Har-ison Grey, notice of his Barclay's of Boston, 253.

## P.

PERIODICALS, Northern against the South, 503; Partington, Mrs., Carpet Bag of Fun, 262; Passion Flowers, 180; Petrarch's Laura; real person,

459; birth place, 464; her character considered, 467. Petersburg, Libra-ry association, 271; Philippines, forty years in, 518; Philosophy, posi-tive of Comte, 240; Planter's North-ern Bride, by Mrs. Hentz, 255; Poe-try of Science, by Hunt, 574; Poly-gamy, to what extent allowed in Africa, 88. Political Elements: the government sovereign and not the peo-ple, 383; Rousseau first suggested the idea of sovereignty of the peo-ple, 385; the supreme power is the sovereign, 384; lynch law and the higher law, faults of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, *ib.*; all men not equal, 385; general gov-ernment by the State governments, and is a confederacy, and not a con-solidated government, 397, 48; alle-giance what and to whom due, 401, 402; miserable theories of Rousseau, 385; control social, 388; Jeremy Bautham's opinion, 385; Mr. Guizot's, 392, 407; mistake of Gervinus, 398; power is derived from the people, but sovereignty is in government, 384; representatives, officers not *servants*, 401; *servants* should be in livery, 401; powers of State and general government, 401; confederacy what, 408; Alexander Hamilton's opinion, 404-420; Federalist, 420; Judge Tucker's mistakes, 405; we the peo-ple, means the States, 404; sover-eignty of the State above the sover-eignty of the people, 406; danger of majority principle, 407; Legislature may do whatever is for the welfare and safety of the State, 411; gen-eral government established by the go-vernments of the States, and repre-sents the States and not a people, 411; the people and State the same, 411; Convention in England and here different, 418; Convention no more the people than the legislature, 424; must always be called by the legisla-ture, 418; union does not mean con-solidation, 421; Marshall's opinion, 424-429; Rhode Island case, 420; courts cannot decide as to political powers, but only cases under the law, *quo diare, non facere*, 481; States ele-ments of the Union, and voters ele-ments of the State, 428. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOUTH CAROLINA: civil society, what? 37-471; what is the state of nature? 88; civilization as natural as the savage state, 38; whatever is natural may be said to

be a state of nature—society natural to man, and when born in society, may be said to be born in a state of nature, 89; power of government necessary to existence of society, 89; man cannot be left to his self-government, 40; Origin and use of government, 40; must be progressive, 40; national liberty, what? 41; what liberty consistent with society, 41; liberty must be earned, 42; depends on the people, 48; civil liberty, what? 44-45-48; natural inequality, 49; admitted by Jefferson, notwithstanding his Declaration of Independence, 49; governments must be different for different people, 64; schools of politics, 474; Aristotle's, 476; Hobbe's idea of social compact, 480; the people and State, the same, 490; sovereignty, what? 499; its divisibility, 502. Pope, poetical works of, 249. Porter, Hon. W. D., oration of 271. Portsmouth, sketches of, 249. Putnam's New Monthly: Inimical to the South, 508; free soil, 505; abuse of the South, 509; self-respect not to take it, 510.

## Q.

QUEENS OF ENGLAND, romantic incidents, 261.

## R.

REPORT of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1853, valuable for historical matter, and statement relative to the fisheries—historical facts collected by Mr. Sabine, authority not the best, 289; Raube's account of Serbia, 258; Representatives, officers or trustees, not servants, 401; Representative Government, essentially responsible, 409; Does not admit the doctrine of the majority, but is governed by the constitution and laws, 409; Rhode Island, case of Dorr; no convention to alter constitution can be held in a State without the consent of the State government, 480; no change can be constitutionally made in a State government without the consent of the government, 480; political question, and not one for the courts, 480; Report on Schools, 527; Rob of the Bowl, by Kennedy, 269; Rousseau, absurd and mischievous theories, 385; Russia as it is, by Gurowski, 268.

## S.

SABINE, LORENZO, his prejudices and local bigotry, 289; Savanie, physiology of taste, 251; Schlessengio,

saunterings about London, 254; Selborne, natural history of, 256; Sam-lam, poems by, 522; Serbia, by Raube, 258; Smith's History of Greece, 526; Shelford, Leonard, treatise on marriage and divorce, 852; Shelton's Crystalline, 524; Slaves, proportion to the free in Africa, 83; Slave Trade, kept open by constitution till 1808, by express contract, for a consideration, between North and South, 416; Socrates, Scholasticism, comprising history of the Church, 251; South, prospects and policy, 481; Why difference in progress North and South, 485; Her existence depends on slavery, 486; Her produce the great element of foreign commerce, 486; Sovereignty, what constitutes it, 388, 406, 411; Strickland, Queens of Scotland, &c., 519; Student of art in Munich, 264; Sumner, Charles, with Wendell Phillips, Theo. Parker, &c., constables under higher law, or Lynch law, 418.

## T.

TASTE, PHYSIOLOGY of, 251; Temperance Convention, World's, 580; Thomas, Caroline, Farmingdale, 525; Thorpe, Hive of the Bee Hunter, 525; Tranchere, narrative, 529; Trollope, Mrs., domestic manners of the Americans, 355; Turks, year with, 263; Types of Mankind, by Nott and Gliddon, notice of, 270.

## U.

UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE contested, 273; Opinions of various writers, 275.

## V.

VIRGINIA, NOTES on, by Jefferson, new edition, notice of, 242; Vathek, by Beckford, 252.

## W.

WALKER, Mr., his tract on government and peculiar opinions, 122 to 139; Ward, Matthew F., trial of, 520; Washington, H. A., Virginia constitution, 524; Wiess, Charles, history of French refugees, 238; We the people, meaning of, in U. S. constitution, 404; White's historical collection of Georgia, 272; Wilkinson, Sir S. Gardner, ancient Egyptians, 535; Willis' Home Journal, 355; Women, heroic, of the West, 253; Working man's way in the World, notice of, 248.

## Y.

YOUNG VOYAGERS, attractive to youth, 243.



## CONTENTS OF THE JULY NUMBER.

---

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
I. NAPOLEON III. AND AUGUSTUS CESAR, - -	1
II. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA, -	37
III. AFRICANS AT HOME, - - - - -	70
IV. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND SIR HUDSON LOWE, -	97
V. WHAT IS OUR GOVERNMENT? - - - - -	121
VI. NECESSITY OF THE CLASSICS, - - - - -	145
VII. LES SAVANES, BY L'ABBE ROUQUETTE, - -	167
VIII. PASSION FLOWERS OF POETRY, - - - - -	180
IX. SOUTH-CAROLINA MILITARY ACADEMIES, - -	191
X. BUTLER'S ANALOGY, - - - - -	205
XI. BANKS AND BANKING, - - - - -	220
XII. CRITICAL NOTICES, - - - - -	233



## CONTENTS OF THE OCTOBER NUMBER.

---

ARTICLE	PAGE
I. ON THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE, . . . .	273
II. EAST FLORIDA : HER LANDS AND AGRICULTURAL PRO- DUCTIONS, . . . . .	304
III. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE, . . . . .	332
IV. ESSAY ON AMERICAN SOCIETY, AS SEEN THROUGH SOUTHERN SPECTACLES, . . . . .	355
© V. POLITICAL ELEMENTS, . . . . .	383
VI. THE PROSPECTS AND POLICY OF THE SOUTH, . . .	431
VII. PETRARCH'S LAURA, . . . . .	458
VIII. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, . .	471
IX. NORTHERN PERIODICALS <i>versus</i> THE SOUTH, . . .	503
X. CRITICAL NOTICES, . . . . .	512



# SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XIX.

---

JULY, 1854.

---

## ART. I.—NAPOLEON III. AND AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

1. *Napoleon III. sein Leben und Wirken nach authentischen Quellen dargestellt.* Von L. WESCHE. 1854.
2. *History of the Romans under the Empire.* By CH. MERIVALE, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. III. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman. 1851.

CANDOUR compels us to commence this article with the unusual declaration that we have not seen the work which is placed first in our rubric. It is not yet published, while we are writing these lines. It has only been announced as about to appear in Germany towards the close of January; and, if it were necessary for our purpose to wait till its publication, a month or six weeks might elapse before it could reach our hands; and some time longer before we could appropriate and appreciate its contents. The favourable report which heralds its issue may render us anxious to see, and perhaps to notice it, at some future time; but, at present, we have sufficient materials for our contemplated purpose of instituting a loose comparison between the second Emperor of the house of Napoleon, who has actually occupied the French throne, and the second Imperial Cæsar. All the service that we require from M. Wesche's book is limited to the convenient use of its title.

We shall not avail ourselves to a much larger extent of Mr. Merivale's history, whose third volume, devoted to the earlier biography of Augustus, was published, by a happy coincidence, almost contemporaneously with Louis Napoleon's successful manœuvres to convert his presidency into an imperial crown. We are no great admirers of Mr. Merivale's labours; they are the pains-taking, tedious and unsatisfactory production of an incompetent man; and it is greatly to be regretted that a magnificent subject should have been engrossed by one who had little conception of its magnitude, and less of the requirements essential to its proper treatment. His book may, therefore, stand at the portal to symbolize, but scarcely to aid or direct the investigation on which we propose to enter.

Historical parallels are never either exact or complete. In their application they require a large and liberal discernment, a careful appreciation of important differences, and a cautious elimination of purely accidental similarities, before any solid instruction can be derived from their use. The characteristic principle of Leibnitz, relative to the identity of indiscernibles, is much more appropriate to the problems of history, than to the recondite mysteries of physical and metaphysical research. There may be atoms and monads which have a separate existence, while their essence is undistinguishably the same; but it is highly probable, if not altogether certain, that no two periods of the world's progress—no two phases of humanity—exactly correspond in all respects; and that no two individuals have ever lived, who were the perfect counterfeits of each other in all their characteristics, physical, mental, moral and accidental. There may be Dromios so closely assimilated to each other in external appearance, as to deceive the eyes of those not accustomed, by daily intercourse, to discriminate between them. Of such we have five pair, at least, in the Comedy of Greece, Rome, France and England, though they seem to be merely the successive avatars of the same original twins. We have ourselves met with three pair of the kind in life. But, even in such instances as these, the similars will invariably pre-

sent to those most familiar with them some peculiarities of aspect, habit, expression, action, taste or disposition, by which they are capable of being completely distinguished, the one from the other. And this is still more true in regard to the recurrences of similar historical periods, or like historical characters. The parallelisms of history are only partial and imperfect. Startling, indeed, they frequently are, as when we read the story of the butchery of Rienzi's brother in Livy and Suetonius;\* or the prototype of the prophecy of an imperial crown to Josephine, in Procopius and Theophilus, with reference to the Empress of Justinian,† or the horrors of the Reign of Terror in Dion Cassius.‡ But, in all these and similar cases, the general resemblance is accompanied with marked diversities of circumstance and detail; and, if we would draw any accurate or useful conclusions from the obvious parallelism, we must not be negligent of the manifold divergences, their influence, or their significance. With such caution, however, we may profitably consult the analogies which link different ages together, and reveal the identity of the agencies and their modes of operation, by which the same common humanity has been similarly affected in the various operations of the by-gone time. Thus may we interpret one period of history by another; and gain a fuller and juster comprehension of the motives, the aims, the tendencies, and the careers of notable individuals, by comparing their actions with the cycle of like evolutions accomplished by others, under like contingencies in a previous era. It is to the dim perception of this truth that the lives of Plutarch owe an interest and value far transcending their claims to historical accuracy, or the merit of their execution. Yet, though they are rather the gaudy and meretricious productions of a professed rhetorician, in a declining age, than the acute analyses of a genuine historical philosopher;—though the contrasts are amplified by all the acts which ingenuity could suggest, and the

\* Liv. lib. iii. c. xiii, §§ 2, 3. Suetonii. Vit. Neronis. c. v.

† Procopii. Hist. Arcana, c. xii, p. 82. Theophili. Vit. Justiniani, cit. Alemanni not. ad loc.

‡ Dion Cass. Frag. Peiresc, c. cxxvii, § 3.

analogies extended by the artifices of an unrestricted imagination;—the work owes to its indistinct perception of a great truth, a charm which is as undying as the interest which man takes in the affairs, the thoughts, the actions and the fortunes of his fellow men. For the pregnant hints of Thucydides, and Tacitus, and Claudian,\* prove that the ancients were not without suspicions of that law of nature which repeats the succession of historical changes in irregularly recurring cycles.

We have no design of imitating the graces, the devices, or the fictions of Plutarch. Our contemplated labour is much more sedate, and of much less pretension. We desire to throw what little light the history of the past may afford on the elucidation of a character, which appears hitherto to have baffled all interpretation, and eluded the vaticination which was so copiously expended upon it;—a character which has been either overrated or underrated, according to the temper, the theories, the prejudices or the partialities of the judge, rather than estimated with any intelligent reference to fixed data, recognized standard or predetermined landmarks. The “Nephew of my Uncle” has so amusingly but successfully directed general attention to the contrasts, in default of the similitudes between himself and the brilliant founder of his house and dynasty, that those who have speculated upon the astounding phenomenon of his sudden transmigration from the shabby coat of a needy exile, into the gorgeous paraphernalia of a despotic Emperor of France, and upon the shifting phases of this rapid change; have lost themselves in the idle and supererogatory employment of declaiming about the glaring dissimilarities between the Uncle and the Nephew. This is a task which, at best, can only serve to exhibit the vanity or the frivolous folly of the individual, who professes to be the shadow, as well as the successor of his uncle, and more frequently appears to be his ape; but which can never solve the difficult enigma of the prosperous course of the new emperor, or the more arduous riddle of his prospective policy and procedure.

\* Thuc. lib. i., c. xxii. Aristot. Rhet. i., c. ix.; ii., c. xx. Tac. Ann. lib. iii., c. iv. Lucan. Phars. ii., v. 7. Claudian. In Rufin. lb. i., v. 1-19.



Napoleon III. has decidedly the advantage over his critics. So far as success can give assurance of the wisdom and expediency of any line of conduct, he has fully secured, up to this time, the benefit of such testimony. But, leaving entirely out of consideration the canon of the worldly, though eminently applicable to his case, a more enlightened view of his position would indicate that his sagacity very far transcended that of his censurers. The name of Bonaparte, and the constant reference to that name; the memories and glories of the Empire, and the faint suggestion of their possible repetition; the comprehensive views of public policy which characterized the Imperial *régime*, and the veneration manifested for the desires of the great ruler; the constant and even obtrusive ventilation of the affinity which bound the new pretender to the popular General; all tended to consolidate the Bonapartists, and to fan into a lively flame the slumbering embers of Bonapartism. But this consequential, and probably meditated effect, was concealed from the eyes of the indifferent, and of adversaries, by the striking discrepancies of character which separate the new man from the old. The continual invocation of "*Mon Oncle*"—a mode of conjuration which has been familiar to the whole life of Louis Napoleon, and which may be traced in his *Idees Napoléennes*, as well as in his speeches and proclamations—seemed to be merely a vain-glorious pretension, an empty mouthing, an impotent necromancy with spells which had lost their former power, or were at least powerless in the hands of the new magician. Thus, those who might otherwise have joined even their natural enemies to resist his claims and his usurpations, if they had been regarded as any thing more than unsubstantial and fleeting phantoms, wasted their time in ridicule, satire, sarcasm and derision, and directed their attentions to channels the most remote from the real danger, wherein Louis Napoleon himself would have preferred that they should flow. There was little chance of the leading Bonapartists mistaking his real aims, or of their supposing that his recent aspirations were diverse from their desires; but all his natural antagonists were thrown off the scent by that apparent frivolity, which

subverted his purposes more effectually than any less vulnerable pretensions could have done. The time and the occasion required the mask of the elder Brutus, not the sword of the first Cæsar; Louis Napoleon wore the necessary disguise with matchless folly, and by so doing concealed the impending fate. Moreover, the very inferiority and differences, by which he was severed from his "Uncle," and his obvious incompetency for the prosecution of a similar career, while apparently challenging it, allayed the fears of multitudes by exciting only their laughter, and veiled by the supercilious contempt which they occasioned, the possibility of attaining nearly the same end by approaches entirely dissimilar. Thus, his speedy achievement of the Imperial crown may be, in great measure, attributed to that apparently conceited hallucination, and that frequently ludicrous adoration of the manes of "My Uncle," which have so fully occupied the wit, and taxed the sarcastic ingenuity of the critics of the French Emperor, that they could not see the hand stretching confidently towards empire, beneath the tawdry disguises by which its motions were concealed.

These anomalies, as well as many other peculiarities in the career of Napoleon III., are very curiously illustrated by the early fortunes of the second emperor of Rome. There are many persons who regard Augustus as a greater statesman than Julius Cæsar, and he certainly occupies as prominent and influential a position in Roman history. The young Octavius rose, however, by the same arts as Louis Napoleon; yet, after time has obliterated the memory of his profound vanities, no one would now attempt to characterize the former as an imbecile adventurer.

We have long thought that the true interpretation of much which appears most inexplicable in the conduct, character and fortunes of Louis Napoleon, was to be sought, not in an easy and flagrant contrast with Napoleon the Great, but in the study of the position and early career of Augustus Cæsar. The old impression was nursed into a firm conviction by the perusal of the most recent history of the second Triumvirate of Rome, contained in Mr. Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire—a book which, as was mentioned

before, we do not regard with any extravagant admiration, but which possessed a peculiar aptitude for confirming our impressions relative to the manner of solving the difficult problems connected with the late changes in France. Very appropriately, too, Mr. Merivale's prolix narrative, so far as it has reached us, brings the chronicle of the acts of Augustus only down to the definite establishment of the imperial government, and his acceptance of the imperial title. The story is thus suspended at very nearly the same crisis of his career, as is now exhibited in the fortunes of Louis Napoleon. The history of the Roman emperor thus leads us by the hand just to the very verge of that uncertain future which is spread out before the steps of the French emperor, and no further. A parallel is thus furnished almost up to the present hour, but not a minute beyond. In fact, Mr. Merivale's biography of Augustus hardly reaches to the present altitude of Napoleon III. ; but, so far as it falls short of doing so, it has only permitted us to recognize the ability of the latter to retain his foot-hold, and rendered it worth while to speculate about the past, by allowing some assurance of a future yet to come. We are thus stimulated to undertake no vague speculations, to indulge in no hazardous prophecies, by the unequal extension of the two lines ; but we are encouraged to profit by the instructions which are given nearly up to the current date, without being tempted to press the analogy one single inch into futurity.

Commencing our illustration, according to the suggestions of our preliminary remarks, by noting the differences of circumstance, and other diversities, which distinguish the two personages compared, we would first call attention to the disparity of their respective ages. Louis Napoleon was a mature old bachelor of forty, when he assumed the Presidency in 1848. Augustus, originally called Octavius, was in the first flush of youth, or rather of boyhood. He was in his twenty-first year when the Triumvirate was formed ; and only in his thirty-second when the victory of Actium was gained. But Octavius was a very old young man ; like Randal Leslie, he was old in his long clothes ; he was born old ; so old that Lord Bacon has noticed him, not exactly as a

portent, but as a type of a class of portents ; and that Cicero, during the imbecility and delusion of his laudations of the young viper, complimented the precocious sagacity, which was but half revealed to him, with the pretty declaration, that his virtues atoned for his years. (*Virtute superavit ætatem.*) In respect, then, to the mere difference of ages, great as it is, we recognize no such discrepance in the natiivities of the two as could materially influence their separate horoscopes. Louis Napoleon was a scion of slow growth ; Caius Octavius came into the world full grown and ready-made. The Frenchman, apparently, had a large crop of wild oats to cultivate. The young Roman had none of that grain to sow, and was, probably, as mature in mind and cunning at eighteen or twenty, as at any later period of his life ;—if, indeed, his youth did not really visit his heart and intellect in his old age. But a much more important difference to be signalized is, that the career of Octavius commenced immediately on the assassination of his uncle, and was developed from the start amidst the daggers of his murderers, and in opposition to his most prominent partisans and favourites ; while Louis Napoleon's course was separated by a long interval of changing dynasties and governments from the reign of his uncle, had no such domestic enemies to encounter, and has been sustained by the surviving partisans and the sons of the chief followers of Napoleon I. This diversity broke the continuity of the association between himself and his precursor—between his prospects and the allegiance of the mass of the Bonapartists. It rendered some of the difficulties of his position greater than those of Octavius ; it materially diminished many others. It rendered the substitution of secret intrigue for open violence, practicable as well as expedient ; and made the deliberate resuscitation of "*Idées Napoléennes*" an indispensable preliminary to success. In some respects the relation of Louis Napoleon to the Bonapartist faction, approximated much nearer to that of Julius Cæsar to the old Marian party, which is well illustrated by Mr. Merivale, than to that of Octavius to the Cæsarians. Yet Octavius had to revive and win from Antony, and to reconstitute and attach to himself, the Cæsarian influences. But,

as he had to contend against Antony and Lepidus, the inheritors of the military autocracy of Cæsar, as well as against the Senatorian legitimists, so Louis Napoleon could only accede to permanent power by triumphing over Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoriciere, and the other representatives of military ascendancy, at the same time that he overcame the Bourbonists and the *doctrinaires*, and crushed the Socialists and Red Republicans. Both had to win the army from their adversaries, before the first step in their elevation was in any degree secured. But this task Octavius achieved with an army at his back, and the prestige of Consular authority, which had been bestowed on him by the delusion of the Senate and the folly of Cicero; Louis Napoleon had only the legal title of President, granted by the dreaming partiality of the masses, but without any regular force at his command. These differences in the relative positions of Augustus and Napoleon III., account for the attainment of the same result, in the former case, by the arms of war; in the latter, by the stratagems of peace; and for the fact, that thirteen years of military contention, terminated by the battle of Actium, were requisite to place the Roman Emperor on the throne, which was reached by the French President in less than four years of profound tranquillity, by popular arts and political chicanery.

There was a peculiar propriety in this discrepance. The system of antiquity was one of warfare; the system of modern times is, pre-eminently, a policy of peace. In the preceding times of Rome, from the age of Marius and Sulla at least, ascendancy in the state had been achieved by the sword, and Octavius just continued the practices which had been habitually employed by his predecessors. In the recent ages of Europe, civil conquest and domestic bloodshed had not been recognized as giving a valid title to supremacy, and even when employed, it had been merely an accessory to more regular modes, and the claim to the honour achieved had been founded not upon victory, but upon the ostensible or presumed will of the nation. Octavius availed himself of both modes of procedure in his acquisition of power, but, in consonance with his times, the pretensions of peace were

made subordinate to the coercion of war. Louis Napoleon did not overlook either, but in harmony with the demands of his day, he concealed the influence wielded through the army under the cloak of the orderly operations of a popular election. Both were guided by the same acute but dissembling appreciation of the tone and spirit of their respective ages.

So far, the differences, noticed in the lives compared, appear to be merely dissimilarities in their accidents, not in their intrinsic significance ; and to explain rather the modifications of the general resemblance, than to impair their essential parallelism. Much more stress would ordinarily be laid upon the supposed dissimilitudes of the historical periods in which the two potentates respectively appeared. This can be recognized by every one, and will be exaggerated by nearly all. But Dr. Arnold was right in construing the history of Greece after the battle of Salamis, and the history of Rome after the Punic wars, as virtually modern history ; for the aspects of society, the political developments, the course of affairs, and the manifestations of intellect and sentiment, correspond exactly in those periods with similar movements in modern Europe ; and present as many and as intimate analogies with our own times, as are afforded by contiguous countries at present to each other. There is scarcely any greater difference between ancient Rome and contemporaneous Paris, so far as the present question is concerned, than that which may be exemplified by the translation of a Roman "*Dux*" or "*Imperator*" into a Lieutenant-General or a Field Marshal. The Brigadiership of President Pierce may be assimilated to the Imperatorship of Cicero—a lawyer, too, and perhaps a little better statesman ; but the Cilician campaign of the latter resulted from his previous elevation to supreme civil authority, while the Mexican diversion of the former preceded, and prepared his installation into the chief executive dignity. No ; the differences between the two historical periods, illustrated or degraded by the successful usurpations of Cæsar II. and Napoleon III., are not such as to necessitate any very assiduous or extensive discrimination between the two. They approximate in character to each other more closely and minutely, and even strangely, than

any one who has not studied them both with diligence would readily conceive to be possible. Nor should it be deemed necessary to dwell very forcibly upon the contrariety of the change from a republican government to a despotic monarchy in Rome, and from a regal, and in some sort constitutional polity, to a corresponding military despotism in France. If there was any room for such punctiliousness, it might be alleged that the conversion effected by Louis Napoleon was from a republic represented first by Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, then by Cavaignac and Changarnier, then by a Prince President, into an Empire. But the fluctuations of government, which intervened between the flight of Louis Philippe and the accession of the present emperor, constituted only an interlude—a farce between two dramas; and it would be as ridiculous to treat that *intermezzo* gravely as a republic, as it would be to consider that the Romans had the enjoyment or the prospect of free institutions under Brutus and Cassius, Antony and Dolabella.

The antecedents are certainly widely dissimilar in the two cases; but in both they converge to a common point of agreement before the institution of the Empire. The modern history of France, in the apprehension of practical politicians, scarcely runs back further than to the execution of Louis XVI. and the establishment of the revolutionary republic. At that point there occurs a solution of historical continuity—a political schism—which there is no necessity to pass, and which no ingenuity can bridge over satisfactorily. What have the French in subsequent times in common with the chivalry of Henri IV. or the courtiers of Louis XIV.? The first incident in the modern annals of France, is the meeting of the National Assembly. In the days of Augustus, in like manner, the precedents and instances of statesmen and rulers were all posterior to the outbreak of civil hostilities between Marius and Sulla, and the revolutionary era disgraced by the atrocities of Carbo, Cinna and Pompeius Strabo. All that had gone before had passed away to join the ages before the flood. It was only in the dreams of fiction, or in the sentimental laments for a vanished golden age, like the Republic of Cicero, or the conver-

*zazione di villa* of his Dialogues, that any active politician, except that visionary blockhead, Brutus, ever thought of ascending the stream of Roman history beyond the first Consulship of Marius, or the Agrarian Rogations of the Gracchi. Whatever lay concealed in the records of earlier times, belonged to the dreamy land of forgotten innocence and youth. And observe that, in Rome as in France, the common point from which the lineage of empire descended, was the prevalence of a reign of terror, so exactly analogous in the two ages and in the two nations, that the description of either may serve equally well, by a mere change of names, for the portraiture of the other. Take any of the histories of the French revolution, Mignet, Thiers or Carlyle; turn to the accounts given of the denunciations of victims, of the treatment of the "*suspectes*," of the informations, confiscations and executions; then place by their side the fragment of Dion Cassius recovered by Peiresc, or the scattered notices of other ancient writers, relative to the proscriptions of Sulla; blot out from both narratives all proper names, by which a clue to the era delineated could be furnished; and, were it not for the languages in which they are respectively written, it would be wholly impossible to tell which was the chronicle of the ancient, and which the exposition of the modern horrors.

With this commentary on the external diversities by which the career of Louis Napoleon is distinguished from that of Augustus, in advance of any formal parallelism between the two, we proceed to compare their characters, fortunes and positions.

The most singular feature in the tortuous and deceitful character of the young Octavius, was his impassive and almost unfluctuating temperament. He had few resentments; he had still fewer loves. He had more reason to be attached to Cicero than to any distinguished man among his seniors; he consented to his sacrifice with little reluctance, and certainly without remorse. There were many who afforded by their conduct ample occasion for provoking his animosity; he received them to his bosom, and cultivated them as friends. He was guilty of many cruelties, or at least a participator



in them, at the outset of his brilliant progress; but they were instituted by no quick motion of the passions, by no thirst for blood, but either permitted through indifferences or dictated by convictions, usually well-founded, of their necessity or expediency. He is justly charged with some treacheries, and with an unfeeling prosecution of some advantages over the victims of his triumph; but there was no joy manifested in the accomplishment of such purposes, and scarcely any symptom of regret. He did not even appear to disguise from himself the nature of his atrocious acts. They were the cool calculations of his bloodless and remorseless sagacity; he was scarcely as much excited by their accomplishment as a plodding mathematician would be with the solution of a difficult problem. He accepted the success as a necessary step to an ulterior aim; he did not stop to think of the manner in which it had been gained. In sickness, as in health; in early youth, as in mature age, he remained essentially unchanged. The circumstances by which he was surrounded, altered with the progressive stages of his success, and with his secure establishment on the throne; he appreciated the changes and their advantages, and his policy and measures were modified according to the mutations of his affairs; but at heart he continued ever the same cautious, ingenious, dark and irresistible schemer which he had appeared, when he first landed from Epirus, and placed himself at the head of the Martian and Fourth Legions, which had just revolted from Antony. The instances of generosity and benevolence, which are so profusely scattered over the latter ages of his reign, and which are first manifested at the partition of the Empire between the members of the Triumvirate, seem like the blind bounties of fortune, or the undeviating justice of fate, so entirely devoid of any spark of human sympathy do they appear to be, and so completely were they the suggestions of an unwavering prudence. Yet, though all the acts of Octavius were thus regulated by the unerring machinery of an unclouded intellect, without a single golden ray to redeem his crimes, or to gild his better deeds, there was nothing harsh or stern in his manner or general bearing. He possessed in an eminent

degree the grace, the dignity and the decorum of a Roman patrician, and he added to them the more modern accomplishments of a polished Senator. He was gentle in his demeanour, easy of access and affable to all, kindly to his friends, without either candour or frankness; and unpretending in all circumstances. He permitted no liberties, and he affected no state. He entertained scarcely any attachments, and he neither exposed nor censured the insincerities which he suspected, if impotent to betray him. Throughout, his whole constitution was that of a consummate actor; he was hardly a hypocrite, for it was his nature to act, and every appearance of nature in him was the result of the most deliberate art. He could retrieve an error with a witticism, before it was perceived by others, or atone for an unpremeditated injustice with the delusive flattery of a fascinating speech, with a skill and tact and promptitude and heartless insincerity, which would have done credit to any of the Stuarts. In every thing he was an automaton of the most perfect and ingenious construction;—self-contained, self-sustained, self-moving—governed by springs and weights, and intricate wheels within himself; but without one spark of human animation to irradiate the regular movements of the machinery. He indulged neither malice, nor envy, nor irony, nor scorn, nor any bad passion which might prey upon himself without furthering his plans, or he might be assimilated to a mummy tenanted and set in motion by Mephistophiles. But he had all the outward semblances of life and of humanity, and furnished to the world an example of the intellect working with its highest powers in a human body, to which no human heart was vouchsafed.

Octavius was equally insensible to flattery and derision. He accepted either with equal indifference. He sometimes rewarded the one, and occasionally punished the other, but without any apparent pleasure or displeasure. The fulsome compliments of Ovid fell like thick snow flakes around him; they produced no effect. They excited neither indignation nor disgust. They neither cooled his severity, nor awakened any compassionate feeling. The superb callousness of his heart and intellect remained unaffected by all that influences

ordinary men. He could laugh at the ridicule which was showered on him by popular epigrams, when it suited his purpose to do so;\* he could visit venial or accidental errors with remorseless penalties when it was even remotely expedient. His feelings seem to have been reached by only three circumstances in his life: when he stole Livia from her husband and married her; when he heard of the loss of Varus and his three legions; and when he thought of the infamous debaucheries of his daughter and grand-daughter. When the recollection of his domestic disgraces was forced upon his mind, he was wont to exclaim—

Αἶψ' ὄφελον δ'γαμός τ' ἔμμεναι, δ'γονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.†

Former services gave no permanent claim on his affection, his gratitude, or his generosity; previous opposition did not preclude his favours, or diminish his regard. He crushed Antony, by whom he had risen to his splendid elevation; he spared Lepidus, and while he appropriated all his powers, he left his honours untouched. The energy and the ambition of the one was his ruin; the indolence and negligence of the other his safeguard. He sacrificed Cicero, who had been his eulogist and enthusiastic advocate, and who confided in his good offices to the last; he rescued many of his bitterest enemies who had been included in the lists of proscription.

There was nothing heroic in the disposition of the youthful Octavius, except it was his unfluctuating impassibility. There was nothing particularly mean in his nature, except the whole composition of his clay, and the mould in which it had been cast. He did many things, however, which the flatterers of his reign regarded as grand achievements, and which the echoes of succeeding times have estimated as great. He also committed some iniquities which cannot be contemplated without detestation. He attempted no brilliant military displays, but he suffered no mortification from his numerous repulses and defeats. His failures as a general

\* Suetonius Vit. Octavii., c. c. lv. lvi.

† Suetonius ibid., c. lrv.

were proverbial;\* but they offended neither his pride nor his vanity. There was no deficiency of physical courage in his character; he had as much as became a Roman and a patrician: but he never displayed more than the occasion imperatively demanded. There was no signal want of military conduct or sagacity, notwithstanding his ill success at the head of his forces; yet, he had no warlike aspirations. He loved peace as a man and as a statesman, for the personal ease and the national benefit which it afforded. He tolerated war as a necessity, and prosecuted it as long as an advantage remained to be conquered. He resigned with equal cheerfulness the dangers and the honours of a campaign to his generals; and he never seemed to envy their successes by which he so well knew how to profit. He granted triumphs to more than thirty of his commanders, and the ornaments of a triumph to a great many more.† Passionless, cunning, sagacious, cautious, but large-minded, provident and comprehensive in his views, he was governed in all his acts by the most astute and unerring policy alone, and passed through the long and brilliant career which he created for himself, devoid of virtues, except such as were merely negative, and untarnished by other foibles than those which he consciously indulged as ministering to his own ends.

It was characteristic of the estimation in which Augustus was held by his contemporaries, if not altogether a just judgment, that his friends excused his adulteries, on the ground that they were dictated not by passion and licentiousness, but by a deliberate design of detecting the projects of his adversaries through the looseness of their wives.‡

No usurper ever invited more liberally the views and assistance of others; none was ever more entirely governed by his own undivulged counsels. He regularly encouraged and assisted at the deliberations of the Senate, fostering the

\* \* \* \* "Et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est;

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,

Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam."—*Suetonius Vit. Octavii*, c. lxx.

† *Suetonius ibid.*, c. xxxviii.

‡ *Suetonius ibid.*, c. lxi.

utmost freedom of debate. He endured opposition with courtesy, and even insult with forbearance; he listened deferentially and with a ceremonious homage to the sentiments of Roman Senators, but he pursued his own course in all matters but the most trivial. He consulted his friends, his partisans, his officers, most assiduously; but less for the purpose of being guided by their advice, than for the sake of assuring himself that he had not, in arriving at his own [predetermined conclusions, overlooked any conflicting considerations of importance. Mæcenas and Agrippa might discuss in cabinet council the expediency of restoring the Republic;\* and the garrulous Suetonius assures us that Augustus twice entertained this idea;† but, beneath the mask of their duly published disputations, he marched all his forces by a lateral movement, and in the most masterly manner, towards the consolidation of an autocratic empire under the thin varnish of republican pretences. Perhaps he was not so entirely negligent of the opinions and suggestions of his counsellors as he appeared to be. He rarely acted upon them at the time of their delivery; but he might treasure them up, for nothing escaped him, to be employed in contingencies, when they had all the semblance of being spontaneously originated by himself. Certain it is, that no precedent, no example of past history, no accessible information, was ever slighted by him. He was much more inclined to suggest measures to his ministers, friends and officials, and to give them the labour, the credit, or the odium of their execution, than openly to borrow the real benefit of their advice. The Pantheon was the creation of Agrippa, but probably the idea of the Emperor, and mainly constructed with his public or private funds; yet the honours of the inscription were accorded to the nominal builder, whose statue was placed at the entrance *vis-à-vis* to that of Octavius. The assumption of equality between the prince and his agent was noticed, but altogether unproved; so trebly barred was all exit to the feelings of that unrivalled schemer, who so fully embodied

\* Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom. lib. lii., c. i.—xli.*

† Suetonius *Vit. Octavii., c. xxviii.*

the Italian's conception of a diplomatist—" *volto aperto e bocca chiusa.*"\*

The manner in which Octavius treated Agrippa and his other great minister and early friend, Mæcenas, was not the least significant feature of his memorable career. They were cherished with uniform cordiality, received with a total absence of ceremony, favoured with entire intimacy,† trusted with almost unlimited power, and sustained with unwavering constancy; but no new or extraordinary honours were devised for them, nor were they ever advanced beyond the dignity to which the services of the one, and the birth of the other, entitled them. No jealousy of their successes, of their influence or their popularity, was ever displayed; probably none was ever felt. But Octavius fully appreciated the extent of power which they derived from their positions, and to prevent the confidence of their stability from impairing their complete fidelity and subservience, he dexterously impressed them, by artfully contrived issues of events, with a sense of the precariousness of their tenure, rather than intimidated by act or word, distrust or superior authority. Thus he kept them attached firmly and with devotion to his interests; and, while he rendered them utterly impotent to do any thing in opposition to himself, even if such a conception could be harboured by them, he rendered them all powerful in his service.

The ambition of Agrippa, it is true, might have whispered to him the hope of succeeding or removing Augustus. It was scarcely manifested by any outward sign or act. If such a dream was even obscurely entertained, it was divined and defeated by Augustus, but without any change in the smooth and deceptive cordiality of his manner. It was very likely with the object of embarrassing any treachery on the part of Agrippa, more than from any affection or any purpose of increasing his attachment to himself, that he connected him with himself by a double marriage into the imperial family. In the early years of his ministry, Agrippa had been married

\* Dion Cas. lib. liii., c. xxvii. v. Merivale Rom. under the Empire, c. xxx., vol. iii., p. 436.

† Dion Cass. lib. lii. c. i.

to the sister of Atticus. When she was either dead or divorced, Augustus gave him his niece Marcella in marriage; on the death of his presumptive heir, Marcellus, he made him divorce the sister and marry the widow of the deceased—his own daughter, the infamous Julia. In these transactions Augustus displayed the coarseness and heartlessness with which he regulated all the matrimonial alliances of his family; and even his own. Perhaps by these double nuptials he implanted in the mind of Agrippa the assurance of a peaceful accession to the imperial throne. The death of the aspirant saved Augustus the treachery of defeating his hopes; but his sons were adopted by the Emperor, and one might have attained the sovereignty, if his own savage nature and the fraud of Livia had not provoked first his exile, and then achieved his assassination. The double alliance of Agrippa has scarcely been sufficiently noted by historians, though it helps to explain his continued subservience and to illustrate the politic arts of his master. The indolent and luxurious temperament of Mæcenas removed him from all ambitious designs. He seems to have been sincerely attached to Augustus, and perhaps prided himself more on his illustrious lineage and his descent from the old Etruscan kings and Por-senna, than he would have done on the possession of the insignia of empire, if he could have consented to trouble himself with its burdens. The two friends and counsellors of Augustus constitute an integral and essential part of his career, as it was through them he won and retained his brilliant and tranquil success.

The munificence of the Roman Emperor was as singular, as guarded and as prudent as his confidence. He was greedy of gain, and most profusely lavish in his expenditures. It was well said by him that he had found Rome a city of clay and left it a city of marble: *invenit lateritiam, reliquit marmoream*.\* He scarcely collected all his revenues and husbanded his resources; he scattered them apparently without stint or regret. To his family he was most liberal in his gifts; to his friends most generous; to strangers or those

\* Suetonius Vit. Octavii., c. xxvii.

who had no claim upon him, unexpectedly bountiful. He had a covetous taste for gems, plate and objects of *virtù*, and was accused of having inserted the names of many persons in the lists of proscription in order to confiscate their Corinthian vessels;\* yet he was simple, modest and unostentatious in his habits and style of living. On his first appearance at Rome, after the assassination of his uncle, the great Julius, he poured out his private fortune, his inheritance, and the wealth of his relatives and friends, in the discharge of Cæsar's bequests to the citizens, and in the celebration of the games in honour of Venus, the Ancestress, designed to commemorate the battle of Pharsalia. This seemingly insane extravagance was indulged before his position was assured, and as the first step to future fortune. It was done at the very time when more than all his attainable means would have been supposed inadequate to support the army which was designed to overawe the Senate, and keep Antony and the Consuls in check. But never was extravagance more sagacious or effectual. It had been hazarded in opposition to the general opinions of his advisers; it drained his coffers, but they were soon replenished; it filled the ranks of his army, it confirmed the regards of the populace; it divided the sentiments of the senators and the partialities of the patricians, and it gave him a prominent and influential position among the contending parties. Antony had sought and gained popularity and strength by professing to carry out the unexecuted designs of Cæsar; and, for this purpose, had interpolated the Journals and falsified the Records. Octavius acquired a larger favour and more general support by fulfilling his bequests, and himself liquidating the legacies of the Dictator to the people, at a time when Antony had appropriated and squandered nearly the whole of the Dictator's estate. Octavius thus became at once one of the acknowledged powers of the state. It was not yet seen that he was

\* This is one of those stories which Suetonius (Vit. Octavii., c. lxx.) reports and discredits. He mentions, however, that during this proscription, some one wrote on the statue of Octavius—

Pater Argentarius, ego, Corinthianus.



already the chief power, and the holder of the balance. The liberality of the young intriguer, as of the older statesman, was always wisely directed for the acquisition of larger gains, either in specie or in favour. The larger receipts were always judiciously expended in the extension of his magnificent projects, and in strengthening his popularity. Thus, by an incessant alternation of extravagance and gain, of profit and profusion, the Roman Empire was adorned and ameliorated by his munificence, and he himself reaped the large rewards of a prodigality, which was, in truth, the most far-seeing policy.

But, though thus splendid in his public expenditures and in his generosity to others, his private life was, as we have said, simple, frugal and unostentatious. He endeavoured to recall, as far as practicable, the shadowy image of those republican usages, which had long vanished in substance. He contemplated the concealment of his despotic power beneath the modest fashions which characterized those ages of freedom, which were regarded as a Saturnian era in the imaginations of the people. It is here that the difference of the historial antecedents at Rome and in France, accounts for and justifies, in point of policy, a corresponding difference, whether conscious or instinctive, between the domestic life of Augustus and Louis Napoleon. In France, the national love of show demands display, and the French tastes revert to the glories of the old régime, and the more dazzling splendours of the first Empire. The ages of Charlemagne and of St. Louis are forgotten. In Rome, it was otherwise. There popular fantasy recurred to republican simplicity and the frugality of Cincinnatus and Fabricius. The axe and the fasces were hidden beneath wreaths of roses; and absolute authority was exercised under the names familiar to Roman liberty, and by men who wore the mask of ancient republicanism.

We should have signalized before the occasional boldness, the felicitous temerity, which so strangely diversified the conduct of Octavius. The landing at Brundisium in the face of the army of Antony, the march to Rome, the claim of the inheritance bequeathed to him by Julius Cæsar—all

undertaken in defiance of the unanimous advice of his friends—were, according to all estimation previous to the event, as rash and ridiculous as the appearance of Louis Napoleon at Strasburg, or his descent at Boulogne. Their immediate success was greater; but, perhaps, the French Emperor derived as much ultimate benefit from his previous demonstrations, and their failure, as the Roman did from his instant good fortune. How curious, and shifting, and contrariant the lights and shadows in the character of both!—by what indirect and intricate modes they ministered to the surprising achievement of the crowning result!—and how strangely the similitudes of thought, motive and action, reveal themselves amid all the apparent discrepancies in the careers of the ancient prototype and the modern repetition!

The matrimonial and amatory adventures of Octavius are too curious to be altogether disregarded. He was almost as universal a gallant as his uncle, who was said to be the husband of all the women in Rome.\* He was coarse in his lascivious tastes, and unrestricted in the indulgence of his sensual propensities. He circled through a whole harem of promiscuous mistresses, and was permanently devoted to none of them. Yet he was not insensible to the empire of love, nor incapable of a strong attachment. His first matrimonial alliance was a mere *mariage de convenance*. Clodia, the bride, was a child, forced upon him by the demands of the soldiery at the formation of the Triumvirate, and an excuse for a divorce was furnished by the occurrence of the Persian war, before the marriage was consummated. He united himself to Scribonia, the wife or widow of two former husbands, in order to strengthen himself against Antony with Sextus Pompeius, whose wife was her niece. On a change of policy and a reconciliation with Antony, he divorced her, on the very day that his only daughter was born, in order to wrest from Tiberius Claudius his pregnant wife,

\* We leave the strong expression of Catullus (Carm. xxix.) in the obscurity of the original Latin :

Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens  
Perambulabit omnium cubilia,  
Ut albulus columbus, aut Adoneus?

Livia Drusilla, the only woman to whom he seems ever to have been sincerely attached. The permanent bond of union, however, in even this third marriage, may have been supplied less by the beauty and attractions of the wife, than by the aid and the consolation which her shrewd counsels and skilful diplomacy brought to the Emperor, and, perhaps, also by the irresistible influence which she exercised over his thoughts and actions. To her he seems to have unbosomed all his plans, views and projects, and by her they appear to have been modified or approved, while their execution was facilitated by her feminine craft and intrigue. To her ascendancy may, perhaps, be ascribed the neglect of Mæcenas during the last few years of his life, and the long declining influence of both himself and Agrippa, and to her consummate sagacity may also be attributed the little change of policy and the absence of all political disturbance subsequent to their deaths. She was the only confidant whom the dark and solitary thinker admitted to share the immense burthen of his perplexed schemes; the only one to whom he revealed the intricate mysteries and tangled labyrinths of his finely spun and hidden web. That she was faithless to the trust may be readily supposed, and was a penalty which Augustus himself deserved, though not at her hands. It is strongly suggested, however, by the circumstances attending the deaths of Marcellus, Agrippa Postumus and himself—in each of which cases Livia has been suspected of murder by poison or violence. The great object of her solicitude seems uniformly to have been to gain the succession for her son Tiberius, and to strengthen the monarchy that there might be an Empire to which he could succeed. That son distrusted, and rightly, his mother; and never allowed her the same authority or ascendancy which she had enjoyed under Augustus, or won from him.

Before the commencement of this series of marriages, Octavius had been betrothed to the daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus, but the match was broken off by policy and the intervention of the soldiery. Thus the Emperor, who distinguished his reign by the stringency of his laws on the subject of marriage, and in repression of the licentiousness of

both the men and women of the day, set an example of amatory and matrimonial vagabondage, which was almost as infamous as that of Caligula or Caracalla. The author of the Julian laws, which constituted the basis of all the subsequent legislation to arrest female depravity, exhibited in his own life and family a shameless debauchery and gross incontinence, which have been too frequently overlooked, or too slightly regarded by those who have affected to estimate him solely from the brilliant radiance which circumstances threw around his reign.

There [are two characters presenting the most arduous study which can be offered to the contemplation of either the historian or the moralist ; yet there are no other personages of like importance to whom the attention bestowed has been less proportionate to the difficulties of the solution required. These are the characters of Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar. The moral lineaments of the latter are, indeed, admirably portrayed in the annals of Tacitus, and are drawn by him with a vigorous hand in a few bold outlines and frequent delicate touches. They seem, also, to have been justly apprehended, though not as graphically delineated, by Dion Cassius. But, where shall we look for a satisfactory appreciation of these masterly sketches ; where shall we notice the same labour resumed with any thing like the same skill, or the same penetrating instinct ; and where shall we find these scattered lines gathered together into a finished portrait possessing the expressive truthfulness of that supplied by Tacitus ? The Romans under the Empire appear to have possessed, in an eminent degree, the peculiar intuition into all the recesses of the heart possessed by the great Italian statesmen, diplomatists and political writers, and also to have had the same consummate art in detecting and describing all shades of thought, motive and habit. These qualities are apparent in even the wretched scribblers of the Augustan history ; yet these excellences are just those which have been least noted or imitated by recent historians of Rome. Singularly enough in the rapid and graphic silhouettes of De Quincey's Cæsars, Tiberius is altogether excluded from the picture gallery—yet, as an historical or moral study, his is

the most interesting exemplar in the varied group of the Roman Emperors. The portraiture of Augustus is only inferior in difficulty and significance to that of his successor, but it is drawn nowhere. Abundant details, often incoherent, and always exhibited *en couleur de rose*, are supplied by the numerous writers of the Augustan and subsequent ages; but these require to be carefully compared, corrected, harmonized, digested and combined, before we can derive from them any thing but loose, insufficient and unsatisfactory views of his temperament, his character and his actions. Perhaps none of the moderns has appreciated his anomalous character more judiciously than Lord Bacon. We look in vain in Gibbon for what we can find nowhere else. He exhibits to us little but the ponderous machinery of the Empire, and the halo around the Imperial throne. It is true that the reign of Augustus did not legitimately fall within the scope of his special task; and we are, in consequence, not entitled to blame the omission which we regret. Mr. Merivale has attempted, with considerable skill, to supply the deficiency. His canvass is ample enough; but instead of delicately disposing his colours, and nicely distributing the lights and shadows, he smears over the surface the whole contents of his paint-box, like Euripides, as represented in the Frogs. We would partly attribute to the insufficient appreciation of Augustus and his policy, the singular blunders which have been committed in the estimate of Louis Napoleon, and the absence of any recognition of the parallelism between the two Emperors, which is obvious almost as soon as it is suggested.

The moral character of Augustus was certainly inferior to that of Tiberius; though the former has been regarded with constant admiration, the latter contemplated with universal detestation. In intellectual power, in statesmanship and in practical sagacity, Tiberius was very far beyond his more famous predecessor. In elevation of sentiment, and even in human sympathies, Tiberius appears to advantage, when contrasted either with the callous heartlessness of Octavius, or with the treacherous hypocrisy of the Senators by

whom he was surrounded. There is not a more hateful or deceitful character in the long course of Roman history than the great consolidator of the Empire ; though, at the same time, it must be admitted that his exercise of power was judicious and beneficent, and that his despotic administration was a real blessing to the depraved populations of the Roman world.

Though not immediately connected with our subject, it would be almost unpardonable to omit all notice of the personal appearance and physical constitution of Augustus. Fortunately, a minute description has been preserved in Suetonius. He is said to have been of very low stature, but of such a graceful, symmetrical and handsome figure, as to conceal the deficiency in height. This elegance of form he retained through life. His complexion was sallow ; his eyes clear and bright, so that he fancied there was a ray of divinity in their brilliancy, and he was gratified when those who looked at him cast down their countenance to escape their blaze, as if overpowered by the splendour of the sun. In old age he partially lost the sight of his left eye. His eye-brows met ; his nose was Roman ; his ears of moderate size ; his hair light and slightly curling. The expression of his face, whether he spoke or was silent, was remarkably tranquil and serene. His teeth were bad ; they were few, small and discoloured. He paid little attention to personal decoration, paying little regard to the dressing of his hair and to his beard, and consigning himself for greater speed to many barbers at once, while he either read or wrote himself. His body was much marked with moles, arranged like the stars in Ursa Major. Notwithstanding the symmetry and beauty of his limbs, he was so weak in the left leg that he often limped. The fore-finger of his right hand became so torpid and drawn up in cold weather, that he wrote with difficulty by the aid of artificial appliances. His health was always feeble, and he experienced many dangerous illnesses. He was subject to bilious diseases, and suffered much in spring from pneumonia and in summer from influenza. The latter ailments were almost of annual recurrence. He was

a martyr also to the gravel, though from this he was at length relieved.\* With this wretched health, tolerant of neither heat nor cold, he contrived to live seventy-five years, deluding all calculations and disappointing all hopes; and, even then, the approaches of death were perhaps hastened, or produced by poison.

So far as our space, our purposes and our abilities permitted, we have thus endeavoured to furnish an accurate, though incomplete, delineation of the remarkable character of Cæsar Octavianus, who is better known under the designation of his boyhood, Octavius, and his Imperial title, Augustus. We have profited by the researches and conceptions of Mr. Merivale, though we have ventured to draw a much bolder, and, we think, more consistent outline. We have availed ourselves of the few luminous traits given by Tacitus; and we have neither neglected the rough rhetoric of Dion Cassius, nor the court scandal and gossip of Suetonius. We have thus attempted to condense into one picture, truthful, though only in miniature, the various hints which each of these authors has supplied.

Turning from the antique medallion to the showy lay-figure which now sits with an Imperial crown on the throne of France, we cannot fail to recognize at once the numerous resemblances, both in the broader characteristics and in the fainter lines of detail, by which the two casts of character and the two careers are assimilated to each other. The moral physiognomy of the living Emperor appears softened down, when compared with that of his ancient prototype, by the civilized usages and the French polish with which we are all familiar. But, in all the essential points of the comparison, the modern occupant of the Tuilleries and the Louvre is the legitimate counterpart of the ancient possessor of the Capitol and habitant of the Palatine. And, indeed, it is rather in this greater consonance with modern notions, than in any intrinsic difference of feeling, that Louis Napoleon appears to be more humane, human and natural than his precursor. In both may be detected the same singular union

\* Suetonius Vit. Octavii., c. lxxii.—lxxxi.

of elegance, urbanity, insincerity and kindness, the same scenic art and dexterous acting, the same semblance of unsuspecting ease or even stolid indifference, in the most acute and deliberate stratagems. Like Augustus, too, he unites a strenuous and untiring energy with a show of great moderation, and pursues his individual interests with a dexterous pretension to public policy alone. There is a similar imperturbability in his bearing, and an equal impassivity in his whole temperament. He conceals his partialities and resentments with singular self-control, and contrives admirably to subordinate his feelings to his interests. In both characters may be traced the same just appreciation of the disposition, the tastes, the whims, the necessities and the appetencies of their people. The arts pursued by both in maintaining and confirming their power have been strangely analogous. In both has been manifested the same hypocritical assumption of lowly deference to the popular will; but both had cautiously provided, beforehand, that that will should be only the expression of their own designs. Never was a bold or treacherous stroke of policy more to be apprehended from either than when the most sanctimonious subservience to the people was ostentatiously professed: the claws of the tiger were always most dangerous when most effectually cloaked and concealed by the soft, velvety touch of his paw. Each devoted himself assiduously to the cultivation of popular favour, and to the manufacture of public opinion—or, at least, of such a pretence of public desire as could not be resisted, refuted or ignored. When this result was attained, a *coup d'état* could be hazarded with little danger, and with an almost certain assurance of success. To mould, train, educate and direct the form and expression of the popular sentiment, every art was unhesitatingly employed. The manipulation was acute, dark, multifarious and long-continued. It was prepared afar off, it was applied in unsuspected and unrecognized modes, and performed by indirect methods. The masses yielded to influences which they did not apprehend, and which were never displayed to them in their naked and natural shapes; and they were pushed forward blindly, but with a silly conviction of their



own intelligent action, by forces which overwhelmed them without ever being fairly revealed. Like Orestes pursued by the Furies, they fled from the dark and shadowy horrors which filled the air with gloom, but presented no visible figure, to the predetermined doom which was prepared for them. In order to drive them along the destined road to the appointed goal, the people were coaxed, cajoled, wheedled, flattered, alarmed, bullied, threatened, bribed, misinformed, seduced and misled, by all the complicated manœuvres which cunning could devise, ingenuity conceal and the possession of the whole machinery of power effect. Ostentation, magnificence, liberality and the semblance of generosity;—the reminiscences of the past and the vanities of the hour;—present gratitude and future hopes;—grand progresses through the country, the mummeries of municipal deputations and prepared addresses, military reviews and honorary distinctions;—the fear of the soldiery and the interests of the army;—local riots, got up or magnified by government intervention, and the dread of the lawless ascendancy of the turbulent men who thrive by anarchy and speculate on plunder;—fabricated reports and falsified official information;—the jealousies, intrigues, ambition of factions and designing men;—the fear of punishment for offences committed against former dynasties, and the prospect of rewards under a new or revived system;—the apprehensions of capital, and the anxieties of industry from a prolongation of the existing or probable disorder;—all these things were contemplated by the French as well as by the Roman Emperor, as means towards the production of the desired public feeling, and employed with consummate sagacity for the attainment of that end. When we look behind the scenes, and detect the arts by which these great masters of chicanery and deception accomplished their purposes, we cannot refrain from recurring to the type of a similar procedure furnished by the incantations of the witches in Macbeth:

“ Fillet of a fenny snake,  
In the cauldron boil and bake;  
Eye of newt and toe of frog,  
Wool of bat and tongue of dog,

Adder's fork and blind worm's sting,  
Lizard's leg and owlet's wing,  
For a charm of powerful trouble,  
Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

It need scarcely be added that the proposed results of the three applications of this sorcery are the same, and are summed up in the conclusion of the charm :

"Black spirits and white,  
Red spirits and gray ;  
Mingle, mingle, mingle,  
You that mingle may."

In the viewing of these poisonous ingredients, and in the management of the intricate machinery of intrigue, Louis Napoleon has proved himself the equal, if not the superior, of Augustus, inasmuch as he has been obliged to work in the calm of peace and not in the confusion of war ; to operate in the nineteenth century of Christianity, and not in the last of heathenism ; and to act upon a larger, a freer, a more intelligent and a less depraved constituency. Like Augustus, too, he is indebted for much of his success to the adhesion of the capitalists, and to the interested and often dishonest eagerness of capital in an age of acquisition, to purchase tranquillity and protection for itself, and a free scope for its adventures, at any cost of either the public liberties or the public interests. It must be said, however, that the capitalists of France were only partially inclined to favour Louis Napoleon ; but those who were disposed to oppose him, he had the discretion and tact to compel to lend him their support.

It is apparent from what has been said, if not sufficiently indicated by the comparison instituted, that we are not of the number of those who deny to Louis Napoleon the possession of varied and very remarkable talents. They are not brilliant, and are in consequence easily overlooked or misconstrued. But statesmanship, knowledge of men and of the French in particular, good sense, practical acuteness and tact, he certainly has manifested in an eminent degree. The judgment of the majority has been misled by contrasting him with his uncle ; and his abilities have been under-

rated because they are neither of the same kind, nor of the same dazzling splendour as those of the elder Napoleon. It is misled also by considering the absence of military aspirations, the apparent indifference to the acquisition of military renown, and the entire failure to imitate the plans of conquest prosecuted by his predecessor, as evidence of incompetency and a deficiency of genius. But Augustus was no general, even when in personal command of armies and personally engaged in war. These hasty critics only show that they themselves misconceive the character and the necessities of the times; that they mistake the problem which Louis Napoleon was required to solve, and that they are incompetent to estimate the policy and actions of rulers with a due regard to the characteristics of the periods in which their rôle is to be performed. The first Napoleon would have been hustled off the throne in the first year of his power, if he had followed his old line of procedure; the second, (or third, as he has chosen to call himself,) has strengthened his dominion with every month that has passed since his election to the Presidency. Julius Cæsar could never have retained and organized the Empire by his military genius during the long years in which Augustus appeared to occupy the throne reluctantly and without effort. A single generation of revolutions makes a greater change in national temperament and in the requirements of policy, than centuries of healthy and more orderly development. Philosophers, and the members of Peace Conventions, have confidently asserted that this is peculiarly the age of peace. Coming events portend a dissipation of these boasts; but it is undeniable that peace is the great want, and almost the necessity, of the present populations of Europe. The arts of peace are, therefore, those which must be principally cultivated by every potentate, and especially by every usurper, and by those arts alone can permanent dominion be won or secured. We have confidently relied on Louis Napoleon's professions of a desire for peace, not because he so continually repeated those professions, but because the desire was in consonance with the influences of the times and the policy of his own position. He may hereafter be engaged in wars,

and may seek an augmentation of territory from victory, but war must be the accident, and not the purpose of his career.

The position which Louis Napoleon occupies with respect to the history of France, and to the condition of the existing French nation, is essentially identical with that which Augustus bore to Rome and the Romans. In both instances we see a people highly cultivated, but politically corrupted by successive revolutions and the double injury of greedy capital and hungry masses. In both instances the moral health of the people had been long sapped by the vices and example of the wealthy and the powerful, and selfish aspirations after individual gain had become the ruling passion of all classes, except the most needy, whose hopes were limited to the acquisition of bread. In both nations the complete cycle of political change had been traversed, all forms and almost all fantasies of political organization had been tried, exhausted and abandoned. The patients were sore, feverish and restless, and consequently impatient of restraint. The only control to which they were capable of yielding, had become the coercion of forcible compulsion. Both people still indulged wild and nympholeptic dreams of liberty, but had lost all apprehension of its true nature, and the capacity for its actual enjoyment. To both the only possible relief, still compatible with their situation, was tranquillity; and the only quiet attainable, the repose of a despotism sustained by military power, but preserving the outward show of civic procedure. One of the commentators on Herodian, borrowing probably the expression of a contemporary writer, has very happily designated the Roman Empire as a military democracy. Such, in truth, it was; and such must be essentially the Imperial rule in France. But, in the inception of this great change, policy taught Augustus the necessity of veiling the sword beneath the forms of earlier republicanism, and a similar expediency has dictated a similar discretion to Louis Napoleon. Still, it must be recognized that the real and ultimate support of the French throne is to be found in the fidelity and concurrence of the army; and, with each new change of dynasty, or even with each succession,

the army will more and more discover its possession of all vital power, and reveal itself ultimately in its true type, as a military democracy, an armed and exclusive constituency, and convert the French constitution into a *régime* of Mamelukes and Janizzaries. That the future fortunes of France may exhibit the phenomena of the decline of Rome is exceedingly probable, though, from the well ascertained operation of regular laws, the stages of this process of decay will be shorter, more rapid, and slightly different from the analogous course in antiquity. Meanwhile, it may be noted that Louis Napoleon has played his own part well for his own interests—possibly even for the interests of France—and has exhibited a profound appreciation of his own position and the condition of his times and people, and a masterly tact in his management of the hidden wires. Throughout his whole action he has so exactly repeated the policy of Augustus, that it is difficult to repress the supposition that he had deliberately studied and imitated his arts. Yet the identity of positions and the similarity of natures might have generated spontaneously a surprising similarity of procedure.

These analogies exist in the great as well as in the more minute traits of character and incident. The affability and polish of Augustus are revived in Louis Napoleon; the heartlessness, which cunningly watches and uses its advantage beneath the smiling graces of the exterior, belongs to both. The reserve, which dexterously affects the appearance of candour, is equally to be noticed in both. Each is alike impassive and imperturbable, pretending negligence and indifference while most assiduously pursuing his secret wiles. Each is equally self-confident, self-reliant and self-sustained, while apparently hesitating and anxious to secure extrinsic support. Each habitually sought the counsels of others, and followed without deviation and without regard to other views, his own predetermined plans. Each patiently waited the favourable crisis brought by the current of events, whose issue his complicated arts had long before contrived; and pretended to yield to the necessity of the moment, when the necessity itself had been anticipated and

occasioned by himself. Each carefully abstained from violence when it could be avoided, and sought by the circuitous process of intrigue the results which would have been less effectually achieved by more open natures by direct methods. Each seemed equally undiscouraged by temporary failure, and equally passionless in success; manifesting forbearance and almost generosity to their antagonists, moderate in the repression of opposition, and tolerant when toleration could be hazarded with safety. This conduct should give each the credit of sagacity, not of benevolence; it is the result of consummate prudence, not of good feeling. It indicates the absence of malice, but affords no assurance of natural gentleness.

The first *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon—that of 2d December, 1851—exemplified all these traits, but it most especially displayed the vigorous decision of his actions, and the impenetrable secrecy with which they were veiled. All the multifarious, widely extended and complex preparations for the great blow, were made without being detected, and were concealed for a fortnight, until the minute for their execution had arrived. A few hours in the early morning were sufficient to place all the powers of the government and nation absolutely in the hands of the Prince President, and three men, by their energetic and unscrupulous movements, were able to secure the result. It was a remarkable and resolute stroke of policy, and may be justly compared with the ablest and boldest manœuvres of Octavius. In the measures adopted for transmuting the decennial Presidency, achieved by this licentious proceeding into a despotic sovereignty, Louis Napoleon closely imitated the intrigues by which his Roman model ascended the long and difficult grades which led him to absolute monarchy. The very name of Prince President was almost equivalent to that of Princeps. Imperator, first accepted by Octavius; the same term of ten years, which had been the limit for which the ancient *imperium* had been received, was that prescribed for the modern Presidency. It is true, Louis Napoleon cleared with larger strides the interval between a nominal republic and a real despotism; but then the French had lost the faculty of venera-

tion, whilst the Romans had retained a superstitious and sanctimonious attachment to the effete forms of former freedom. The measures of Louis Napoleon, if somewhat diverse in appearance, were the same in principle as those adopted by Octavius. The progresses, reviews, displays and festivities of the one, constituted a legitimate counterpart to the provincial tours, episodic expeditions, spectacles and public buildings of the other. It was in absence from Rome, and by indirect influences brought to bear upon the public mind, that Octavius obtained the final powers which secured his ascendancy; it was in absence from Paris, and by similar stratagems, that Louis Napoleon obtained the adhesion of the popular sentiment to his assumption of the Imperial title. Augustus "carefully abstained from claiming his uncle's title by virtue of descent." Napoleon III. with equal caution assured the courts of Europe that in taking his Imperial designation he did not pretend any right to the throne from inheritance, but derived his claim solely from the popular will. The Romans regarded the character of Augustus as one of the greatest enigmas of history, and he displayed his consciousness of the unfathomable mystery which shrouded his policy, by using the emblem of the sphinx as the device for his official seal. Louis Napoleon has abundantly proved himself to be an equally insoluble enigma to his contemporaries, and gives occasional indications of a similar consciousness of the general inability to appreciate his conduct. The Emperor Julian compared the consolidator of the Empire to a chameleon, so completely did he imbibe his hue from the surrounding colours; a future literary Emperor of France may apply the same simile to Napoleon III. But, notwithstanding all changes of external aspect, both these memorable sovereigns retained their inner nature unaltered, and pursued the uniform and even tenor of their way through all impediments and varieties of circumstance.

The two intimate friends, advisers and instruments of Octavius, find their exact parallel in the French Court. Agrippa and Mæcenas are suitably resuscitated in M. de Morny and M. de Persigny. In both cases, master and men associate on the same terms of esteem, confidence and fa-

miliarity ; in both the monarch employs his ministers more ostensibly than himself, and neither rejects their counsel, nor submits to their direction. In neither instance was any violent control exercised over the thought and action of the serviceable friends, but they were allowed to retain and exhibit independence of sentiment within due limits by an equally circumscribed independency of conduct. It is also to be observed that Louis Napoleon, like Augustus, seems partial to new men for his officials, and recurs more freely to the services of former or even prospective opponents, than to the ancient nobility or those who have already won eminent distinction.

It is scarcely necessary, and would be barely decent, to chronicle or examine the gallantries of Louis Napoleon, or to make a public parade of the reputed debaucheries of his private hours. It is enough to allude to them, and to suggest a reference to the licentiousness of Augustus. Although, in a matter so purely dependent on personal idiosyncrasies, there would be no great interruption of the parallel if no resemblance could be fancied, it is strange that the twin potentates should have so closely followed the same career. There is a slight touch of similarity in the frivolous inconstancy with which Octavius received and divorced, and Louis Napoleon sought and resigned, successive matrimonial alliances ; and, at last, in the very crisis of their tangled schemes, married most politically, though with apparent folly, for love.

In the intricate and complicated characters of the two men compared, there are many important traits which have been left unnoticed, and abundant materials still remain for a fuller and more minute parallelism. Our limits are, however, exhausted, and the suggestion of the leading resemblances is the only point of very great moment. After the analogy has been indicated, it may be easily pursued. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.* The further prosecution of the task may be, without much regret, resigned to others.

It is to be hoped, however, that enough has been said to justify a higher, if not a more favourable estimate of Louis Napoleon's character, and to save us from the repetition of



the crude imbecility of depreciation which has been so current hitherto. A truer and juster comprehension of his future policy and probable fortunes may be thus obtained, and those ridiculous and unfounded anticipations may be hereafter avoided, which the event so speedily dissipates, and which only demonstrate that in all ages there are, at least, four hundred false prophets for every true one. We do not venture to assert (for prophecy is not our rôle in such cases), that the enduring success and permanent dominion won by Octavius will be reserved for Louis Napoleon; but we do state, that if his character, motives, actions and prospects are studied, they must be elucidated by an attentive reference to the genius, career and times of Augustus. This is the sole burthen of our song.

*Ed. B. Ferguson, Esq.*

ART. II.—POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

1. *Constitution of the State of South-Carolina.* June 3d, 1790.
2. *Constitution of the United States of America.* September 17th, 1787.

IN a previous article,\* entitled as above, an effort was made to illustrate, in brief terms, some of the prominent features in the structure of our society and government; and, in prosecution of the same design, we propose now to renew the subject on a more extended scale.

The learned Dr. Ferguson opens his essay on civil society with the following Analogy :

“Natural productions are generally formed by degrees. Vegetables are raised from a tender shoot, and animals from an infant state. The latter, being active, extend together their operations and their powers, and have a progress in what they perform, as well as in the faculties they acquire. This progress in the case of man is continued to a greater extent than in that of any other animal. Not only the *individual* advances from infancy to manhood, but the *species* itself from

\* January, 1853—Art. 4.

rudeness to civilization. Hence the supposed departure of mankind from the state of their nature; hence our conjectures and different opinions of what man must have been in the first age of his being. The poet, the historian and the moralist frequently allude to this ancient time; and, under the emblems of gold or iron, represent a condition, and a manner of life, from which mankind have either degenerated, or on which they have greatly improved.\*

The same, we think, may be said of all human schemes. Not only the species, but all their arrangements, designs, institutions and policies advance progressively, we will not say from a state of nature, but from a previous condition. Theorists, indeed, are prone to select a few of the human qualities, and some of the particulars of man's history, in hopes of setting up some favourite system. But we are content with our own conclusions drawn from such sources as are within our reach. For there seems to be no term more generally used, and at the same time more vaguely understood, than "*nature*." What, after all, is a state of nature? The rudeness of the dark ages can hardly be said to have been more *natural* to the men of those times, than the civilization of the nineteenth century is to us. Who would not be called an *unnatural* person, that observed all the barbarous habits and tastes of an ancient Goth? How unnatural even, would the knee-breeches and top-boots of our own sires, appear in the sight of well-dressed people of the present day!

The analogy between the growth of the individual and the advancement of the species, may be strictly carried out in answering the question—what is a state of nature? The cries of infancy are natural; so are the smiles and laughter of youth, the gravity of mature age, and the infirmities of declining life; why not then call those conditions natural which are observed to accompany the several stages of civilization and enlightenment? The very art which may be spoken of in contradistinction to nature, is itself natural. Where, in fact, is it that art may be said to be unknown? The rough covering which the savage lashes about his loins,

\*Essay on the History of Civil Society, by Adam Ferguson, L.L.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh. 6th edition. London, 1793.

is as essentially the application of art, as the most approved Parisian coat upon the shoulders of the highly civilized and elegant gentleman. The difference is in degree, not in essence. Both are appropriate, both in character; in short, both are *natural*. The same may be said of the savage hut and the palace of the enlightened prince. In few words, art is as much the product of man's nature as the hair on his head, and quite as component a part of his being.

We discard, therefore, the notion of a "state of nature." Every state in which a man finds himself, is a state of nature. This must be admitted by all who believe humanity susceptible of advancement. If man really has the faculty of improving his condition, promoting his comfort, gratifying and restraining his desires, developing his ideas, and reducing to use the objects around him, it seems pure absurdity to say that the moment he puts this faculty into operation, he ceases to be in a state of nature. If this were so, *idiocy* would be a state of nature; a conclusion, we apprehend, which but few are prepared to receive. But if the first exercise of this faculty does not remove him from his natural state, it remains to be shown whether the second does. The same absurdity is involved in the second as in the first case, and in every succeeding one which could be enumerated. Hence, we cannot but regard the "primitive condition" as a matter wholly beyond either our reach or our understanding, with which we have nothing to do, and from a discussion of which no possible benefit is to be derived. The most we can say, is, that every step, in the march of civilization, is but an advance toward the destiny of the species, and a continuation of the natural progression of man. And on the score of the natural state, nothing is to be said, beyond the thought of Montesquieu—"man is born in society, and there he remains."

What *society* is, need not be stated here; we simply assume, as the result of our reflection, that it is out of society that government springs. The impossibility for men, as individual members of society, to govern themselves, or so to comport themselves as not to injure those around them, renders a power necessary, somewhere, for the government of

*all.* The preservation of society is essential to the existence of man, and the government of man is essential to the preservation of society. Man, every one will admit, cannot be trusted to his own individual discretion or self-government; hence the necessity, for the safety of society, of a power to govern all the individuals of the community. The force of government is felt through the enactment and execution of law; and in the system under which we live, the use of law is thus summed up by Lord Bacon: "The use of the law," says he,\* "consisteth principally in these three things—to secure men's persons from death and violence—to dispose the property of their goods and lands—and, for preservation of their good names from shame and infamy."

Simply to say, however, that government results from society, or that it arises out of the nature of things, is vague and incomplete. We must add, that it is a provision, in God's temporal economy, whereby the human race is enabled to progress steadily in the career, and advance certainly to the end, for which man was created. And, since this is the origin and end of government, but little reflection is needed to convince us that it must be, in its character, nature and operation, *progressive*.

But it is not at this stage of our remarks that we propose discussing the progressive tendency of government. It is enough for us to understand, here, that, though government originates in the fixed and everlasting law of necessity, yet its mechanism depends on variable causes. Society, in general, demands government in general; but each particular society, on account of its peculiar habits, intelligence, wants, vices, tradition, energy and religion, requires its own forms and modifications of government. Nor is this applicable only to the first formation or erection of particular systems. It continues throughout the historic period of the existence of the society or state; thus rendering the necessary restraint, which belongs to every system, not a fixed and unalterable curb upon human progress, but a pliant and salutary check upon the evil tendencies of our nature, adapting

\* Works of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, &c., &c. London, 1824. Vol. 4, page 82.

itself to the wants of the occasion, and assuaging the asperity of human passions.

The world's history is but a continuous illustration of this. The whole fabric of society is in constant transition, and the unavoidable consequence is a corresponding series of changes in every human institution. And, since government is, at best, but a human agency, it must experience the changes which befall humanity. The proud Castilian of the 16th century would have loathed the idea of Spanish weakness in the 19th. The great Tudor could have laughed merrily over the prediction that his royal office would one day become a sinecure. And what would the Grande Monarque have said, had he been told that the scum of Paris would yet rule in France?

Assuming, then, the inevitable existence of government of some sort, in every society, we are led to enquire—what has become of that boasted “natural liberty” of which so much has been said and written? To say, in plain terms, that it never existed, would perhaps be too summary a disposition of the matter; but we question seriously if we would be at all in error. Dr. Lieber—than whom no better authority exists—says: “Liberty, in its absolute sense, means the faculty of willing, and the power of doing what has been willed, without influence from any other source, or from without. It means self-determination; unrestrainedness of action.”\* Such liberty as this, it is evident, has never fallen to the lot of mortals. So that the term must always be received in a comparative or qualified sense. Algernon Sidney had this in view, when he defined liberty to be—“not a licentiousness of doing what is pleasing to every one against the command of God; but an exemption from all human laws to which they have not given their assent.” Thus, if by natural liberty is meant absolute liberty, it is plainly seen that it can never exist but in the imagination. That it has a very general abode there, cannot be disputed, but it is induced by the spirit of personal independence, which seems to be a very prevailing attribute in our nature. The illus-

\* Civil Liberty and Self-Government, by Francis Lieber, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1863. Vol. 1, page 48.

trious Sidney seemed possessed with the idea of such a liberty, when he spoke of "the liberty which God hath given us;" but he nevertheless perceived it could never be enjoyed unimpaired; hence, starting upon the supposition of its real existence, and of the actual existence of the condition generally meant by the "state of nature," he reached his conclusion thus :\*

"All such as enter into society, must, in some degree, diminish their liberty. Reason leads them to this. No one man or family is able to provide that which is requisite for their convenience or security, whilst every one has an equal right to every thing, and none acknowledges a superior to determine the controversies that, upon such occasions, must continually arise, and will probably be so many and great, that mankind cannot bear them. Therefore, there is nothing of absurdity in saying, that man cannot continue in the perpetual and entire fruition of the liberty that God hath given him. The liberty of one is thwarted by that of another; and whilst they are all equal, none will yield to any, otherwise than by a general consent. This is the ground of all just governments; for violence or fraud can create no right; and the same consent gives the form to them all, how much soever they differ from each other. It were a folly hereupon to say, that the liberty for which we contend, is of no use to us, since we cannot endure the solitude, barbarity, weakness, want, misery and dangers that accompany it whilst we live alone, nor can enter into a society without resigning it; for the choice of that society, and the liberty of framing it, according to our own wills, for our own good, is all we seek. This remains to us whilst we form governments, that we ourselves are judges how far 'tis good for us to recede from our natural liberty; which is of so great importance, that from thence only, we can know whether we are freemen or slaves."

It is matter of opinion, however, whether the term natural liberty is admissible, and the real effect it can have on human affairs is quite unimportant. It is agreed on all sides that it can never exist in society, and in relation to those "outside barbarians," who are not in society, if any there be, we positively decline having anything to say. But, on the other hand, the liberty which men enjoy in the several societies to which they belong, cannot properly be called "a chartered right." Liberty is not a thing to be granted or chartered. It must be earned. It accrues as a *result*. None

\* Discourses concerning Government, by Algernon Sidney. Edinburgh, 1750. Vol. 1, pages 37 and 38.

but the Author of Life can be the dispenser of liberty. Long preparation is requisite to obtain it, and individual virtue and courage can alone preserve it. We readily conceive how the *germ* of this great blessing is planted by nature in the heart of man ; how a capacity for the love of liberty is a part of his being ; but we must remember it must first be known to a certain extent before it can be loved. Nations, in their very infancy, enjoy liberty to the exact extent to which their capacity and virtue entitle them. Such we all know to have been the case with Britain ; a nation which never permanently lost its liberty, and which has steadily increased and refined it, as it has itself advanced in civilization and knowledge. All the state papers to which writers so often refer as “charters of liberty,” are nothing more than declaratory deeds and conventional guarantees of pre-existing facts and privileges. English liberty found its origin neither in *Magna Charta*, the *Bill of Rights*, the *Habeas Corpus*, or any other law. The germ was planted in the breasts of the Britons and Saxons, even in the obscurity of their ancient barbarism. There Cæsar found it, and thence in vain he sought to drive it. He tells us himself that the Britons were a fierce people, zealous for liberty, and so obstinately valiant in the defence of it, that, though unskilled and overpowered, their country could not be subdued otherwise than by the slaughter of all the warriors. And if ever fear was known to the heart of Cæsar, it was when he had to cope with Ariovistus, at the head of the German tribes ; of which the Saxons were renowned as the most valiant, and the greatest lovers and defenders of liberty. When Caractacus, the brave and sturdy Welchman, after defending his country seven years against the Romans, was carried captive to the Emperor, he wore a prouder mien than all the Romans present. Tacitus, also,\* speaks of this nation in language which meets corroboration at a period as recent as the times of Charles II.

“The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies ; they pay their tribute without a murmur ; and they perform all the services

\* In his *Life of Agricola*. Chapter 13.

of government with alacrity, *provided* they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden and impatient: they are conquered, not broken hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery."

Now the Britons, at the time of which these writers speak, were by no means in the so-called "state of nature." They lived under kings and such governments as were demanded by their society; hence, the liberty they enjoyed, and of which they are described as being so tenacious, was not the "natural liberty" which "God hath given them." And, although a critical definition of the word is not desired here, it is well to have some general understanding on the subject. It admits of both a positive and negative explanation. Dr. Ferguson describes it at various places thus :\*

"Liberty, in one sense, appears to be the portion of polished nations alone. The savage is personally free, because he lives unrestrained, and acts with the members of his tribe on terms of equality. The barbarian is frequently independent, from a continuance of the same circumstances, or because he has courage and a sword. But good policy alone can provide for the regular administration of justice, or constitute a force in the state, which is ready on every occasion to defend the rights of its members." "Liberty *results*, we say, from the government of laws; and we are apt to consider statutes not merely as the resolutions and maxims of a people determined to be free, not as the writings by which their rights are kept on record, but as a power erected to guard them, and as a barrier which the caprice of men cannot transgress." Besides, "Liberty is a right which every individual must be ready to vindicate for himself, and which he who pretends to bestow as a favour, has by that very act in reality denied. Even political establishments, though they appear to be independent of the will and arbitration of men, cannot be relied on for the preservation of freedom; they may nourish, but should not supersede, that firm and resolute spirit with which the liberal mind is always prepared to resist indignities, and to refer its safety to itself."

"Were a nation, therefore, given to be moulded by a sovereign, as the clay is put into the hands of the potter, this project of bestowing liberty on a people who are actually servile, is, perhaps, of all others the most difficult, and requires most to be executed in silence and with the deepest reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing only in proportion as they are made to apprehend their own rights; and are made to respect the just pretensions of mankind, in proportion as they are willing to sustain, in their own persons, the burden of government and of national defence; and are willing to prefer the engagements of a

\* Section V., pages 437, 439 and 444.



liberal mind to the enjoyment of sloth, or the delusive hopes of a safety purchased by submission and fear."

Dr. Lieber, in his recent elaborate and highly valuable treatise, gives the same explanation as his learned co-labourer of Edinburgh. He says:\*

"In a general way, it may here be stated as an explanation—not offered as a definition—that when the term civil liberty is used, there is now always meant a high degree of mutually guaranteed protection against interference with the interests and rights held dear and important by large classes of civilized men, or by all the members of a state, together with an effectual share in the making and administration of the laws, as the best apparatus to secure that protection, and constituting the most dignified government of men who are conscious of their rights and of the destiny of humanity. But what are these guarantees? these interests and rights? Who are civilized men? In what does that share consist? Which are the men that are conscious of their rights? What is the destiny of humanity? Who are the large classes?

"I mean by civil liberty, that liberty which plainly results from the application of the general idea of freedom to the civil state of man, that is, to his relations as a political being—a being obliged by his nature, and destined by his Creator, to live in society. Civil liberty is the *result* of man's twofold character, as an individual and social being, so soon as both are equally respected.

"Some have confounded liberty, the *status* of the freeman, as opposed to slavery, with civil liberty. But every one is aware that, while we speak of freemen in Asia, meaning only non-slaves, we would be very unwilling to speak of civil liberty in that part of the globe.

"The Roman lawyers say that liberty is the power (authority) of doing that which is not forbidden by the law. That the supremacy of the law and exclusion of arbitrary interference is a necessary element of all liberty, every one will readily admit; but if no additional characteristics be given, we have, indeed, no more than a definition of the status of a non-slave. It does not state whence the laws ought to come, or what spirit ought to pervade them. The same lawyers say: Whatever may please the ruler has the force of law. They might have said with equal correctness: Freeman is he who is directly subject to the emperor; slave is he who is subject to the emperor through an individual master. It settles nothing as to what we call liberty, as little as the other dictum of the civil law, which divides all men into freemen and slaves. The meaning of freemen in this case is nothing more than non-slave, while our word freemen, when we use it in connection with civil liberty, means not merely a negation of slavery, but the enjoyment of positive and high civil privileges and rights.

"Liberty has not unfrequently been defined as consisting in the rule of the majority—or it has been said, where the people rule there is lib-

\* Vol. 1, pages 34, 36, 37, 38, 42 and 53.

erty. The rule of the majority, of itself, indicates the *power* of a certain body; but power is not liberty. Suppose the majority bid you drink hemlock, is there liberty for you? Or suppose the majority give away liberty, and establish a despot? We might say with greater truth, that where the minority is *protected*, although the majority rule, there, probably, liberty exists. But in this latter case it is the protection, or, in other words, rights beyond the reach of the majority, which constitute liberty, not the power of the majority. There can be no doubt that the majority ruled in the French massacres of the Protestants; was there liberty in France on that account?

"We come thus to the conclusion that liberty applied to political man, practically means, in the main, protection or checks against undue interference, whether this be from individuals, from masses, or from government. The highest amount of liberty comes to signify the safest guarantees of undisturbed legitimate action, and the most efficient checks against undue interference. Men, however, do not occupy themselves with that which is unnecessary. Breathing is unquestionably a right of each individual, proved by his existence; but, since no power has yet interfered with the undoubted right of respiration, no one has ever thought it necessary to guarantee this elementary right. We advance, then, a step farther in practically considering civil liberty, and find that it chiefly consists in guarantees (and corresponding checks) of those rights which experience has proved to be most exposed to interference, and which men hold dearest and most important."

And Mr. Calhoun, our great philosophic statesman, gives the result of his profound thought, and long experience, in the following clear exposition:\*

"A community may possess all the necessary qualifications in so high a degree as to be capable of self-government under the most adverse circumstances; while, on the other hand, another may be so sunk in ignorance and vice as to be incapable of forming a conception of liberty, or of living, even when most favoured by circumstances, under any other than an absolute or despotic government. The principle, in all communities, according to these numerous and various causes, assigns to power and liberty their proper spheres. To allow to liberty, in any case, a sphere of action more extended than this assigns, would lead to anarchy; and this, probably, in the end, to a contraction instead of an enlargement of its sphere. Liberty, then, when forced on a people unfit for it, would, instead of a blessing, be a curse; as it would, in its reaction, lead directly to anarchy—the greatest of all curses. No people, indeed, can long enjoy more liberty than that to which their situation and advanced intelligence and morals fairly entitle them. If more than this be allowed, they must soon fall into confusion and disorder—to be followed, if not by anarchy and despotism, by a change to a form of government more simple and absolute; and, therefore, better suited to their

\* Calhoun's Works. Vol. 1, page 54.

condition. And, hence, although it may be true that a people may not have as much liberty as they are fairly entitled to, and are capable of enjoying, yet the reverse is unquestionably true, that no people can long possess more than they are fairly entitled to.

"Liberty, indeed, though among the greatest of blessings, is not so great as that of protection; inasmuch as the end of the former is the progress and improvement of the race—while that of the latter is its preservation and perpetuation. And, hence, when the two come into conflict, liberty must, and ever ought, to yield to protection; as the existence of the race is of greater moment than its improvement.

"It follows, from what has been stated, that it is a great and dangerous error to suppose that all people are equally entitled to liberty. It is a reward to be *earned*, not a blessing to be gratuitously lavished on all alike;—a reward reserved for the intelligent, the patriotic, the virtuous and deserving;—and not a boon to be bestowed on a people too ignorant, degraded and vicious, to be capable either of appreciating or of enjoying it. Nor is it any disparagement to liberty that such is, and ought to be, the case. On the contrary, its greatest praise—its proudest distinction is, that an all-wise Providence has reserved it, as the noblest and highest reward for the development of our faculties, moral and intellectual. A reward more appropriate than liberty could not be conferred on the deserving;—nor a punishment inflicted on the undeserving more just, than to be subject to lawless and despotic rule. This dispensation seems to be the result of some fixed law;—and every effort to disturb or defeat it, by attempting to elevate a people in the scale of liberty, above the point to which they are entitled to rise, must ever prove abortive, and end in disappointment."

With all this evidence before us, we are left no room to doubt that there is a law in our nature which regulates the balance between power and liberty here described;—a law which makes the liberty we enjoy commensurate with our capacity for enjoying it; and which, when resolved into principle, must be found to be the great cardinal principle of government. We have but to remember that the great end of life is happiness, and the problem is solved. It is neither liberty, nor property, nor fame, that is the grand object of life; these are but the means to be used, and used by those only who are capable of applying them. We all aim at happiness, and he that can attain it, in a state of subjection were wise to hug his chains, for liberty, any change, however promising, could not improve his fortunes, and might entail misery upon him. Some of the older writers have unwittingly established the doctrine, when they defined liberty to be the security of person and property. They saw that happiness was

not attainable without the requisite means; they naturally identified liberty with happiness, and hence their imperfect definition. Security is, indeed, inseparable from liberty, but it is only that liberty which has essential limitations placed upon it by a good and strong government. This is English liberty, and the sort we enjoy in Carolina. But there is a French liberty which is as terrible as it is absurd, and which is as void of virtue as of intelligence;—the very essence of which is the insecurity of every thing, and the abasement of all that is great and virtuous in our nature. A liberty which revels in lawless riot—

“While sin holds carnival and wit keeps lent.”

A liberty, indeed, which only serves to intoxicate, madden and destroy men, and then itself lies down to expire, from excess, at the feet of the first usurper who is bold enough to mount upon the ruins and desolation of a revolution.

With these explanations, then, we are prepared to receive Sidney's definition:—Liberty is an exemption from all human laws to which we have not given our assent. This is the liberty which is meant, when, in the second section, ninth article, of the Constitution of South-Carolina, it is declared that—“No freeman of this State shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, *liberties* or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, *liberty* or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land;”—and, in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, where it is set forth that the compact was designed, among other things, to “secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity.”

Let not the demagogue, however, or any champion of the various new-fangled doctrines of the day, lay up the flattering unction to his soul, that the great Sidney was disposed to invest every citizen with an individual veto, at least as to himself and those under his authority, over every law which may not please him. Individuals may enjoy all the liberty that an intelligent being can desire, and yet be forced to obey laws of which they highly disapprove. The merchant

may not only disapprove, but earnestly oppose the law which claims a duty upon his imports—so may the farmer that which taxes his lands, his negroes or his produce. The thief or the gamester, no doubt, cordially denounces the yoke of law which forever galls him ; and the miserable vagrant, who knows civil society only by the terrors of its penal code, must heartily curse the ill luck which made his neighbour rich, but continually prevents *him* from appropriating any of the tempting treasures that surround him. Nevertheless, neither duties, taxes, nor excises ; neither the penal code, the pillory, nor the gallows, evidence any other than a state of society in which civil liberty is either known, or at least dreamed of. Sidney's meaning was this :—The government can neither pass, nor execute a law, to which the mass of the people have not assented through the usual channels whereby their consent is always conveyed. It applies to communities, *not* individuals. A community enjoys liberty, which has its government sufficiently under its own control to prevent its adopting any measure hurtful or distasteful to it. The assent of the constitutional majority according to the constitutional mode, and through the constitutional organs, is all that is requisite ; the direct individual assent of citizens is neither asked nor needed ; it is presumed and taken for granted.

But not only do the necessities of society fix constant restrictions on individual liberty ; they also make manifest the inequality which must ever subsist among men. They develop what Mr. Jefferson calls a “natural aristocracy.” The word *aristocracy* will no doubt grate harshly upon the ear of our fiercer democratic readers, but we beg them to dispel their fears, and not to become prematurely terrified. It is not heresy which we teach ; we but repeat the sentiment of the same mind which conceived the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Jefferson, in spite of his dogma—that all men are created equal—which served its purpose very well, in 1776 at the head of the declaration, said, in 1813 :\*

“I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. Formerly, bodily powers

\* Jefferson's Works. Charlottesville: 1829. Vol. iv., p. 227.

gave place among the aristoi. But since the invention of gunpowder has armed the weak as well as the strong with missile death, bodily strength, like beauty, good humour, politeness and other accomplishments, has become but an auxiliary ground of distinction. There is also an artificial aristocracy, founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts and government of society. And, indeed, it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for the social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of the society. May we not even say, that that form of government is best, which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government?"

A similar explanation of the natural aristocracy which society must ever develope, has been given more recently and more fully by one of the most accomplished and most learned writers of our times. Brougham says :\*

"The notion of equality, or any thing approaching to equality, among the different members of any community, is altogether wild and fantastic. All the attempts that have ever been made to secure it have been of necessity confined to merely prohibiting positive distinctions of rank and privilege, which can always be effected, and to preventing the unequal distribution of wealth, which never can be accomplished, though laws may be devised for rendering this more slow, to the great injury of the public interests and restraining of individual liberty. But the diversities in human character and genius, the natural propensities of the human mind, the different actions performed by men, or which have been performed by their ancestors, lay the foundations of a natural aristocracy far deeper, and far more wide, than any legislative provisions have ever even attempted to reach—because no such provisions can possibly obliterate the distinctions thus created by the essential nature of man. In examining these distinctions we shall also regard the distinctions of wealth, because laws never can wholly prevent its unequal distribution, although they may interpose obstacles to it.

"The actual possession of any superiority, whether in wealth or in personal qualities, imposes a certain respect, begets a certain deference in the community at large of inferior men. Independence, if not influence and command, are possessed by the favoured few. The mere circumstance of their small number is something; their having, without dispute, what all would wish to have, is more. A man of this class never pays court to you; he may be civil, and you thank him for it; he never has any occasion to be your suitor. Now nothing more tends to lessen respect for any one than his courting you, by which he seems to acknowledge you his superior. Even talents are less powerful in this

\* Brougham's Political Philosophy. London : 1849. Vol. ii., p. 33.

respect than wealth, because they are less secure to their possessor, and their extent is less a matter of certain, undisputed estimate. All this, too, is wholly independent of the positive and certain influence which superiority, whether of riches or endowments, bestows—the power of commanding other men's services, assisting them in their necessities, contributing to their comfort or advancement. No, so great is the tendency to recognize this influence, that you shall constantly see a person of great influence exercise an extraordinary power over others, from the fact of feeling that they may one day be indebted to him for favours, though in reality no such thing is in any degree probable.

“A reflex feeling greatly increases this habitual deference for personal or patrimonial superiority. He who is possessed of it is known to be looked up to by all, or almost all others. This we cannot deny and we cannot prevent. Be our own views ever so enlightened, our disposition ever so independent, our contempt of wealth ever so philosophical, we are aware that the party is an object of observance with the bulk of mankind, and this makes us view him as something different from what we really know him to be.

“The length of time during which any one has possessed the attributes that command respect, forms a very material ingredient in modifying or assessing the amount of that respect. This amount bears always some definite proportion to the length of possession; and that not only because of the greater security which long possession implies, but because there is an invincible disposition in men to consider with less respect not only those who are now on the same level with themselves, but those who only recently were lifted above that level. It is only carrying the same feeling a step further, to respect the distinctions which are handed down from ancestors more than those which are acquired by their present possessor. Not only is the time of enjoyment, generally speaking, longer, but no one can ever recollect the party undendowed with the superiority—no one can remember him naked of the marks of distinction. Even virtue and genius, and mental acquirements, are in some sort affected by this law of our nature. A man is himself no better for his ancestor having been virtuous, more able, more learned than others, or for being sprung from a race which had rendered precious services to their country. A man is no worse for his forefathers having been of a grovelling nature, or infamous life. Yet where is the individual who can place himself above the pride of descending from Marlborough or Blake, Newton or Watt? And where is the sage whose wisdom is so captious, or heart so callous, as to refuse the epithet of honest or natural to such pride as this?”

But we have to ask neither Mr. Jefferson nor Lord Brougham, to tell us of these inequalities in society. The experience of every man admonishes him of their existence, and his own good sense warns him that they never can be destroyed. That they never *should* be destroyed, will, perhaps, not be so readily admitted by that class who have

every thing to gain and nothing to lose—a class which exists in every community. The good effect, however, which this has upon the operations and advancement of society will be readily seen, when we contrast our admirable republicanism with those systems in which artificial distinctions and orders are component parts, and with those in which pure democracy runs riot. For the present, it is enough to say that these natural inequalities are in no respect antagonistic to the liberty of the community, either as a mass or as individuals. We have witnessed in our own country, young as it is, and surely as free as need be, the excellent consequences of this provision of nature. We have seen, or heard of, and admired the adulation which a nation can bestow upon a Washington, a Jackson, a Franklin or a Calhoun. We have seen the universal respect, bordering upon awe, which must await an Astor or Girard, an Aspinwall or a Vanderbilt. And is the time ever coming when the traitor Arnold will be forgotten? We feel conscious of no extravagance, when we contend that there is more stability derived from this natural aristocracy, than from any act which government can perform. It is, in fact, the key-stone of the social arch. Nor is there a possibility of its ever partaking of the artificial form under our institutions.

The negative effect of the same feeling, works as actively as the positive. Do we not unfortunately see the descendants of some of our most illustrious revolutionary patriots cast from society, and spurned with contempt by honest men, because of the fraud, immorality and blackguardism they commit? And can we call to mind the children of no wealthy ancestors, now struggling in poverty, and lost in obscurity? But, reverse the picture, and we see the offspring of social chaos, now in the very blaze of notoriety. These are the “ups and downs” of the world; but they illustrate not the less for all this, the steady operation of the principle which invigorates the natural aristocracy.

If it is possible to add force to the conviction we all must feel on this score, the following language will surely do it :\*

\* Calhoun's Works, vol. i., page 56.



"There is another error, not less great and dangerous. I refer to the opinion, that liberty and equality are so intimately united, that liberty cannot be perfect without perfect equality. That they are united to a certain extent—and that equality of citizens, in the eyes of the law, is essential to liberty in a popular government, is conceded. But to go further, and make equality of *condition* essential to liberty, would be to destroy both liberty and progress. The reason is, that inequality of condition, while it is a necessary consequence of liberty, is, at the same time, indispensable to progress. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the main spring to progress is the desire of individuals to better their condition; and that the strongest impulse which can be given to it, is to leave individuals free to exert themselves in the manner they may deem best for that purpose, as far, at least, as it can be done consistently with the ends for which government is ordained, and to secure to all the fruits of their exertions. Now, as individuals differ greatly from each other, in intelligence, sagacity, energy, perseverance, skill, habits of industry and economy, physical power, position and opportunity—the necessary effect of leaving all free to exert themselves to better their condition, must be a corresponding inequality between those who may possess these qualities and advantages in a high degree, and those who may be deficient in them. The only means by which this result can be prevented, are, either to impose such restrictions on the exertions of those who may possess them in a high degree, as will place them on a level with those who do not; or to deprive them of the fruits of their exertions. But to impose such restrictions on them, would be destructive of liberty; while, to deprive them of the fruits of their exertions, would be to destroy the desire of bettering their condition. It is, indeed, this inequality of condition between the front and rear ranks, in the march of progress, which gives so strong an impulse to the former to maintain their position, and to the latter to press forward into their files. This gives to progress its greatest impulse. To force the front rank back to the rear, or attempt to push forward the rear into line with the front, by the interposition of the government, would put an end to the impulse, and effectually arrest the march of progress.

"These great and dangerous errors have their origin in the prevalent opinion that all men are born free and equal—than which, nothing can be more unfounded and false. It rests upon the assumption of a fact, which is contrary to universal observation, in whatever light it may be regarded. It is, indeed, difficult to explain how an opinion so destitute of all sound reason, ever could have been so extensively entertained."

Now, firmly convinced as we may be, not only that there is, but that there ought to be, some inequality, and hence, some natural aristocracy among men, it is but due to the subject, that inquiry should be made as to the grounds upon which the doctrine of *equality* is based. And although it is not within the scope of our design to make the investigation,

we have at hand the only philosophical apology for the doctrine which we have ever met with ; and, as it comes from a good source, we shall make use of it. It is somewhat remarkable that the great difference between the French and English liberty may be traced to the rejection of the doctrine by the latter, and the tenacious grasping at it by the former. "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*," is the watchword of the Parisian mob. *Kings, Lords and Commons*, are the landmarks of the United Kingdom. A happy medium between these, is the beauty of our school. We, of Carolina, have followed closely the policy of nature ; the surest and easiest guide. We have rejected the evil, and retained the good. Having neither kings nor lords, nor "equality," nor "fraternity," we yet have liberty and commons.

Some little mérit has been extracted, by *straining*, out of "*equality*," in a most ingenious manner, by Judge Grimké of Ohio, in his excellent work on Free Institutions, but just enough to make men cautious of the dogma. He explains as follows :\*

"All human exertions to better the social organization, must necessarily be bounded within certain limits. Something must be taken for granted, as the elements of all our reasoning in politics, as well as in other sciences. We cannot be permitted to construct ideas, which a fertile imagination has suggested, and which only approach toward being verified in part, because they cannot be verified universally.

"Let us suppose that all those who have succeeded in life, and who are placed in good circumstances, were to go among the poor and ignorant, open up all the secrets of their hearts, recount the whole train of circumstances which contributed to elevate their condition, I can conceive of nothing which, for the time being, would so much expand the bosoms of those who believed, either rightly or erroneously, that fortune had frowned upon them. But, first : the thing cannot be done. Such a fearless and unreserved revelation of one's whole thoughts and actions, can proceed from none but angels. Second : the exposition of so great an amount of infirmities as the revelation would disclose, and as would be shown to attend frequently the most enviable condition, would cause the vicious and the ignorant to hug vice and ignorance still closer. The greater part would become more bold and confident than ever, since there was no such broad mark of distinction, as had been imagined, between the highest and lowest condition. And one great

\* *Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions*, by Frederick Grimké. Cincinnati: 1848. page 52.

check to irregularities of conduct, would be removed. The counsellors and the counselled, in such an enterprise, are equally covered with all sorts of infirmities. And the true way to get rid of these, is to proceed upon the belief that they do not exist, or, at any rate, that they are only adventitious. In this way, every one will be nerved to a greater amount of exertion than would otherwise be the case. If those who are placed in what is termed low life, could penetrate the gaudy exterior of high life, they would find as little enjoyment as in their own humble sphere. Wealth creates full as many disquietudes as it heals. Fortunately, they are unable to lift the veil; for then, perhaps, all human exertions would speedily come to an end.

"It may then be enquired, why do legislators constantly inculcate the maxim, that all men are equal. And the answer is plain: First. Because to teach and to act upon it is the only way of attaining equality, to the extent to which it is actually attained. Second. Because it is not in the power of government to make anything like an accurate discrimination between the inequalities of different men; and the attempt to do so, would be to encroach upon those points in which there is no inequality. Third. Because the principle of equality may very well be recognised as the rule among men as citizens—as members of a political community—although, as individuals, there may be great and numerous inequalities between them. The utmost which the citizen can demand, is that no law shall be passed to obstruct his rise, and to impede his progress through life. He has, then, an even chance with all his fellows. If he does not become their equal, his case is beyond the reach of society, and to complain, would be to quarrel with his own nature.

"It cannot be concealed that a difficulty now presents itself, which is entitled to particular attention. Here are two sets of ideas which do not *quadrature* with each other: equality proclaimed by the laws, and inequality in fact. And as, notwithstanding the artificial distinctions which we may make between the individual and the citizen, the former may be disposed to carry all his prejudices, narrow views and selfish interests, into the arena of politics, it might be supposed that a sense of discord would be introduced, which, after lasting for a given period, must terminate in the ascendancy of one or other of these rival principles. Hence, the misgivings of many persons, otherwise possessing good sense and reflection in an eminent degree. If they do not believe, they at any rate doubt, whether the undisguised recognition, of the principle of equality in America, is not destined to take entire possession of society, and ultimately to level the whole fabric of its institutions. The masses are put in possession of the same privileges as the educated and the wealthy; and, in the event of a struggle between the two orders, will not numbers be sure to gain the advantage.

"But the principle of equality is itself the parent of another principle, which sets bounds to it, and limits its operation in practice. The same laws which declare that all men are equal, give unbounded scope to the enterprise and industry of all. Neither family, nor rank, confer any peculiar advantages in running the career which is now opened. In many respects, they even throw obstacles in the way. Men, without

education, with ordinary faculties, and who commenced life with little or nothing, are continually emerging from obscurity, and displacing those who have acquired fortunes by inheritance. They constitute, emphatically, the class of the rich in the United States. It is the principle of equality there, which introduces all the inequality which is established in that country. The effects are visible to every one, and are understood and appreciated by the most ignorant men. Every one is a witness to the miracles which industry and common sagacity produce. No one distrusts himself; no one can perceive those minute shades of character and disposition, which determine the destiny of some individuals, making some rich, and leaving others poor. All place an equal reliance upon their own efforts to carve out their fortunes, until, at length, the period of life begins to shorten; when cool reflection and judgment take the place of the passions; and whether they have succeeded or failed, a new feeling comes over every one—a disposition to submit quietly to what is the inevitable, because it is the natural progress of things.

“Thus, as it is impossible, among millions, to say who, in running the career of wisdom, influence or wealth, will attain the goal, government very rightly establishes the broad and indiscriminate rules of equality, and the very means which it makes use of to effect this object, obliterates all artificial distinctions, and brings out in bolder relief, all the natural inequalities of men. And as a large proportion of the envious are constantly rising into the ranks of the envied, a powerful check is imposed upon the revolutionary tendencies of the former. They cannot reach, nor after reaching, will they be able to enjoy, that which is the constant aim of all their efforts, without lending an earnest and vigorous support to the laws under which they live. And in this way, free institutions are saved from shipwreck, by the thorough and undisguised adoption of a principle which seemed calculated to produce precisely opposite effects.”

If the mass of the people in this country, who believe in the doctrine of equality, could only be brought to an understanding of the matter, such as the above long quotation unfolds, it would be fortunate for society. But we very much fear they would, even with these views, confound equality with liberty, and fall into the error which Mr. Calhoun so justly exposes. Nor will the mass of mankind ever be brought to comprehend the philosophy of declaring equality for the sake of inequality. And it may well be questioned, which will be accomplished first—the “quadrature” of the circle, to the satisfaction of mathematicians, or the “quadrature” of opposing laws and facts to the satisfaction of mankind. It would seem by far the wisest plan to content ourselves with exposing errors, and leaving their correction

to the sure operations of civilized society ; for it is there, at last, that even government itself must seek refuge from false doctrines and heresy. If we are unequal, let not the laws offend our understanding, by telling us that we are equal. Let them protect us and our property as they find us ; they have nothing else to care for. Protect our person and our property ; our *position* among men will protect itself. And inequality of condition, means simply difference in position. This brings us to the consideration of the self-sustaining power of society, which will now be explained.

Society, as has already been stated, is founded in the nature of man, and it is out of society that not only government, but all the principles of justice, morality and virtue, spring. It is utterly impossible to bring together a number of men, and associate them under any circumstances, without there immediately appearing a standard of conduct ; common lines of discrimination between excellence and mediocrity, and pure deficiency ; a general understanding that this is good, and that is bad ; this is admirable, that execrable. Nor is this all. The sentiment soon prevails, that their common good should be their common aim. Virtue and talents will be deemed good and excellent, wealth will be admirable. Each of these will be sure to give influence, ease and contentment ; and the possessors can never fail to appreciate their value. The most beautiful and sacred emotion of our carnal nature, now prompts us to secure these to those frail and helpless beings whom we have brought into the arena of earthly turmoil—our children. And thus is the main spring of progress set. Great as is the amount of avarice and ambition, in the grand category of motives to human exertion, the search after wealth, and the thirst for distinction, which constitute the right and left arms of civilization, spring more frequently from a desire to bequeath blessings to our offspring, than from a lust for our own aggrandizement. The result of this is, that virtue, talent and wealth will create for themselves a degree of influence and power in society, which government can neither bestow nor prevent ; and this will continue so long as man is mortal. From this evident fact, it appears that there must ever be an ex-

tent to which human affairs may be safely conducted by society alone, unaided by government. It was too magnified a view of this simple truth, which caused Rousseau to exclaim :

“Love your country. Sink the personal existence of individuals in the existence of the community. Make little account of the particular men of whom the society consists, but aim at the general wealth, prosperity and glory. Purify your mind from the gross ideas of sense, and elevate it to the single contemplation of that abstract individual of which particular men are so many detached members, valuable only for the place they fill.”

And it was owing to a total disregard of it, that another declared :

“Society is an ideal existence, and not on its own account, entitled to the smallest regard. The wealth, prosperity and glory of the whole, are unintelligible chimeras. Set no value on any thing, but in proportion as you are convinced of its tendency to make individual men happy and virtuous—benefit, by every practical mode, man wherever he exists ; but be not deceived by the specious idea of affording services to a body of men, for which no individual man is the better. Society was instituted, not for the sake of glory, not to furnish splendid materials for the page of history, but for the benefit of its members. The love of our country, if we would speak accurately, is another of those specious illusions, which have been invented by impostors, in order to render the multitude the blind instruments of their crooked designs.”

A calm and dispassionate view, however, of human affairs, will readily expose the morbid proclivity of those who advance either of these extreme absurdities, and satisfy all that society is the great preservative of human existence, and *too much government* the very Pandora's box, arraying hosts of enemies against all advancement. The uselessness of such laws as declare white to be black, when every body knows white is not black, and the great utility of government's limiting its operations to those matters which society, unaided, cannot so easily control, will require but little argument for their vindication. The first suggestion which offers itself, is that society is the *primary*, government only the *secondary* principle of human economy. The latter is designed to do no more than that which society needs an

agent to execute. Society can effectually frown down pugilists and bullies, but the hangman, sustained by the strong arm of government, is required to execute the murderer. Society can regulate the common interests and domestic relations of life, and the interposition of government is needed only to impart vigour to operations of a more formidable nature. And, to say this, does in no way tend to undervalue the importance of government. The secondary and primary principles are equally indispensable, but it is highly essential that they should be confined to their proper functions. A distinguished writer of the last century truly observes :\*

“Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landholder, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman and every occupation, prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns and forms their laws; and the laws which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of government. In fine, society performs for itself almost every thing which is ascribed to government.

“To understand the nature and quantity of government proper for man, it is necessary to attend to his character. As nature created him for social life, she fitted him for the station she intended. In all cases she made his natural wants greater than his individual powers. No one man is capable, without the aid of society, of supplying his own wants; and those wants, acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society, as naturally as gravitation acts to a centre.

“But she has gone further. She has not only forced man into society by a diversity of wants, which the reciprocal aid of each other can supply, but she has implanted in him a system of social affections, which, though not necessary to his existence, are essential to his happiness. There is no period in life when this love for society ceases to act. It begins and ends with our being.

“If we examine, with attention, into the composition and constitution of man, the diversity of his wants, and the diversity of talents in different men for reciprocally accommodating the wants of each other, his propensity to society, and consequently to preserve the advantages resulting from it, we shall easily discover that a great part of what is called government is mere imposition.

\* *Rights of Man*; by Thomas Paine. Philadelphia: 1791. Part ii., p. 16.

"Government is no further necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to shew, that every thing which government can usefully add thereto, has been performed by the common consent of society, without government. If we consider what the principles are that first condense men into society, and what the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other."

"Formal government makes but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilization—to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained—to the unceasing circulation of interest, which, passing through its million channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilized man—it is to these things, infinitely more than to any thing which even the best instituted government can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depend."

Instances of the self-sustaining power of society are to be found on every page of history. There, we read of nations sunk into the profoundest labyrinths of strife, anarchy and confusion; while, to the superficial eye, society, with all its blessings, seems utterly lost and strangled in the thorny maze. But, look beneath this troubled surface, and we discover order where we looked for disorder; we find industry where we expected nothing but rapine; we see virtue struggling for her crown, and, in good time, obtaining it. Society emerges from the terrific maelstrom with all her features preserved and her head erect. And no thanks to government for this—it occurs where there is no government. It springs from that natural pliancy and singular aptness in mankind, which adapts society to the circumstances which surround it.

During successive generations the death struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, "the war of the Roses," was the curse of England. Government was but another name for civil war. If one rose was red, it was but emblematic of the blood which flowed for its emolument; and, as the other was white, it but told of the bones that bleached on many a fatal field. Between the two, there was neither peace nor safety. Society was indeed harassed; but had it



not been for *her* good offices, who can say where the wretched progress of events would have found a termination? And whence did support and consolation flow in those tumultuous times, but from the conservative influences which society exerted over the frugal and patient *people*? And what finally brought all England to her senses, and cast such a charm around the marriage of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York—one man and woman—but the stern demand of society that *there should be peace*? The disgusting process of the several French revolutions and massacres, with the attendant horrors of the Reign of Terror and the Age of Reason, affords but a melancholy instance of the depth of vice, to which scarcely any but a French society, bewildered with chimeras always, could ever descend. If every ligament of the social body seemed for a time to be annihilated, it is certain that the morals of the Parisian *canaille* were no worse under the Robespertian sway, than they were, ages before, under the ruthless government of the fair daughter of the Medici. And who will deny that the demand of society for *peace, order and tranquillity*, is, at this moment, the only prop of the Empire? But our own country presents a better and more familiar instance. For years, during the early part of the Revolution, the pretension to government was but nominal throughout America. The colonial systems had died a natural death, and men were too busy with the vindication of their liberty to engage in the institution of permanent government. The Congress had, in fact, but mock authority. The utmost it could do was to *recommend* what a stable government would have ordered; yet no power on earth was ever more faithfully obeyed than this same Congress. The cause of this was found not only in the necessities, but in the demands of society. It is truly questionable whether a community was ever in a similar predicament before; yet it is certain no people ever so happily delivered themselves from the grandest of dilemmas, and that, too, without a government worthy the name. And, if reference to this particular state is admissible here, we may be pardoned for saying, that, what with Whigs and Tories, English Cavaliers and French Huguenots, Irish towns and

Dutch forks, Carolina has, in the course of her career, been more sorely pressed, for the need of government, than can be well conceived; yet the result of the exertions of her *society* has been, what we hope to prove it is, the most perfect system of the kind that the world has yet looked upon.

But, capable as society is to sustain itself in the ordinary routine of events, and notwithstanding the latitude she allows to individuals, there are occasions when private judgment and individual liberty must be superseded for the public good. There must ever exist a necessity of restraint over individuals, as is already stated, owing to the impossibility of *self-government*. Society can only impose a part of this restraint; it is for government to do the rest. Hence the remark of the author of "Common Sense:"\*—"Society and government are different in themselves, and have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness. Society is in every state a blessing; government, even in its best state, but a necessary evil."

There is a consideration consequent upon this, which is of the highest importance in the science of government, viz:—Since government is the *resultant* of the social condition, and since it is produced by our wickedness, (taking for the present this view of the subject,) it follows that it should not be the same for every people. For, unless all mankind are equally advanced in social improvement, and equally wicked, the several systems which spring out of these causes must, of necessity, be different. And this is singularly verified by the world's history, which establishes that no two distinct governments ever existed which were the same in all their departments. We see, in one country, complete despotism; in another, mixed monarchy; in another, good republicanism; and in another, unbridled democracy; and who is competent to say that the one is not as well adapted to the condition of its subjects as the other? The serfdom of Russia is not more repugnant to the sober republican, than the wild democracy of the deluded Frenchman;—while the substantial liberty of an Englishman, or an American, is

\* Thomas Paine.

utterly incomprehensible to either Russians or Frenchmen. And it would be obviously absurd to attempt, either by dint of logic to prove, or by dogmatism to assert, that one of these peoples enjoy less individual happiness than another. It is not in the power of man to determine truly which is actually the *happiest*, the Russian Serf, the Queen of England, the President of the United States, or an inhabitant of the Feegee Islands. It would be a slur, which we would be sorry to cast upon the wisdom and mercy of the God of all, to say that this or that nation, among all his people, alone is blessed with happiness. And as this would be a daring piece of presumption, to discriminate in the matter would be equally offensive to good taste and reason. Let man rest content with the reasonable effort to civilize and christianize his fellow; by this means he may refine the rough jewel and polish the hard stone. Besides, time may be much more profitably spent, than in setting up a series of standards for the estimation of the happiness of people who neither know nor care about us.

The very gradual or cumulative nature of those events which bring governments into being, is sufficient to demonstrate not only the possibility, but actual necessity, of differences in the forms of government. And the history of our own little State is no mean illustration of this. What with her fundamental constitutions, her proprietary, royal, professional, revolutionary and republican governments and constitutions, to say nothing of subsequent amendments, statutes, resolutions and conventions, who can deny that she is what she is, whether in good or evil report, not by the design of man, but "by the blessing of God?"

"Forms of government," says Dr. Ferguson,\* "are supposed to decide of the happiness or misery of mankind. But they must be varied, in order to suit the extent, the way of subsistence, the character and the manners of different nations. In some cases the multitude may be suffered to govern themselves; in others, they must be severely restrained. The inhabitants of a village, in some primitive age, may have been safely entrusted to the conduct of reason, and to the suggestion of their innocent views; but the tenants of Newgate can scarcely be trusted,

\* Pages 122 and 204.

with chains locked to their bodies, and bars of iron fixed to their legs. How is it possible, therefore, to find any single form of government that would suit mankind in every condition ?”

“Mankind, in following the present sense of their minds, in striving to remove inconveniences, or to gain apparent and contiguous advantages, arrive at ends which even their imagination could not anticipate; and pass on, like other animals, in the tract of their nature, without perceiving its end. He who first said, ‘I will appropriate this field; I will leave it to my heirs;’ did not perceive that he was laying the foundation of civil laws and political establishments. He who first ranged himself under a leader, did not perceive that he was setting the example of a permanent subordination, under the pretence of which the rapacious were to seize his possessions, and the arrogant to lay claim to his service.

“Men, in general, are sufficiently disposed to occupy themselves in forming projects and schemes; but he who would scheme and project for others, will find an opponent in every person who is disposed to scheme for himself. Like the winds that come we know not whence, and blow whithersoever they list, the forms of society are derived from an obscure and distant origin; they arise, long before the date of philosophy, from the instincts, not from the speculations of men. The crowd of mankind are directed, in their establishments and measures, by the circumstances in which they are placed, and seldom are turned from their way, to follow the plan of any single projector.

“Every step and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future; and nations stumble upon establishments, which are, indeed, the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design. If Cromwell said that a man never mounts higher than when he knows not whither he is going, it may, with more reason, be affirmed of communities, that they admit of the greatest revolutions where no change is intended, and that the most refined politicians do not always know whither they are leading the state by their projects.

“If we listen to the testimony of modern history, and to that of the most authentic parts of the ancient; if we attend to the practice of nations in every quarter of the world, and in every condition, whether that of the barbarian or the polished, we shall find very little reason to retract this assertion. *No constitution is formed by concert, no government is copied from a plan.*

There is another reason why governments must be different for different peoples; we refer to the various circumstances of geographical position, climate, extent of territory, and a thousand other minor matters, which exert vast influence over the affairs of men. But, without further remark on this score, let us merely cite the case of the Chinese—as it is the most striking and most ancient—to show how wrong

it is to suppose that liberty is always indispensable to happiness, or that equality is essential to either.\*

"The Chinese Empire certainly presents to the eye both of the common observer and of the political reasoner, the most singular spectacle in the whole social history of our species. A territory of enormous extent, stretching fourteen hundred miles from east to west, and as many from north to south, peopled by above three hundred millions of persons, all living under one sovereign—preserving their customs for a period far beyond the beginning of authentic history elsewhere—civilized when Europe was sunk in barbarism—possessed many centuries before ourselves of the arts which we deem the principal triumphs of civilization, and even yet not equalled by the industry and enterprise of the West in the prodigious extent of their public works—with a huge wall one thousand five hundred miles in length, built two thousand years ago, and a canal of seven hundred, four centuries before any canal had ever been seen in Europe—the sight of such a country and such a nation is mightily calculated to fix the attention of the most careless observer, and to warm the fancy of the most indifferent. But there are yet more strange things unfolded in the same quarter to the eye of the political philosopher. All this vast empire under a single head, its countless myriads of people yielding an obedience so regular and so mechanical, that the government is exercised as if the control were over animals or masses of inert matter; the military force at the ruler's disposal so insignificant, that the mere physical pressure of the crowd must instantly destroy it, were the least resistance attempted; the people all this while not only not plunged in rude ignorance, but actually more generally possessed of knowledge to a certain extent, and more highly prizing it than any other nation in the world; the institutions of the country, established for much above five and twenty centuries, and never changing or varying during that vast period of time; the inhabitants, with all their refinement, and their early progress in knowledge and in the arts, never passing a certain low point, so that they exhibit the only instance in the history of our species of improvement being permanently arrested in its progress; the resources of this civilized state incalculable, yet not able to prevent two complete conquests by a horde of barbarians, or to chastise the piracies of a neighbouring island, or to subdue a petty tribe existing, troublesome and independent, in the centre of a monarchy which seems as if it could crush them by a single movement of its body; the police of the state all-powerful in certain directions, and in others so weak as habitually to give way for fear of being defeated; the policy of the state an unexampled mixture of wisdom and folly—profound views and superficial errors—patronage of art and of science, combined with prohibition of foreign improvements—encouragement of domestic industry, with exclusion of external commerce—promotion of inland manufacture and trade, without employing the precious metals as a medium of exchange—

\* Brongham's Political Philosophy. Vol. i., p. 162.

suffering perpetually from the population encroaching upon the means of subsistence, and yet systematically stimulating the increase of its numbers; removing every check which might mitigate the evil, and closing every outlet for the redundancy; finally, so unwieldy, anomalous, factitious a system of polity, enduring for so many ages, and for the last two centuries, in a state of the most profound and unbroken peace, without a foreign quarrel or a domestic convulsion, while all the rest of mankind have been laying waste the earth with their conflicts, and changing the face of society by sudden revolutions—such are the marvels which Chinese history presents to the contemplation of the inquiring mind; and as truth often times is more strange than fiction itself, the various contradictions with which these things are found to abound, when closely and calmly examined, are much more wonderful than the exaggerated accounts of Chinese refinement and perfection, which for so long a period appear to have been believed unsifted by the remote nations of Europe.”

The government of this vast empire is a supreme despotism, and though it has no power to make progress and improve, it nevertheless, so long as it observes the fixed prejudices of the people, is quite able to grind and oppress them. But, in spite of this, the amount of happiness is undoubtedly as great among those myriads as usually falls to the lot of humanity.

“If we were to form an estimate of the degree of happiness enjoyed by the people under this system from the mere probabilities of the case, we should, in all likelihood, pitch it considerably lower than the truth. That great oppression prevails is certain, but those who are subject to it are chiefly the persons in some authority, or, at least, of some condition; and the character of the Chinese is so much composed of vanity and love of distinction that all employment is eagerly sought after, notwithstanding the risks which attend its enjoyment. The disposition of the inhabitants is not only peaceable—it is contented in the greatest degree; nay, their gaiety is described by all who have had intercourse with them as a very striking characteristic of their mind. They are industrious also and sober in a remarkable degree; and, indeed, a frugal disposition seems necessary to make life at all comfortable in a country where the numbers of the people encroach so much on the means of subsistence that food wholly rejected in other countries is eagerly sought after there.”

Nor is it of trifling import to this very subject, of the adaptation of a government to the condition and wants of a people, to remember that the China-man sits as complacently over his dish of rats, as the Frenchman over his frogs, the Englishman over his plum pudding, or the Yankee over his

dish of greens. Life is made up of an endless string of small matters, and, if these are agreeable, they constitute happiness. Now, why should not the digestion of a rat so-lace the China-man as well as the mincing of a fricaseed toad the dainty Frank?

It follows, as a natural consequence, that, since government springs out of society, and is moulded in its various forms by causes peculiar to each community, it must be forever essentially and emphatically *a result*. The instrumentality of mankind in its formation, may be said to be entirely involuntary. And no more forcible illustration of this can be found, than that presented in the germination of the present European systems. Emigration and conquest have generally been the beginnings. First came the Goths across the Danube; followed by the Franks into Gaul, and the Vandals through Germany; then, at a later period, the Huns overran the Goths and forced them further southward; and it remained for the Turks to supersede the Huns. The Vandals, after ravaging Africa, were succeeded by the Moors. The Britons were overrun by the Saxons, and they, in turn, were subdued by the Normans. All these excursions were for plunder; yet they laid the foundation of the grand connecting system between ancient and modern Europe—the feudal system. The whole conglomeration of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, Burgundians, Lombards and Franks, Huns, Moors and Turks, were but hordes of desperate barbarians, incited to pillage by rude but heroic leaders. Their chief spoil was the *land* they seized upon. The great chiefs parcellled this out, to their prominent accomplices, in feud. The conditional tenure thus obtained gradually became hereditary; and from this a landed aristocracy sprang up, which, of course, was also hereditary. Thus originated the system of nobility: so perfectly unknown elsewhere. The nobles, with their lands, under such men as Clovis and Charlemagne, were consolidated into kingdoms, in which the mixed principles of monarchy and aristocracy were blended. This mixture of principle, stimulated, it is true, by the strong passions of the age, and tempered by the civilizing influence of chivalry, brought forward the spirit of compromise, and laid the

corner-stone of what is now called *constitutions*. Thus, step by step, the several governments were formed; neither by the design nor with the hearty approbation of those who formed them. The history of England, after the Norman conquest, is a familiar epitome of the progress of all Europe toward the thorough establishment of government on intelligible principles, and the gradual settling down of society into its present advanced state. But the most remarkable instance of the involuntary formation of government is to be found in our own history. Eighty years ago and no man dreamed of an American Union of independent States; yet, in ten years after, the thing was accomplished. If the theorist had set himself down to reason out a case, and to describe an assemblage of discordant elements, wherewith to experiment upon the possibility of perpetuating anarchy, he could never have come nearer his mark than by adverting to the people of America. In the thirteen colonies were assembled English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes—to say nothing of Africans and Indians. In these were collected, and at a bigoted period too, Roman Catholics and Protestants, Cavaliers and Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, Jews, Heathens and Idolaters—speaking a variety of languages, and with little similarity, either in manners, habits or ideas of government. With nothing in common but *interest*, who would have ventured to foretell the result? Yet, by reducing the principles of government as nearly as possible to those of society, and acting up to the teachings of common sense—regarding present exigencies, and not fanciful traditions—a system was established which no sagacity could ever have devised, and mere logic could never have thrust upon the people. The system was the result of events and circumstances which human power could neither have averted nor controlled.

That individual men have some voluntary agency in the formation of certain systems, is admitted; but this is limited to but a contracted area. The imperceptible march of events guided by the public sentiment of society, effects much more for man than his vanity is willing to believe. The most that can be accomplished by arbitrary convention is of a decla-



ratory nature. Men naturally wish to pursue their usual avocations, and enjoy the fruits of their industry and the profits of their estates in security and with economy. How they can best accomplish this, is seldom a matter of choice. The best mode always exists; it remains for the good sense of men to *discover*, not create it. The discovery of this mode is, for the most part, the work of society, aided by time; and all the acts of government—we mean *good* government—are merely declaratory of this. Hence it is impossible to fix upon any form of government as the best, since that alone can be the best which declares this mode; and this again must vary with varying circumstances, different peoples and progressive ages.

Writers, during the last hundred years, have been particularly fond of denouncing every government which is not essentially popular. But, just as this denunciation may be, with respect to some communities, it is certainly out of place with regard to others. It does well enough for *Americans* to denounce monarchy, for that system would be intolerable to *them*; but, may we not doubt whether republicanism would not be a fatal experiment with certain European states when we have the modern history of France before our eyes? We beg not to be considered an apologist for monarchy; we are simply the advocate of moderation and caution, and have more than once been struck by Mr. Jefferson's scathing paragraph in his letter to Governor Langdon,\* in which he says:

"When I observed, however, that the King of England was a cypher, I did not mean to confine the observation to the mere individual now on that throne. The practice of Kings marrying only into the families of Kings, has been that of Europe, for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a sty, a stable, or a state room, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let every thing bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations, they become all body and no mind: and this, too, by a law of nature, by that very law by which we are in the constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regimen in raising

\* Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 147.

kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries. While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool; and of Naples, the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederick, was a mere hog in body, as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy; and George of England, you know, was in a strait jacket. There remained, then, none but old Catherine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state, Bonaparte found Europe; and it was this state of its rulers which lost it with scarce a struggle. These animals had become without mind, and powerless; and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. Alexander, the grandson of Catherine, is as yet an exception. He is able to hold his own. But he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet run out. And so endeth the book of Kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true, in his holy keeping."

We shall resume this subject in other pages.

E. B. B.

---

### ART. III.—AFRICANS AT HOME.

*Abtégé des Voyages.* Par MONS. DE LA HARPE. Paris : 1780.

*Ashantee.* By JOHN BEECHAM. London: 1841.

THE condition of the African race, for some years past has occupied such a degree of popular attention as to have been the source of great misunderstandings, many misrepresentations, violent hostilities, unwise and immature legislation, and a vast quantity of insane philanthropy, all of which, we fear, will result in very little profit to that peculiar people. To contribute to the better understanding of the subject, we have undertaken, in this article, to give a rapid but faithful sketch of the present wretched condition of the Af-

rican, and to show that this condition has continued substantially, if not literally, the same, for the last three hundred years, and as far back as we have any accounts of this peculiar people.

We know nothing of Africa, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, save of Egypt, Nubia, and the parts bordering upon the Mediterranean. The interior was then too barbarous and insignificant to invite curiosity, cupidity or conquest. From the *Periplus of Hanno*, the celebrated Carthaginian navigator, we have only a coasting voyage, as the word implies, from Gibraltar to Cape Bojador, beyond the Senegal, on the coast of Guinea; and the impression then entertained, of the savage and degraded character of the inhabitants, is to be inferred from the fact that they are supposed to have caught Ourang Outangs, or a species of monkey, whom they took for the women of the country, and having flayed them, brought their skins back to Carthage, where they were deposited with the other curiosities, and an account of the voyage, in the Temple of Juno, which was their Museum. This account being read by Aristotle, it is supposed that he influenced his scholar, Alexander, to contemplate the circumnavigation of Africa; which, however, was not effected. At a subsequent period, the Arabian geographers seem to have entertained but vague and conjectural ideas of that region. No one, in those days, ever seems to have contemplated an examination of the interior. Even the Portuguese did not attempt it after they had made their settlements. It was left for the enterprise of a Park and his subsequent followers, in modern times.

But, long before the time of Park, the enterprise of Portugal had made the first lodgement on the coast of Africa, and set the example of that coasting trade with that continent, which has been, more or less, ever since in the hands of the Dutch, the English, the Spanish and the American Nations. Yet, with all their factories, their posts, their forts and their castles, they have been able to penetrate but a small distance from that sickly and densely wooded coast, and we have advanced but very little way in the extent of our knowledge of Africa since the cry of Gama, in 1498,

*"Bonnes nouvelles, bonnes nouvelles, des rubies, des émeraudes, des épices, des pierreries, toutes les richesses de l'univers"*—instigated that enterprise and passion for gold, new countries, new lands and new homes, which has scarcely yet lost any of its vigour and activity. Wondrous changes this passion has produced and is still producing! Where will it stop? He only that can look into futurity may answer, and without asking aid from "celestial telegraphs."

But has this great move—this world's progress—redounded nothing to the profit of poor doomed, dark, night-covered Africa? Was she merely intended by Divine Providence to afford the means of working out the civilization and the exaltation of all other countries, and of all other races but her own? We think not. But God has his own ways of working out his will; and man in vain may think to amend his decrees, or set them at defiance. Do those who believe in the Bible, dare to disown that Providence which acknowledges some favoured races, and places curses and trials upon others? Why is it so? When we are as wise as Deity itself, then may we say why there shall be rich and poor, sick and healthy, strong and weak, the beautiful and the ugly, the Apollo and Caliban, a Washington and a Jonathan Wild, a Napoleon and an idiot, the robber and the honest labourer—in short, happiness and misery! Why the wealth and superabundance of the one, and the toilsome, loathsome labour of the other, in the service of the rich—a labour which yields no stores, but affords merely the wretched means of staving off starvation from the destitute and his numerous family of suffering children?

There is a Law on the subject, and that law has been given man by his Maker from above. The violation of that law, though we may not see why it should be so, or believe it the origin of these inequalities, is the true source of all the misery and of all inequality on earth. Not that virtue is always rewarded among men; for we are not told of recompense, but duty. Reward is not for us to challenge and demand—only obedience is ours. Enough that the violator of God's laws takes heed; for it is visited upon the heads of generations untold. And let no man point his finger to heaven and

say "it is there done; it is He that did it;" for the evil is the result of his own folly or misdeeds, of his neglect of that self-restraint and that forbearance, which heaven exacts as the price of our happiness and advancement while on earth. What is true of one man, may be true of a family; and what is true of a family, may be true of nations—the mere aggregate of families. Terrible are the judgments of heaven. Inscrutable the ways of Providence; and whole nations are made to bear the penalties, through long ages, of the violations of law which they simply sanction.

While the rest of the world has made such rapid strides in the advancement of the condition of its inhabitants, it becomes an interesting inquiry, if Africa has made any, and to what degree? In this article we propose to take a condensed view of her condition, from the period of the Portuguese discoveries to the present day. For this purpose we have placed at the head of this article La Harpe's collection of old voyages, and the recent work by John Beecham, of the London Wesleyan Mission, the very last that has fallen under our observation. These are acknowledged authorities, which should suffice for our purpose. In a future number, should leisure and inclination serve, we propose to give a similar sketch of the condition of such Africans as have been removed from their original home, and now exist in other countries, either in a state of freedom or of bondage. We think that we can show that no part of the race has been so advanced in morals and happiness as that portion which has been expatriated; and that the part which most excels in all that makes approach to civilization, is that which remains in slavery in the Southern States of this Union.

Snelgrave gives the following myth, as commonly believed on the Gold Coast, as the history of the origin of the African race. It will be seen, hereafter, that the same tradition substantially exists to this day among this people.

The three sons of Noah, being each of a different colour, met, after the death of their father, to make partition of his goods and chattels; that is to say, of the gold, of the silver, of the precious stones, of the ivory, of the linen, of the stuffs of silk and cotton, of the horses, of the camels, of the beeves,

the cows, the sheep, the goats and other animals, not to speak of arms, of furniture, of grain, tobacco and pipes. But he that was white, not caring for sleep, arose so soon as he saw the two others buried in its embrace, and seizing upon the gold, the silver, and the most precious effects, fled with them for the country now inhabited by the Europeans. The Moor, upon awaking, perceived the larceny, and determined, on the spot, to follow the bad example. He appropriated the tapestries, with the other movables, placed them upon the backs of the horses and camels, and made off, in like manner, with the white. The Negro, who had the misfortune to be the last to awaken, was confounded at the treachery of his brothers. There remained to him but two pieces of cotton goods, some pipes, a little tobacco and the millet. After abandoning himself for a while to his grief, he took a pipe and thought no more of pursuit or vengeance; but, at the same time, resolved, as the best means of reprisal, to lose no occasion for stealing, in his turn. This resolution he never failed to keep so long as he lived, and his example has become the rule for his posterity; and, therefore, to this day, he has continued the same practice.—(*Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 137.)

Could Theophrastus or La Bruyere have sketched a picture of life more characteristic, or by any process exhibit more clearly and briefly the difference of races? How well is the vigilant, active white man, contrasted with the drowsy, slothful black man, while the copper-coloured race holds the intermediate ground between them. As the monkeys with them are also great thieves, the negroes believe them to be something of their own kind, of a race damned, and who could talk, no doubt, if their malignity did not tie up their tongues. One species, says Bosman, they call "*petits hommes barbut, ou de monkeys*, which signifies *petits moines* (little monks). Their skins are used for *fetische*." Park, speaking of the Mandingoes, says—"three-fourths of the negroes are slaves, without any hope of ever ceasing to be otherwise."—(*Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 31, p. 16.) This concurs with the earliest account of them. They will rejoice, say

travellers, in the midst of death, and if they saw their country in flames they would not cease their dance or song. They are not capable of any sentiment of humanity or affection. Scarcely would one of them take the trouble to give another a drink of water if he were dying and asked for it. Their wives and children are the first to abandon them on such occasions. There are many negroes, we are told, who profess to believe in two gods; the one *white*, whom they call *Jangu-mon*, or the good man. They regard him as the special god of the Europeans. The other *black*, whom they call, after the Portuguese, *demonio* or devil, and whom they believe to be very bad, taking pleasure only in doing evil. They tremble at his name. He is their evil genius, a sort of Manicheism of good and evil!

Their ideas of creation are that God made the whites and the blacks, and that, after he had considered his work, he made them two presents, to wit: gold and the knowledge of the arts. The negroes having the first liberty of choosing, decided for the gold, and left to the whites the arts and the knowledge of writing and reading. God, they say, assented to the choice, but irritated at the folly and avarice of the blacks, declared that they should be forever the slaves of the whites. "This fable," says the author, "has more of good sense than that we have just reported of the division between the three brothers, and would do honour to the most enlightened people."—(*Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 155.)

The word *Feitisso*, or Fetiche, or Fetish, is Portuguese in origin, and signifies *charm* or amulet. In African, it is *Bossum* or *Bosum*, which means God. A chicken, a fish-bone, a stone, a feather, the skull of a monkey, the least *bagatelle*, becomes a Fetiche. Every negro has one upon his person, in his canoe, or in his cabin, and it passes as an heritage. They buy them at high prices from their priests. They are affixed to their doors, as a security to their houses against the intrusion of the devil and his imps, and against witchcraft. So, we have seen among superstitious negroes in America, old horse shoes nailed over doors with the same object. They have their public and private fetiches. They some-

times become national deities. It is felony to kill a fetiche fish or bird, insect or reptile.

Left to themselves in infancy, they abandon themselves to continued idleness. Neglected by their families, they run in troops about the fields, or in their public places, and roll about and wallow in the dirt and mud like so many pigs. No connections, no relations in life, are sacred, or even respected. Neither that of father, nor mother, nor parent, nor child, nor husband, nor any other, beyond the authority which the king has over all, and the noble over his wives and slaves, and the man generally over the woman. Blood, as wine with us, is their favourite and most honoured drink. To inflict a wound, or even death, is an imperial luxury, and reserved for the nobility and princes. A common practice of the African, is to place his knees upon the breast of a captured enemy, and, after a gash with a knife, to tear out the lower jaw-bone while the victim is yet alive, and to suffer him thus to linger and die. An inhabitant of Commodo assured Barbot, that he himself had treated thus *thirty-three* men in one battle; and he dwelt with satanic pleasure upon the horrid mode in which he performed the operation. It was delightful to recount. They cut open pregnant women, and tear out the infants from their wombs. The child they crush to death by beating it with the head of its mother. They inflict mortal wounds upon inoffending people, in the wildest caprice, and catch the blood as it runs or spirts from the wound, and drink it in the presence of the victim, while yet alive and suffering. If they have no enemy upon whom they can thus indulge their diabolical passions, they turn their rage upon their own subjects, or even their own families. While Bosman paid a visit to a prince or king, named Auta, on the Gold Coast, amidst their amusements, a negro having touched a part of the dress of one of the king's wives, he killed him and took a long draught of his blood. A little before this performance, for a mere trifle, he cut off the hand of one of his wives, and, the better to enjoy his cruelty, made her comb his head with the other hand and dress his hair. They hate each other to such a degree that their battles are simple butcheries; and those



that survive, having no other mode left for glutting their vengeance, surfeit themselves by feasting upon the flesh of their dead enemies, and taking their skulls and jaw-bones to ornament their drums and portals, if such a word can be applied in connection with the dog-kennels which they inhabit. They have but one kind of industry—they are all *chevaliers d'industrie*. They all pick and steal, according to the obligation of the legend.

When the Portuguese settled on the African coast, the use of maize, or Indian corn, was not known to them. It was introduced, says La Harpe, on the Gold Coast by the Portuguese, from the Island of St. Thomas.—(*Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 151.) It has multiplied and is now one of their greatest blessings. It was spread all over the country in Snelgrave's time. The Portuguese called it *milho-grande*, or large millet; the Italians, *Turkey corn*; and the French, *Spanish corn*. The true millet, is the Portuguese *milho-piqueno*, or little millet; and this word *piqueno* is that from whence our negroes in America call their little children *pickaninny*. So their expression, "*me no sabby*," (I do not know,) is from the Spanish, "*yo no saber*." In this country the men have *wool* and the sheep *hair*. They have herds of wives, and Bosman saw a negro who boasted of having more than two hundred. Another, with a sigh, complained that he had but seventy, having lost an equal number. But we will see, by and bye, that others had them by thousands. Armies are actually raised, composed entirely of sons, and sons and slaves. Sometimes a family is composed of two thousand members, not counting daughters, besides the dead. Their riches consist in the multitude of their wives and children. Reserving a few of the elder males, the rest of the children are sold as slaves. A common habit is to emasculate them in part, to diminish the breed and save food. The king of the small country of Juida alone, sold one thousand slaves in open market every month.—(p. 239.) Upon the death of the father, the eldest son inherits all his wives, whom he immediately receives as his own wives, his mother alone being excepted. She becomes, herself, a mistress, and is entitled to a separate house. Gaming is their great passion.

They will bet all they possess, and, after losing all their property, will bet their wives, their children, and finish even with themselves. They consider the white man's God too much elevated above them to be occupied with their wants, and that, therefore, he has entrusted them to the government of the *Fetiche*.—(p. 242.) Having some idea of the white man's God, they still think that their lot is to serve the devil; and they do so most ambitiously.

A serpent constitutes one of their greatest Fetiches. Temples are built in his honour. Should black or white happen to kill him, though by accident or mistake, the whole nation is enraged; and, if the offender be a negro, he is killed on the spot. If a white man, he escapes their fury only at the cost of a round penalty in money. Should the serpent take possession of your bed, you must give it up to him. So, also, of your table, though your dinner be upon it. Whole droves of hogs are knocked on the head as criminals, should they happen to eat up one of these reptile deities. At Sabi, they maintain the *Cathedral Temple* to this Serpent God; and the father, the fattest and largest of snakes, enjoys that distinction. The negro priests manage to turn a profitable penny by penances exacted of the superstitious; and tricks are played by them that might astonish even the Misses Fox, and other notable rapping geniuses of our times. We recommend to these geniuses particularly to read the full details given to us by our author, (in order to the improvement of their own arts,) to be found in *Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 255. Those who are initiated in the priesthood, are threatened with death if they reveal the secrets of their art and mysteries. A funny case of detection is mentioned, which the reader must look for in the original. The terror of the people, and a discreet fear of injuries which may be inflicted by him, gives to the high priest a power equal to that of their kings. He, too, has his table-turnings; spiritual rappings, celestial telegraphs, and a sufficiently credulous circle of believing citizens. Frequently, applications are made to the Fetiches for counsel or aid in emergencies. A present of *rum* and gold dust is very conciliatory. The priest, after a time, is wrought upon like a sibyl: shakes

with fury and foams at the mouth ; growls like a tiger and asks for *rum*. "The spirit then begins to influence," and the developments follow the rum. To administer *adum* or the oath, liquor is the most valued mode of trial.—(*Beecham*, p. 220.)

All these things occur on the Slave Coast. The kings keep pens or prisons, called by the French "*captiveries*," in which all their slaves for market are placed. Should the supply be deficient, they do not hesitate to sell their wives, and put upon them the mark of the company that becomes the purchaser. To complete a cargo, in 1693, Philips says, the king sold three or four hundred of his wives, and seemed much pleased with his bargain. At the least disgust, says Bosman, the king will sell eighteen or twenty of his wives ; but that, he says, cannot diminish the number ; for he has three principal captains, whose only office is to fill up the vacancies. As still, in some parts of civilized Europe, each family considers it an honour to yield a daughter to the pleasures of their master. Women, however, sometimes commit suicide to escape it, and prefer death to such a wretched sacrifice.

After the death of a king, for four or five days, every thing is abandoned to misrule and slaughter. Without slaughter and bloodshed, there can be neither honour nor amusement to an African. Persons found in the streets on these occasions are robbed and slain. The High Priest selects eight of the principal wives and buries them alive with the corpse. After this special sacrifice of the women, men, in unlimited numbers, are also immolated.

Upon the death of the King of Benin, a large ditch was dug, into which was thrown his body. A number of domestics, of both sexes, were covered over *alive* with the dead body. For some days after a trap-door, or covering, was raised to inquire of the king ; and, upon the least cry of suffering, the hole was again closed. The same thing was repeated, day by day, until all sound had ceased to issue from the cavern. The ditch being finally closed, the new king is proclaimed, and the night is filled with disorder. Men, beasts, every thing found in the streets, are killed and thrown

upon the sepulchral fosse. "What frightful customs," says the author! "It seems that under this burning sun the heads of men are agitated with a sanguinary delirium, and that these savages feel a frightful proclivity to crime, superstition and blood. Such is man in a state of nature, much below the tiger and the monkey, until their reason is cultivated." Too lazy, they have no taste for work, and put it all upon the women and slaves. Utterly uncivilized and debased, how can they begin to improve? If, in two thousand years and upwards, they have made no progress, how much will they make in two hundred thousand? We are not rejoicing over the enumeration of their degradations. We are calmly and fairly dissecting and exposing their nature, as it is found in a state which a stupid philanthropy still professes to prefer as a state of freedom!

The people of Benin think there is no use in worshipping God, for he is obliged to be good; but the devil, being an evil spirit, capable of doing them harm, it is necessary to appease him by prayers and sacrifices. Somewhat upon the principle that offices among us are bestowed by politicians upon those whom they fear, rather than those they love—those who work against, rather than work for them. Human sacrifices are made on the occasion of most important ceremonies. If the necessary number cannot be had from the prisons, the streets are patrolled at night, and every one seized who may be found without a light. The poor thus become the victims, and are immolated, without the slightest pity or remorse. The people of Loango do not believe that men ever die of a natural death. What a sad moral does that teach. They believe in *Mokissos* or sorcerers, "swearing drinks" and exorcising; and many persons are tried for crimes by these absurd devices. If, upon the swallowing of certain "swearing drinks," one urinates freely, he is declared innocent; if he falls down, he is condemned. The rich are allowed to make trial *by their slaves*. Pardon or acquittal, however, may, at any time, be bought at the cost of a few slaves and a little rum. The whole affair shows skilful artifice and imposture. In this way enemies, however innocent, are made to fall, to gratify the vindictive and to profit

the avaricious. According to their own accounts, the King of Loango, in Congo, has only the moderate number of *seven thousand wives*. The chief wife, *Makonda*, has great power over the king, by right of their institutions ; and if he offends her, she has the right to take his life with her own hands. If she is of an age for pleasure, she may select her own man, who thereby becomes ennobled. But let him take care should he be surprised with another woman ! His head pays for it ! He has no such privileges as his betters !

Unlike the fashions of the former kings of France, it is death to look at the king while he eats or drinks. A child of seven years old, son of a noble of the first class, unfortunately fell asleep one day in the eating apartment of the king, and awoke just as the despot was putting his cup to his mouth. The child was condemned to death, the only indulgence being a delay of six or seven days through respect to the father. After this brief respite, the head of the innocent was crushed by blows given him with a hammer upon his nose ; and the priest was careful that his blood fell upon *Mokissos*, or idols of the king. He was then dragged through the highway by a rope tied around his neck. Another case is reported still stranger and of equal atrocity. A son of the king, eleven or twelve years of age, having entered the hall while his father drank, was seized by the order of this prince, clad immediately in a rich habit, and treated with all kinds of rich drinks and food, but no sooner had he finished this sinister feast, than he was cut into quarters and distributed to various parts of the city, with proclamations of the cause of his punishment. Another child, still younger, had his head cut off at the instance of the High Priest, because, under similar circumstances, he had run to embrace the knees of his father. The High Priest caught drops of his blood, with which he rubbed the arms of the king to divert the evil presage. The same law even extends to a dog or beast. What comes from the king's table must be buried. No one must touch it. "*Que d'extravagance et de barbarie !*" says our author : "*Quand l'homme est fait ainsi, est il un plus odieux et méprisable animal ?*" The ceremonies necessary to create a new *Mokissos*

or divinity, are given by our author.—(p. 326.) This is managed by “*convulsionnaires énergumens démoniaques*,” who play a similar rôle with our *mediums* in the spirit-rapping circles. “*Faut il (says he) que des nations policées aient à rougir d’avoir sus chez elles les memes extravagances?*” Should not civilized nations blush at similar extravagances exhibited at their own doors.

In Congo, the negroes are generally black, but some are found of an olive colour. Their lips are not long and pendant as the Memedeans and the other negroes. Their hair, black and frizzled, is sometimes *red*, according to the author, though we doubt the truth of the statement. They might dye it, or it might be of a foxy brown. Their thick lips, flat nose, woolly hair, and the line of the face sloping backwards, deny to them all beauty, and suggest little hope of the exercise of intellectual energy or further developement.

They have no science or inclination to cultivate their minds in any manner. They count the years by winters, which commence in May and finish in November. They count the months by moons, and the days of the week by their markets; but they have no further division of time. Living in their little mud and straw hovels or folds, the best of them raise a few chickens, grow a little rice, or millet, or Indian corn—have a few sugar-canes and guber-nuts (ground-nuts), scarcely equalling the possessions of our worst treated slaves, and by no means so well housed, and infinitely below the average condition of our blacks in the slave States. The wealth of the Mosicongos consists mostly of slaves and ivory. Congo, Songo and Bamba sell few slaves, as they are not valued on account of their excessive laziness and incapacity to work. The missionaries have never been able to cure them of concubinage. They will take as many mistresses as they can keep. Sometimes they take them on trial. The Christian method seems to them unprofitable and not “*convenable*.” After a few weeks’ trial, if the husband is disappointed or displeased, he returns the wife to her father. It does the lady no damage. “*Elle ne trôve pas moins l’occasion de subir bientôt une nouvelle épreuve*.” Sometimes the women are vested with similar rights, and the writer

says, "*qu'elles sont plus inconstantes et plus opiniâtre que les hommes.*" While the husband eats, the wives and children wait upon him. (Not all, we presume.) As soon as born the children are submitted to the priest, and nothing can exceed their slavish obedience to him in their future growth and progress.

At St. Paul, in Loanda, the Portuguese frequently possessed two or three hundred slaves in their service, and some even three thousand. There were many mulattoes who bore a mortal hatred to the negroes. The worst atmosphere of Africa is that of Benguila. It is dangerous to land on that coast, or to drink the water. The food itself seems imbued with disease. The whites there look like the dead risen from the tombs. The women often entice men into their arms in order to betray them, and that they may be apprehended by the husbands and sold as slaves. They are trained for the purpose. In Angola there are two kinds of slaves—one attached to the domain of the nobles, and the other ordinary slaves, acquired by war or purchase. The people of Angola amass no riches, but are content with a little millet, some beasts, and their palm oil and palm wine. No where are beasts of burthen known. Their great trade with Europeans consists in slaves, which were carried principally to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The Spaniards and Portuguese, at an early period, exported some fifteen thousand each annually; and their agents bought, in the interior, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand. When they arrived at the coast they were meagre and feeble, from bad nourishment, and sleeping on the ground in the open air. They were, however, fattened up before transportation, and considerable care taken of their health. The sick were removed to separate lodgings by the Portuguese, and were supplied with a salutary regimen. Their sale to the Europeans necessarily wrought great and beneficial changes in their condition as a race. It helped the morals of the despots who sold, and the safety as well as morals of the victims. They were no longer slain because of scarcity of provisions, as is frequently done by native chiefs, or if they became unsaleable for any cause. In the

vessels of transport, mats were then furnished, and regularly changed at fixed periods :—" *L'avarice même peut donc quelquefois ramener à l'humanité !*" Avarice even teaching that humanity which modern philanthropy has denied them. The preventive measures now well known to the world, have contributed to, rather than have diminished the horrors of, this wretched traffic. Forced upon the colonies against their will by Great Britain, that she might reap the full advantage of the Methuen Treaty, or Assiento Contract, she now, with all the affected prudery of a decayed strumpet, turns up eyes of holy horror to God, at the existence of slavery in America—the fruit of her own vices. She would add new-fold horrors to the wretched condition of these people, to prove the extent of her new-born virtue. And Wilberforce, with his grinning, satisfied air of self-importance, is **BREVETTED** a great man ! The idea that self-interest might teach men humanity where nature did not prompt, seems to have escaped these people wholly, in their eagerness to prove their philanthropy and to effect our overthrow. If in time the trade had been recognized and directed, it might have saved many a poor creature from many of the worst horrors of the *middle passage*, and would not necessarily have increased the traffic, for new supplies would not then have been called for to supply vacancies occasioned by these very preventive or repressive measures. A lawful trade could have been regulated and restricted—that which became piratical, became, at the same time, solely under the controul of pirates. Mercy was thus denied by the folly of humanity. But meddling philosophy looks very far, says Mr. Dickens of Mrs. Jellaby ; strange, that the same person cannot see how greatly he himself deserves the same censure. There have been, we fear, too many Mrs. Jellaby's for the good of mankind ; Jéllaby's in breeches as well as petticoats—fools and meddlers, of precious little good, either at home or to those of Borrioboola Gha, to the myriads who need the help of common sense and virtue, rather than that philanthropy which appears to possess so little of either.

The Jaggas are spread over the whole of Africa, from the confines of Abyssinia to the land of the Hottentots.



They are very black and ill-shaped. They trace lines upon their cheeks with a hot iron, and, showing only the whites of their eyes, are horrible to behold. They are entirely naked, and their whole manner indicates utter barbarism. They know no king, live in the forests, and, wandering like Arabs or jackals, they are led by their ferocity to ravage the country of their neighbours; and, during their attacks, utter frightful cries that inspire every one with terror. Their greatest opponents were a race of war-like women, whom Lopez describes as occupying *Monopotapa*, a people similar to the Amazons, now maintained by the King of Dahomey, and whose services it is said he has lately tendered to Louis Napoleon. If this is not upon the authority of Punch, it is very much like it. We have lost our reference. If in the sudden marches of these Jaggas, their wives give birth to children, they are immediately smothered. Such responsibilities are only so many *impedimenta* to such a life and people.

This brings us to the Hottentots, a word synonymous with every thing that is rude, ignorant, filthy, ugly, debased, savage and disgusting; and yet we believe the Hottentots are better than many, and quite as good as any of the African negro races. Their favourite vice, like others, is laziness. It prevails not only over their bodies but their minds. To reason is to labour, and labour of any kind is to them the greatest of evils. Constraint inspires them with horror; but, forced to work, they are docile, submissive and faithful. To begin to civilize the African, it seems absolutely necessary first to subdue him to the bit of bondage to a civilized race. Otherwise, he is as untameable as the Wild Zebra of his plains. Satisfy the present necessities of the Hottentots, and no prayers or considerations can force them from their natural indolence. Drunkenness is another of their vices, in which respect they differ from no Africans ever heard of. Give them brandy and tobacco, and they will drink, smoke and yell, until they lose their voices. They commit, it is said, most unnatural offences.—(*Abrégé des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 422.) If you attempt to convince their old people of the odiousness of these practices, they say—

"These are the *usages* of the Hottentots." That solves all difficulties and silences all reproach. Like the other nations of Africa, they immolate their children and old people. Their language is hard and inarticulate, and sounds like so much stuttering or grunting to the ears of the stranger. Dressed in sheep-skins, their naked heads are smeared and plaistered with fat and grease, to such a degree as to form a sort of bonnet of black mortar. They find it "very refreshing." Their legs are naked and their breasts open; they expose their bellies to the middle. Only their narrow *kuthness* prevents the utter exposure of both sexes. Nothing is more captivating to them than an old brass button, or piece of broken mirror. They will give all their animals for such *bagatelles*. All classes take delight in greasing their bodies from head to foot with butter, or the suet of sheep, mixed with the soot from their pots. They renew this as often as it is dried by the sun. Like the skunk, they may be *nosed* at a great distance. "They smell *loud*," as the Dutchmen or Boors would say. If the rich indulge themselves with the use of rancid butter, the poor besmear themselves with the fat from the bowels of slaughtered animals. Their whole body is invested with a thick coat of ointment, of some sort or other. Tufts of hard, coarse hair or wool and prominences of fat, jut out in various parts of the body and complete their deformity. Gluttonous and filthy beyond measure, they seize upon and tear out, like beasts of prey, the entrails from the belly of the animal only yet half dead, and devour them when but half roasted. Their villages are composed of hovels formed of twigs and clay, and are too low to stand in upright. And yet their stupid aspect has been said by writers, scarcely less stupid, to be owing not to their national character, prevalent over all Africa, but to the state of bondage they are held in by the Boors or Dutch settlers! Were they any better before the whites settled there? But the Bosjosmans, of the same race?—They have never been conquered or enslaved. They have preserved their independence and their primitive habits; and what is their condition? "Of all human beings, their condition is, perhaps, the most forlorn." Alas! poor creatures, as our

slave negroes often say of the free negroes—"they have got no masters."

The best race in all Africa is the Caffre, and these the English are now endeavouring to destroy—all for the good of humanity—that sort, at least, which may be called British humanity. To teach them to use opium, perhaps?

But, to return to the Hottentots. Kolben thinks their habits, so disgusting to us, are the very best for them. *Quien sabe?* *Chacun a son gout.* Their filth subjects them to all sorts of vermin, and to a particularly filthy kind, not to be mentioned to polite ears, of an extraordinary size. But they have their revenge; for the troublesome beast is, in its turn, eaten by him it troubles. Surprised with a heap of these animals, they attribute their treatment of them to a principle of retaliation. The worn-out shoes of Europeans, made of raw-hide, are steeped for awhile in water, then roasted and eaten. They would rather lose a tooth than a small piece of tobacco. Their hovels resemble ovens. Those who have killed a lion, tiger, leopard, elephant or rhinoceros, are knighted with great ceremony. The whole kraal assembled, forms circles round him in a squatting position like his own, as our sand-hill people do when they *romance* together. The deputies of Elders (earls) or chiefs approach, and —— but for a full description of this quaint ceremony, the curious reader must consult the original.

Thus have we given a rapid sketch of such parts of Africa as have furnished slaves to the European Colonies. We have run over the accounts of a series of travellers since the earliest settlements of the Portuguese in 1484. We will now take up Mr. Beecham, of the London Wesleyan Mission, our latest authority.

In Central and Western Africa, the few, says our author, are despots and the great mass slaves. In the Mahomedan states, running across the centre of Africa, the number of pagan negroes held in slavery is far greater than that of the free population. This is the best part of negro Africa; more enlightened than other parts, and containing many millions of inhabitants. The coast, including the interior for three hundred miles, is supposed to have thirty millions; and

Mahomedan Africa, including a part of the West, and most of Central Africa, must have a much larger population. This would give some forty or fifty millions, *the greater part of whom are slaves*. In Kano, Clapperton found the proportion of slaves *thirty to one*, and in another village *seventy to one*. In pagan Africa, however, says Beecham, slavery prevails still more extensively. Every noble in Ashantee owns thousands. Their lives and services are equally at the disposal of their masters. The nobles or *Caboceers*, in their turn, belong to the king, and he can take their property whenever he pleases.

The King of Ashantee justified the slave trade to Mr. Hutchinson, on the ground that the slave population at home was too numerous for public safety; and Mr. Beecham admits that the suppression of the foreign slave trade, however desirable, would not, therefore, of itself, remove the causes of domestic slavery at home.—(p. 119.) Remedial measures depend on the Africans themselves. Ten thousand prisoners in the Gaman War were put to death in cold blood. Many, moreover, died, “because,” said the king, this “country does not grow much corn;” and “unless I kill or sell them, they will grow strong and kill my people.” They believe the *Fetiché* makes war everywhere for strong men, because they can pay plenty of gold and make proper sacrifices. The law allows the King of Ashantee *three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives*. These are attended by little boys with whips made of elephant’s hide, and they lash all who do not turn aside out of their way, or dare to look at them. Mr. Morris saw the King of Dahomey with *seven hundred and thirty wives* bearing provisions, and many more in troops of seventy following. In Yariba, even a caboceer or common noble often owns *two thousand*, and the king of that country told Clapperton that he really did not know how many wives and children he had, but that hand to hand they would reach from Katianga to Jannah; more than one hundred miles. Seventeen hundred to a mile, would give *one hundred and seventy thousand!* A nice little family indeed! In one visit which he paid the traveller, the king had five hundred wives along with him. All this glory should put the Mor-

mons to the blush! Poor devils, their allowance is small, being limited to but a score or two apiece! Wives are always *purchased*, not *courted*. A large family of daughters is, therefore, a fortune of itself; and those who can afford to buy are rich, for they are his slaves, and the enjoyment of his indolence is the fruit of their labour. In most tribes the wishes of the female are not consulted at all. "All right," Mrs. Stowe would say, "in Africa, but very bad with us." Sometimes a wife is purchased before she is born. *Quando acciderunt*, as the law would say. This is called *consawing*. For a more full account of the *menage* of an Ashantee gentleman, the reader is referred to pages 125 to 128 of Mr. Beecham. If boys become perverse, their father cuts off their ears. The man eats alone. The rest of the family wait upon him. Unfaithfulness of the wife is punished—sometimes with death—but may be paid for by the paramour. Sometimes the nose of the wife is cut off, especially when a prudent fear of their family preserves them from the severer penalty of death. Husbands and fathers employ their wives and daughters to decoy others, who become slaves for their punishment, if they cannot pay the fine assessed by a *palaver*. Their *palavers* are their parliaments; and bills of attainder pass upon incautious ladies, as sometimes happen with the great in haughty Christian Europe. The English fix their fines and prices for their wives in their *palavers*, but then it is mostly in aristocratic life. Perhaps this is the secret source of the great sympathy felt by such as are of Stafford House, for sons of Africa, who show so little for their own white tenants and starving poor. Psychology shows strange fancies of the mind, and it is a deep well whence to draw the truth. One of the most elegant and innocent exercises in which the ladies of Africa, even of rank, take the greatest delight, is that in which they beat a particularly prominent part of their bodies against each other, with such force that the vanquished party is thrown flat on the ground. We have seen overgrown urchins of the male sex, at the same sort of sport in Christian countries, but never the females.

If an Ashantee's wife indulges that curiosity, thought to

be so natural to the sex, and listens to a private conversation of her husband, he crops an ear off, and thereby punishes the offending member. If she betrays a secret, he cuts off her upper lip. Heavens, how few lips would be left for kissing, if this were common law with us! Beecham says—"The sight of women who have suffered such inflictions at this day, in Coomasie (Kurnasi), may be had, as it was in the time of Bowditch." The majority of the males, of course, have no wives, but they are slaves and need none in Borrioboola Gha. Celibacy is the general fate of the male slaves, who, however, constitute the principal military force. Of course prostitutes are openly countenanced, and many are maintained for state occasions—again like fashionable aristocratic society of Europe—and they are set apart with formalities and religious ceremonies. Wealthy females often bequeath them to the public on their death beds, as they endow with us a church, a school, or orphan asylum. The state lends its aid, and religion its authority, to confound vice with virtue, and to sanction and legalize crime and debauchery. This is the state of their present society, and it has been the same, no doubt, for centuries. Such has been the progress of civilization and Christianity among the Africans.

In the war between Ashantee and Denkæra, one hundred thousand men perished in one engagement, and an equal number soon afterwards in another battle, when Abu Behr was taken prisoner—showing that they can rival white men in nothing but destruction, and that havoc, however great, can be committed by a savage as well as by a Buonaparte. Fantee, which not long since was supposed to possess millions of inhabitants, has been reduced by the Ashantee invasion to some few thousands. It appears, from Beecham, that the tradition of the Creation, which we believe La Harpe takes from Bosman, still remains prevalent in Africa. "It is believed," says he, "that in the beginning of the world, God having created three white and three black men, with an equal number of women of each colour, resolved, in order that they might be left without complaint, to allow them to fix their own destiny, by giving them the choice of good

and evil. A large box or calabash was, in consequence, placed upon the ground, together with a sealed paper or letter. The black men had the first choice. They took the calabash, expecting that it contained all that was desirable; but, upon opening it, they found only a piece of gold, some iron and several other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opened the letter or paper, and it told them every thing. All this is supposed to have happened in Africa, where God kept the black men to the fate which their avarice had caused them to choose, and left them under the care of inferior deities; but conducting the whites to the water's edge, and communicating with them every night, taught them to build a vessel to take them to another country, from whence they now come to trade with the blacks, who had chosen gold instead of knowledge and letters." "In this tradition," says Beecham, "is to be found the source of those superstitions which enthrall millions of their race. God certainly made them black, and we are not sure, from that circumstance alone, that they are not right in supposing that they were intended as an inferior race; and we do not believe that they are happier for being made to rebel against their destiny and ancient belief." "We do not know," says a late writer on the Book of Job, "and cannot know, the mystery of the government of the world, and that it is not for man to seek it, or for God to reveal it." We believe that God did intend the black man to be inferior, or he would not have made him so. All inequalities of nature are of his doing, and who dares gainsay it? Did he not make the fool, the idiot, the dwarf, the deformed, the mute, the deaf, the blind, the leprous, the lunatic, the sound, the beautiful, the sane, the mediocre and the genius? Shall we set up one general wail and whine that the division has not been a fair one; that others have got more gold and more knowledge than falls to our lot? "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his house, nor his field, nor his servant, his ox, his ass, nor any thing that is his."

With these people even the crocodile sometimes receives divine honours, and being greatly petted, often becomes very tame; sometimes too familiar for safety, and now and then

picks up a child in his great jaws. Their *penates* are, generally, calabashes filled with rubbish of all sorts. Any thing for *Bossum*. They have about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty evil days in the year, when the most important and pressing things *cannot* be done. An incredible amount of time is thus lost. Men on journeys, no matter how important, must stop on those days. The priests there undertake, sometimes, to conceal fugitive slaves, but it is said never fail to deliver them up to their masters, upon payment of a good fee or *Fetiche* money. These *Fetiche* oracles are said to be inaccessible to the poor. Believing that all good and evil comes from the *Fetiche*, they are, through that medium, completely in the power of the priesthood. The arts with which the latter maintain their power, are detailed by our author at page 191. Thousands of victims are immolated to these *Fetiches* at the instance of this priesthood.

Scarcely has one of their barbarous and bloody customs been abandoned, from the earliest period of which any thing is known of them. They still pave their court yards, palaces, and even the streets or market places of their villages or towns, with the skulls of those butchered in wars, at feasts, funerals, or as sacrifices to *Bossum*. Still their wives and slaves are buried alive, with the deceased husband or master. When Adahanzen died, two hundred and eighty of his wives were butchered before the arrival of his successor; which put a stop to it only to increase the flow of blood and the number of deaths in other ways. The remaining living wives were buried alive! amidst dancing, singing and bewailing, the noise of horns, drums, muskets, yells, groans and screechings; the women, marching by headless trunks, bedaubed themselves with red earth and blood. Their victims were marched along with large knives passed through their cheeks. The executioners struggle for the bloody office, while the victims look on and endure with apathy. They were too familiar with the horrid sacrifice to show terror, or to imagine that all was not as it should be. Their hands were first chopped off, and then their heads *sawed* off, to prolong the amusement. Even some who assisted to fill



the grave were hustled in alive, in order to add to the sport or solemnity of the scene. Upon the death of a king's brother, four thousand victims were thus sacrificed. These ceremonies are often repeated, and hundreds slaughtered at every rehearsal. Upon the death of a King of Ashantee, a general massacre takes place, in which there can be no computation of the victims.

At their "Yam Customs," Mr. Bowditch witnessed spectacles of the most appalling kind. Every caboceer or noble, sacrificed a slave as he entered at the gate. Heads and skulls formed the ornaments of their processions. Hundreds were slain; and the streaming and steaming blood of the victims was mingled in a vast brass pan, with various vegetables and animal matter, fresh as well as putrid, to compose a powerful *Fetiche*. At these Customs the same scenes of butchery and slaughter occur. The king's executioners traverse the city, killing all they meet. The next day desolation reigns over the land. The king during the bloody saturnalia looked on eagerly, and danced in his chair with delight!

The King of Dahomey paves the approaches to his residence, and ornaments the battlements of his palace, with the skulls of his victims; and the great *Fetiche Tree*, at Badagry, has its wide-spread limbs laden with human carcasses and limbs. There the want of chastity is no disgrace, and the priests are employed as pimps. Murder, adultery and thievery, says Bosman, are here no sins.

The case of Quaake, given by our author, shows how vain is the hope of effecting a national regeneration by the education of Africans to the Christian ministry. In fifty years residence at Cape Coast Castle, he gained over not one of his countrymen—and dying, showed his confidence still reposed in his *Fetiche* and not in Christian rites. Well might Mr. Beecham remark, that "the case of this individual furnishes matter for grave consideration on the part of those who are anxious to promote the enlightenment and elevation of Africa."—(p. 258.) The English chaplains that succeeded Quaake soon died. So, the Danish Missionaries have all died. The English are all the time dying, or going home for their

health. Mr. Dunwell, the Wesleyan Missionary, died. Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley soon died. Mr. and Mrs. Harrop soon died. Mr. and Mrs. Freeman succeeded—the latter soon sickened and died, and Mr. Freeman was compelled to visit England for his health. He recovered and returned to the scenes of his labours, and to him we are indebted for much of the information contained in Mr. Beecham's book.

A *Fetiche* man, named Akwah, is mentioned, who would make a most distinguished table-mover and spirit-rapper. He could pound up beads into powder and instantly restore them. He could thrust his finger through a stone; and he could make people believe him, for he was dexterous in substituting one thing for another. He could call apes from the bushes and make them talk. This he could do in the night, but not in the day. Daylight did not suit his *Fetiche*. It preferred darkness. He took people into the bush and deceived them. Boys were sent out in the dark for the purpose of detection, and deposited bottles of rum. The monkeys smelt the rum and drank of it so freely that they were soon taken, and proved to be other boys disguised and instructed for the cheat. "Father, father, it is not an ape; I have caught a boy." "Hold fast," and before they could be brought to the light, old Akwah had taken to his heels and was never more seen at Cape Coast Castle. This broke the spell. So, no doubt, might some of our spells be broken. But Judge O'Neill would not consent to give "a little rum," even to detect an imposter, and gentlemen, like Cuffee, will still continue to believe. *Rum* is, no doubt, a potent finder out of other *spirits*.

One decided improvement and step towards advancement, Beecham thinks, is evident at Domonasi, where some of the Africans actually begin to wear European clothes, and beg for a fresh supply! Wonderful indeed! as if every savage on earth would not do the same? Has Mr. Beecham ever read Catlin's Indians of North America? We remember reading, sometime since, the travels of some young British officer, who visited Hayti in the course of a voyage, and was sent into the country from Port au Prince, to visit at his country residence some black general to whom he had

letters. Passing an extensive prairie with mountains on the back ground, he saw some object approaching, which, for his life, he could not comprehend. In a short time he came up with the very general of whom he was in search, and to his astonishment found the black gentleman upon a mule, without an article of clothes upon him, but a straw hat and a pair of spurs. Now, this general, according to Mr. Beecham, though one of the *distingûés*, or great men of Hayti, must have been much less civilized than another gentleman whom he met, who had on nothing but a cast-off short-tail European cavalry jacket, and was extremely elegant in his bows. Thinking of the "We'el done cutty sark" of Burns, we conceive, at a moment, how appropriate would be the presence of such civilized gentry, at a witch's festival or a devil's feast, such as they had in New-England, when Cotton Mather was an oracle, and such as they may still have on the weird summits of the Brocken.

A great mass of the negro territory is still an immense and impenetrable forest. The soil in many parts is extremely fertile, as is proved by the immense population it supports, for nowhere are these natural advantages less improved by man. A hoe, a little spade, with which he scratches the ground, is the highest degree of his agricultural advancement in Africa. There is no such thing as property in land. Mr. Henry Carey's theory of rent cannot prevail there. Manufacturing industry ranks still lower, though the producer and consumer lie down together—the wife being the producer and the husband the consumer; the happiest of industrial conditions. Notwithstanding, however, no treasury there can be filled but by the slave trade, and it is not thereby abolished, as Mr. Carey would suppose. Though a magnificent country for cotton, we need not fear their rivalry, as they have been brought here that the advantage might be mutually enjoyed of having the producer and consumer placed side by side. But the king wishing to replenish his treasury, instead of resorting to the "Loom, the Anvil and the Plough," fixes upon some village in his own or neighbour's territory, surrounds it in the night and sets fire to it. Attempting to escape, the wretched inhabitants are seized

and hurried off. The trial by ordeal, or "*swearing liquor*," already spoken of, prevails to a peculiar extent. It is impossible to name any region tolerably peopled, so illiterate as the African. They have neither alphabet, hieroglyphic, picture or symbol. Their villages are mere dog-kennels. Their family brawls, and the wranglings incident to their thousand wives, may well be conceived, and are only subdued and kept down after the failure of scolding and beating, by the terrors of Mumbo-Jumbo, the bugbear of the African ladies, and detector of adultery. Summoned before Mumbo-Jumbo, the unhappy one dares not disobey. Appearing before him, she is stripped naked in the presence of the bulk of her fellow-citizens, and undergoes a severe whipping, inflicted by the rod of Mumbo-Jumbo! And Mumbo-Jumbo is never known to grant a divorce.

In Dahomey, the greatest nobles cannot approach their king without throwing themselves flat on the ground, and laying their heads in the dust. The belief is instilled into them that their lives belong entirely to their sovereign. Human skulls and putrifying carcases ornament their temples and their dwellings. Even the king's sleeping apartment is paved with human skulls. The Jaggas, represented for their extreme barbarity and ferocity two hundred years ago, retain still the same characteristics without any change. The same may be said of all those nations which inhabit that vast country called the Coast, from Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope. But, we must cease the disgusting picture of a people, whose savage and shocking barbarities, and loathsome habits, and horrid crimes, are supposed to establish a condition so preferable to that of slavery to the white man, that the fleets of civilized Europe and America, are employed to maintain and perfect them in it. D. J. M.

---

## ART. IV.—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND SIR HUDSON LOWE.

*History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena, from the Letters and Journal of the late Sir Hudson Lowe, and Official Documents not before made public.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A., author of *Hortensius*, &c. 3 vols. Murray.

THE uncertainty of history has become a proverb. Richard III., Shakspeare's bloody hunchback, has been demonstrated to be an Apollo Tonans; in the words of Blake, the Seer, "harsh but handsome, terrible to look upon," and the fascination which won so suddenly the repugnant Lady Ann, abundantly accounted for. Robespierre, the grim embodiment of the "Reign of Terror," stands before us in the picturesque pages of Carlyle, as "the sea-green incorruptible," a steady but gentle denouncer of tyrants and tyranny; to say the worst of him, "the mildest mannered man," like Byron's Lambro, "that ever scuttled ship or cut a throat." While Whately, in his "Historic Doubts," has thrown the shadow of question over the very existence of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Rev. Mr. Abbott, of Harper's Magazine, has washed away every stain upon the character of that personage, supposing him to have existed; and has proved him a meek disciple, a true lover of the people and of the people's rights; utterly averse to war, and indifferent to conquest; careful of human life, absolutely unselfish, and entirely innocent of all ambitious aspirations. It must not surprise us to meet with a formal defence of Nero, upon whose tomb, indeed, as Suetonius tells us, "some unseen hand strewed flowers," or a laboured eulogy upon Caligula. Doubtless, these personages had enemies who hated them; their friends were overwhelmed with them, and have never obtained a hearing. We may yet be called on to regard them as martyrs.

Public opinion, if it ever settled down upon any topic, ancient or modern, may be said to have been, for nearly half a century, unanimously of accord as to the imprisonment of Napoleon at St. Helena. His escape from Elba

roused Europe into universal commotion, and relighted the destructive fires of civil strife and devastating war. When he again became captive, it was a fair question what most effectual mode of rendering him impotent for further evil should be resorted to by those who held him in their power. We are far from entertaining any soft or sentimental views of the matter. The same reasons which justified the regicides of England and France, in removing for ever Charles I. and Louis XVI., apply with equal and sufficient force ; and we should, probably, have voted with the fierce old " Marshal Forwards," and have had the disturber shot—like the Duke d'Enghien. But though it is right and necessary to cage a lion, or a tiger, or a hyena, the savage creature, while kept in confinement, must not be tormented. A criminal may be capitally punished ; but he must not be subjected to torture while he is permitted to live.

As great as was the mistake made by Bonaparte, in throwing himself on the mercy of England in his hopeless adversity, so great was her error in receiving and detaining him under the circumstances. He was the defeated enemy of the Allied Powers, to whom he should have been at once delivered up. She embarrassed herself by holding him captive on any terms, as fugitive, prisoner of war or prisoner of state, banished exile or escaped criminal. There are plausible arguments ready for placing him under each or either of these categories ; but it is altogether clear that the conditions or characteristics which belong to them, could not, without injustice, be mingled or confused. England committed the remarkable mistake, worse in its results, humanly speaking, and in the well known phrase of Talleyrand, " the mistake far worse than any crime," of confounding them all. Admitted as a fugitive on board the *Bellerophon* unconditionally, she gave him hospitality, with all respect as an illustrious exile, for twenty-four days. Suddenly changing her aspect, she transferred him to the *Northumberland* as prisoner of war, under the incident conditions ; disarming him and his followers, limiting their numbers, and taking from them their purses and their property, as well as their swords. At St. Helena she allowed, if she did not invite, the formal

presence of Commissioners of the Allied Powers, some of whom were instructed to see him, and all of them to inform themselves of his mode of safe-keeping and circumstances of living ; thus transforming him into a prisoner of state. Nevertheless, she managed to retain her exclusive possession of the great captive, who had cost her so much money and so much blood, and who had struck for many successive years such vehement blows against her vital interests, her commercial and manufacturing supremacy. She chose, therefore, to continue to him the character of a prisoner of war, and by all oblique methods to repel the interference of the Commissioners, who were made to feel that their supervision was inconvenient, incongruous and absurd, and who indeed left the Island, after various terms of residence, without having personally encountered him on any occasion.

Nor was this all. Modern civilization has established the existence of certain rights, definable and undefinable, belonging even to the most atrocious criminal. He may be sequestered before death, and doomed to die, but no unnecessary inflictions must, in the meanwhile, be practiced upon him. If he is made to suffer in any manner *unnecessarily* ; if, in mind or body, he be painfully wrought upon beyond the contingencies essential to the protection of society, supposed to require his seclusion or removal, guilt is unquestionably incurred by the parties responsible. Society regards with a just and well regulated sentiment all the circumstances of every individual case, absolutely and relatively. The settled usage demands different treatment of the different ranks of men. The Admiral or Field Marshal is not submitted to the same mode of safe-keeping as the common sailor or the private soldier. The position in which these officers would be placed in what is called strict du-rance, severe captivity, might be luxurious life to the inhabitant of the fore-castle and the knapsack-bearer. If a rule were laid down in words, to express theoretically the customs recognized as binding upon enemies in civilized and Christian warfare, it would be this—that each prisoner should be allowed to hold, as nearly as possible, the same social position as before his capture or surrender, with the

necessary restrictions upon his freedom of action added. Practically, it is true, every prisoner must expect to endure a great descent into unknown discomforts ; but, as far as this is unavoidable, the fortune of war is borne without a murmur by men of ordinary resolution, and complaints are only made and listened to, when the charge of unnecessary severity is justly urged by the sufferer.

These points being taken into fair consideration, public sentiment, as we said above, has pronounced itself with remarkable decision and unanimity as to the imprisonment of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena. The British Government has been accused and found guilty of gratuitous harshness in her treatment of her illustrious captive. Her agent, the military Governor of the Island, has been universally regarded as a tyrannical jailor, who not only carried out in full detail the views of the administration which, with perfect knowledge of his character, selected him for a most unenviable position, but actually exceeded his instructions, and wantonly and capriciously tortured his victim, through six long years of oppression and despondency.

Mr. Forsyth, in the volumes before us, has now appealed to the present generation and to posterity, from this deliberate and long-confirmed judgment of the contemporaries of the parties concerned ; and, in his *Life of Sir Hudson Lowe*, has not only endeavoured vainly to "wash the blackamoor white," and make a new character for his hero, but incidentally to defend his government and its proceedings, and to cover with ignominy the memories of all who, at any time, or in any mode, expressed any feeling of pity for the captives.

"Dat veniam corvis ; vexat censura columbas."

In the same spirit—shall we call it simplicity, unconsciousness, dull stolidity or sheer hypocrisy ?—Sir Hudson Lowe, just as the wretched Emperor surrendered a life embittered by his despotic annoyance for so many tedious years, exclaimed to one of his myrmidons—"He was England's greatest enemy and mine also ; but *I forgive him !*"

Mr. Forsyth's professional experience has enabled him to



throw a cloud over certain points brought under discussion, and so to claim a modification of the received opinions concerning them. This he does sometimes by ingenious special pleading, but oftener by the familiar, though disreputable course, followed so ably by Phillips at the trial of Courvoisier, of blackening the character of all whom he opposes, or whose testimony is in any sense adverse. The caged eagle is fierce and sullen; and with plumage ruffled and blood-shot eye, strikes with beak and talon even the hand that would soothe him. The French, so kindly permitted to share the bonds of their master, are uncourteous, gluttonous, deceitful. The medical officers are ignorant, easily imposed on and untrustworthy. But we must protest against this method of defence, and insist on the principle, that the character of the prisoner or criminal and his accomplices, no matter how bad, does not justify cruelty or caprice in the keeper, who must not inflict upon whomsoever any unnecessary hardship. If the executioner will have the pound of flesh, he must take care that no drop of blood shall follow the use of his knife.

It is almost impossible to separate in our inquiry the employer and his agent; to say where the offence against humanity was ascribable to the Government, and where to Sir Hudson Lowe; but, in the examination of every specific charge, we shall find in the proceedings of this functionary a disposition to construe his instructions in the harshest meaning; a promptness to carry out the views of the ministry in the most stringent manner; a readiness to do all that they could require of him, obvious from the first; a state of mind more manifest as he grew more and more resentful of the conduct of his prisoners, and of the chief among them, "his greatest enemy," as he styled him after his death. These feelings at last transcended all controul, and he sought their gratification in a multiplied and capricious variety of inflictions.

Such is the deliberate conclusion of Sir Walter Scott, an honest hater of France and Frenchmen, who in his loyal anxiety to diminish the odium which he was aware his country had incurred for her treatment of her fallen foe, perhaps throws somewhat too deep a shade on the conduct of our

hero. Such is the judgment pronounced by Alison, who, in his dignified character of historian, gives expression to all the common-place prejudices of the Tory party. Such, also, is the opinion of Lamartine, who, Frenchman as he is, almost forgives England the victory of Waterloo, as the avenger of republicanism upon its Imperial destroyer. Vain is the hope of Forsyth to change this universal sentiment; vain every effort to reverse the judgment so long pronounced—to erase the stain so indelibly fixed upon the character of the Governor of St. Helena and the renown of proud England. It is not to be imagined that any of those who approach the subject shall feel now, or indeed that they ever felt, a serious interest in the first of these topics: all Englishmen are jealous of the latter, and it is only because of their intimate connection that the former is ever discussed at all.

But is there any thing effectual in the defence here offered by Mr. Forsyth? Does he disprove the charges against Great Britain—that she took foul advantage of her illustrious adversary: that her treatment of him was needlessly harsh, and, therefore, unjust and cruel: that she was morbidly jealous of all observation of her conduct, showing thereby a consciousness of wrong: that she rejected tenaciously all compassionate or kindly notice of her prisoner, and punished to the extremity all interference which had in view the alleviation of his sufferings and that of his attendants: that she added insult to injury by persisting to refuse him the rank which his ambition had coveted, and his superior force of character had merited and won; and by subjecting him to annoyances, such as belonged to a station of life from which he had long emerged, and to which she had no imaginable right to reduce him again: and that she degraded him still farther and more inexcusably by confounding his relations to her, and thus establishing a pretext for the denial of any definite rights, personal or other, that might be claimed as appertaining to any specific position, such as freedom from intrusion, choice of associates, and the like? Does he disprove the charges against his hero, Sir Hudson Lowe, that becoming willingly the agent of his government, in a capacity that a man of nice honour and

gentlemanly delicacy would never have sought, and would only have consented to fill as a point of most obligatory duty, he carried out not only fully, but eagerly and superfluously, the most injurious and burdensome of the regulations instituted: that he took a malicious pleasure in the employment of all the numerous and varied modes of annoyance which he possessed: that he frequently indulged feelings of hatred, and vented his anger against helpless captives: that he discouraged every exhibition of pity and humane condolence with them, from whatever quarter, and favoured every one who manifested the opposite disposition to taunt or offend them? From the very volumes before us, and without reference to the abundant stores of contemporary writings, from which we might draw an indefinite amount of confirmation, we proceed to show, in brief compass, the truth of these several charges above enumerated.

No one will or can deny, that while Napoleon was still free upon the soil of France, overrun as she was by a horde of barbarians from the banks of the Danube and the Don, there was every possibility, if not strong probability, of the protraction of a ferocious contest. His military talent, the prestige of his great name, the very energy of despair in the conquered, threatened an unknown series of evils, and would have justified the European powers in offering him fair terms of surrender. Or, he might have escaped, and thus kept the Holy Alliance and the world in a state of suspense, and have cost them large sums in military preparations against his future movements. To impugn the truth of these statements, would be absolutely inconsistent with all the future conduct and precautions of Great Britain. If she put forth as reasonable grounds for her subsequent close jailorship, her removal of her prisoner as far as possible from the seat of his former power, her system of prying intrusion into his domestic privacy, the seclusion even of his sick-room and chamber of death, her prohibition of social intercourse with all around him, except under most offensive and intolerable restrictions; if she justify herself in all this, by dwelling upon the chances of his escape and its terrible consequences—his escape from St. Helena, a rock in the midst of

the boundless Atlantic, an island bristling with bayonets, hedged with sentinels all around its precipitous cliffs, intersected with chains of military posts, guard-houses and patrols, and surrounded by a fleet of the swiftest cruisers—how idle must it be to say that his escape from France was impossible, and his surrender in no sense and in no degree voluntary ! For our parts, we consider it to have been so easy, that no difficulty lay in the way but his indomitable pride, which would consent to no sacrifice of his personal dignity. Had he resembled Louis Philippe and Pio Nono, rather than Charles X., he might, as Mr. Jones, or Smith, or Brown, or as Chawles Yellowplush, have reached in safety the shores of this universal asylum for the defeated and expelled, flared up into a noisy distinction like Kossuth and other temporary lions among us, and fretted out his weary life afterwards in peaceful exile.

Again ; while we admit that his imprisonment was necessary to the peace of the world, and that the example of Elba gave good reason for extreme caution in his safe-keeping, still we allege that his captivity was, in many circumstances of detail, designedly embittered and uselessly severe ; a course of treatment as impolitic as it was cruel and unjust.

We acknowledge that his place of confinement was well chosen ; but why the insulting show of disarming him, depriving him of money, subjecting him to domiciliary visits ? Nor should he have been conveyed to his desolate prison until it was made ready for his reception ; until a comfortable house was chosen or built ; a lodging decent for the accommodation of one accustomed to the usages of European life. We are told that on landing, after a voyage of many weeks, nothing was arranged for him ; that he could not even obtain a bath ; and that the repairs of the miserable cottage assigned him, continued to annoy him, nearly to the conclusion of his wretched existence.

England kept him in durance as a prisoner of war most absurdly in a time of profound peace ; a special act of Parliament, however, was passed to define his status, which was still left, curiously enough, undefined, and her inconsistency confessed in her acquiescence in the appointment of Com-

missioners by the Allied Powers, who obviously regarded him as a prisoner of state under their supervision. Admitting them formally upon the island, she still repelled their interference on every occasion, and discouraged every effort to visit or recognize him on their parts, with a jealousy tenacious, captious and ultimately successful; for they all left the place without having once seen their protégé or victim.

This jealousy of all friendly, indifferent, or even supervisory notice of him, manifested itself in every possible manner. Mr. Balcombe, suspected of not being sufficiently unfriendly to him, is driven from the island, and the firm, of which he was a member, required to expunge his name from their contracts. Capt. Lutyens was reproved and superseded for a most passive act of ordinary civility. Capt. Poppleton is strongly censured "for betrayal of the confidential trust reposed in him," because of the inference, that he had not treated Bonaparte savagely enough, drawn from the fact that he had received from him, or some one about him, the parting present of a snuff-box; and that he reported this to Lord Bathurst and not to the Governor. If any of his attendants, or even one of the medical men permitted to visit him, stated that he was indisposed or his health impaired, offence was obviously taken at once, and insinuations thrown out against the honesty, capacity and truthfulness of the unlucky reporter. These are carefully reproduced by Mr. Forsyth, and, with most absurd reiteration, urged ignorantly and ridiculously against O'Meara, Stokoe and Antommarchi, in particular.

As to the obstinate refusal of the title of Emperor to Napoleon, we simple republicans cannot read the story without mingled pity and contempt. The stereotyped rank of General, which was thrust pertinaciously upon him, was chosen without any reason whatever. He had been a General, it is true; but so he had been Lieutenant, when he first made himself felt at Toulon. The best comment upon the truculent folly of England in this particular, may be found in her present quiet recognition of "the Nephew of my Uncle"—Louis Napoleon, as Napoleon the Third, Emperor of France or of the French. Rome made it her proud boast, "*debellare*

*superbos, parcere subjectis;*" but whom has England ever spared? Her instinct, her universal habit, is to rob, rend and trample. God protect us all from her mercy or her justice!

This little but bitter trifling, is probably to be attributed to Lord Bathurst, then at the head of Government; but we shall see how promptly, nay eagerly, he was seconded by his several subordinates. In the memoranda for Sir Geo. Cockburn, whose best claim to the selection as first jailor, was his piratical conduct in the Chesapeake during our war of 1812, the prisoner is called General Bonaparte. In the Admiral's reply to Bertrand's first note, he ludicrously declares that he has "no cognizance of any Emperor being on the Island;" and afterwards, that he has "no knowledge of the person designated Emperor!" Upon this Forsyth sagely remarks: "there is some affectation in this letter; we can only smile at Sir G. C.'s doubts as to who was meant by the Emperor;" and acknowledges that, "upon the question of the Imperial title, it is difficult to refute the arguments used by Napoleon in favour of his right to be styled Emperor." Going on to assert that "we had not recognized that title when he was on the throne of France," he adds, with the most innocent simplicity, "it cannot be doubted that if he had been willing at any time to make peace, England would have treated with him in his character of Emperor;" and afterwards, with an inconsistency equally simple and innocent, and self-contradictory—"indeed, *she did so at Chatillon, in 1814.*"

All parties among his jailors seem to have enjoyed the fretfulness of their captive upon this tender subject, and played upon it with the feeling of the coachman who exults in having "established a raw." It is not possible otherwise to account for Lord Bathurst's unwillingness to evade the difficulties presented continually in this question of title,—the interruption to correspondence, the mutual irritation, the ever-recurring discussion—by acquiescing in Bonaparte's proposal to assume an incognito, and employ some indifferent name, Baron Duroc or Col. Meudon. Nor can we exculpate Sir Hudson Lowe from the imputation of carrying this

point into more offensive extremes than any one else. Besides protesting formally, in a letter to Bertrand, against his use of the Imperial title, on the unintelligible ground, that "it was in contravention of the principle on which the French were allowed to stay on the Island," and threatening, for the same reason, to cease all correspondence with Count Montholon, he takes several minute occasions to pick an incidental and most irrelevant quarrel on the subject. Was he forgetful or false, when, in after life, he declares that "the importance of this matter had been exaggerated," and that "there was much less difficulty and embarrassment about the title," than had been asserted. Even Forsyth acknowledges what he calls "his error" here. But the widest charity cannot regard it as a mere error; his memory is not apt to be so unretentive or treacherous; nor was he quite so dull or wanting in sensitiveness on his own part. He must have become ashamed of his captious tenacity. When Mr. Hobhouse sent his recently published book, with every formal caution, to Bonaparte, Sir Hudson withheld it, because it contained the brief inscription, "Imperatori Napoleon." When Antommarchi arrives from Europe to assume the care of the illustrious patient, Sir Hudson chides him roughly for calling him, in the most incidental manner, "the Emperor:" the dying lion must be spoken of as the inferior beast in whose skin they have thought fit to envelope him. And even when he is dead, the asinine kick is given to his remains with impotent malice.

When nearly approaching his end, Bonaparte expressed a desire to offer some token of grateful or kind feeling to the officers of the 20th Regiment, then keeping guard over him, as having shown some soldierly reluctance to inflict any avoidable annoyance upon a great Captain. He begged Dr. Arnott to present them, on his behalf, with certain English books from his small library. These books Dr. A. placed in the hands of the orderly officer of the day, Captain Lutyens, who received them for his comrades. We alluded above to the fact that Captain L., for simply accepting the books thus offered, was subjected to harsh and offensive reproof from Major Jackson, contained in a letter, written, says For-

syth, "with the knowledge and full approval of Sir Hudson Lowe;" doubtless by his dictation; and the books were ordered to be refused and returned, because "it unfortunately happened,"—these are the advocate's own words—"it *unfortunately happened* that the Imperial title was written in them." Montholon prepares for the coffin of the lifeless Napoleon an inscription, touchingly simple, and, as it would seem, of style and brevity unobjectionable :

—NAPOLEON—

Né à Ajaccio le 15 Aout 1769,

Mort à St. Hélène le 5 Mai 1821.

Sir Hudson tells us himself, that he rejected it as it was; but offered to admit it on the condition that the word "Bonaparte" should be added after "Napoleon."

It is to be remembered, that we are not writing of times and conditions in which physical or mechanical torture was of possible infliction upon a prisoner. Humanity has made progress definitely beyond this point. We say this, to be sure, with some misgivings, when we remember the English system of impressment, and her then recent treatment of Americans in the pandemonium of Dartmoor; but still we may trust that it is substantially true. Tamerlane could not now make a show of Bajazet in his cage; and a Haynau, fulfilling the orders of his master in degrading woman by corporal punishment, is held in universal horror and detestation, and hardly escapes with his life from the resentment even of London brewers and draymen. But the same advance in civilization which sets us above the gag, the mask and the chain, of former days, has refined the sensibilities and elevated the standard of comfort, mental and bodily. Paying the highest regard to the social position, so long held by and accorded to the illustrious person now discrowned and in hopeless captivity, we are not prepared to see him stopped by a sentinel in his melancholy stroll about the grounds allotted to him; kept always in sight by some of his guards; visited twice in the twenty-four hours, whether sick or well; restrained in the possession of money; forbidden to speak with any one whom he might meet, except in presence of a



British officer; refused permission to converse alone with his departing or exiled follower, Las Cases; the request that Sir Pulteney Malcolm would carry his acknowledgments to the Duke of Bedford and Lady Holland, for their occasional kindness, peremptorily declined; his wish to see the man who had brought to St. Helena a lock of his son's hair, unattended to—the natural desire of a father to obtain some news of his distant child, thus trampled on, and the most sacred rights of humanity scorned. All these details display the animus of the British Government and its agent in the strongest, clearest and most reprehensible light.

The same animus is constantly shown by our author, Sir Hudson Lowe's biographer and apologist, Forsyth, in his unvarying and laboured depreciation of all who exhibit any compassion for, or sympathy with, the dethroned Emperor, and in the slight notice which he takes of undeniable facts which he cannot explain away or excuse. He incessantly charges O'Meara with malice; Las Cases with perversion; Montholon with "inveracity;" and Antommarchi with almost insane vanity, and with an unscrupulous resentment of his hurt *amour-propre*. Stokoe is denounced as "a dangerous character," and Balcombe he considers justly expelled from the island. "The policy at Longwood" is characterized as "a policy of deception and intrigue," and Warden accused of having "concocted his story afterwards, and filled it with discrepancies and mistakes." In the same spirit he praises every one who has a taunt or a sneer at the deposed sovereign, or a word of censure for his adherents. On this ground Henry, a subaltern dependant on Sir Hudson, is referred to as specially worthy of belief. Major Jackson, who "never heard any of the prisoners complain of Sir Hudson Lowe," is spoken of as high authority. Frenchmen themselves, taking this view, receive large laudation, of whom Maurel and Lamartine are among the most conspicuous. Even Gourgaud comes in for his share of eulogy. This wretch, angry with his master and benefactor for something which occurred in one of the domestic quarrels of that unhappy household, openly expressed to Bonaparte's enemies and jailors his disapprobation of his conduct, told many

stories of him to gain their favour; and said, among other things, that he "would have confined the prisoners more closely than Sir Hudson Lowe had done." He it was who betrayed Capt. Poppleton's acceptance of a snuff-box from the Emperor. He manufactured tales about money and clandestine intercourse, and volunteered to expose "the exaggeration of the statements made concerning the ill health of Bonaparte." Now Forsyth, although he tells us that "Gen. Gourgaud either could not, or would not, point out any channel for the clandestine receipt of money, or give any names;" though he tells us that his own favourite authority, Colonel or Major Jackson, was of opinion, from the first, that "Gourgaud *lied* about money received;"—though he tells us that Goulburn wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, that "Gourgaud gave to the Duchess of Parma an account of Bonaparte's health and treatment utterly at variance with all that he had previously stated to you and to me;"—and, though he records the fact, that for this double treachery the traitor was sent away from England under the provisions of the Alien Act; yet he persists in speaking of these fables as "revelations," and "proofs incontestable," thus professing to rest upon the testimony of a witness whom he himself has utterly discredited.

Noticing Sir Hudson Lowe's capricious or discretionary departure from the letter of his instructions, Forsyth *jocosely* speaks of Bonaparte's serious protest against such caprice, as exhibitions of "his legal acumen." Napoleon contends, reasonably enough, that Bathurst and the Cabinet, who exercise authority over him of a delegated character under an Ordinance or Act of Parliament, cannot delegate such authority to Sir Hudson or any one else: *Delegatus non potest delegare*. And, again, when his companions in captivity are forbidden to ride where he is specially permitted, he argues, even more forcibly, that they are on the island with him, under an express and formal agreement to submit to the same restraints with himself, and no more. Indeed, all such restraints as applied to them separately, seem to us to have been purposeless, wanton and tyrannical.

It is scarcely worth our while to comment upon the severe

language of denunciation employed by Sir H. Lowè, and echoed continually by his partisan biographer, concerning O'Meara. We shall not undertake to vindicate the conduct of this individual, nor to establish his fairness and trustworthiness as a historian. The game would not be worth the candle. But even if every one of his details was shown to be coloured, and partial and bitter as is alleged, there is abundant proof of the general truthfulness of his story, to be extracted from the denials, defences and excuses here offered. Forsyth's anxiety to disprove the existence of hepatic disease in the case of Napoleon, is simply absurd. His motive evidently was to deprive O'Meara's statements of all weight, by presenting him as blundering and mistaken even professionally, and, at the same time, to establish against him the charge of voluntarily and persistently exaggerating the seriousness of his patient's indisposition, and so exciting in his behalf a dangerous pity and sympathy; placing him between the horns of a dilemma, either as being deceived by Bonaparte's malingering or lending himself to the attempt made to deceive others. Thus, both the sick man and the doctor are most injuriously and calumniously struck at. But no physician doubts that the illustrious patient laboured under a hepatic affection, though he did not *die* of "liver complaint;" and though we may not attribute it, as he did, to the climate of St. Helena. Knowing, as we do, that all climates and localities are liable to endemic diseases, we should not think, even if it were correctly so attributed, that the fact was any reason for acceding to his wish for removal from that island, otherwise so well and reasonably selected, and of at least average salubrity.

Still greater stress is laid upon O'Meara's having given a pledge to the prisoner, not to report the minutiae of conversations held with him, and the charge founded thereon of treachery to his own government, and of a double treachery in the record actually made of such conversations, and the occasional communications of portions of them to personal friends. But nothing is more undefined, among gentlemen, than this line of confidential restriction upon private conversation, to which such familiar reference is made by Sir

Hudson. Portions of the conversation held to-day, at every dinner table, will be most innocently and allowably repeated to-morrow in every social circle; other portions, though neither secret, nor in any way objectionable, will be of a nature to require a certain degree of reserve in the repetition. Such is the fact at all times and everywhere, in the free and confidential intercourse of refined and decorous society. We all know and feel that while the obligation to exercise a discreet reticence is ever incumbent upon each of us, and that our responsibility is of the gravest and most delicate character, yet that nothing can be more unreasonable or impossible, than the conversion of every reunion into a free-mason's lodge or a meeting of conspirators. It really seems to us that Sir Hudson Lowe had entertained the expectation of obtaining, through the peculiarly intimate and familiar relation of O'Meara with the illustrious invalid, some interesting "revelations," as Mr. Forsyth calls them, when volunteered by the traitor Gourgaud, and that his disappointment in this particular exasperated him beyond all decorum or self-controul. Had O'Meara complied with his wishes, he would, indeed, have been an unworthy wretch, such as can rarely be found in the ranks of his deeply trusted profession. The allusions which he makes now and then to the foibles of his patients, are not, perhaps, defensible; nor do we feel disposed to censure them very heavily. It is impossible to be too reserved as to these matters. The denunciation thundered at him is, however, ridiculously exaggerated. Every one laughs at his friends in their presence, and among mutual friends, without offence. Yet this sort of freedom is usually pardonable and pardoned, has its nice limits, never to be transgressed but at the risk of the loss of friendships, and the substitution of personal enmities. No rules can be given; none would be observed among gentlemen, other than those which their own sentiments of propriety and delicacy must suggest; and the whole matter must be left just where it is now, under the government of responsible discretion, the sentiment of nice honour, and an ultimate appeal to the decisive judgment of enlightened and refined society.

We have already admitted the difficulty of separating the share of Sir Hudson Lowe, in the censure to be expressed as to the unworthy treatment of the dethroned and imprisoned Emperor, from that which is due to his employers of the British Government. This difficulty appears to have been keenly felt by the former, who is said to have manifested, more than once, the intention to shelter himself under the plea of obedience to instructions, from the storm of obloquy which roared around him. Every effort of this sort, however, met with prompt discouragement, and the fear to offend those in power, from whom he was always hoping for better and higher rewards for his dark services than he ever obtained, kept him from making any defence during his prolonged life of disappointment, mortification, and—it cannot be doubted—remorse. At this abstinence, Forsyth repeatedly and most naively announces his regret and wonder. Yet it is from him we learn that Bathurst advised Sir Hudson against the prosecution of any of the numerous “libels” against him, “because London juries are so uncertain in their verdicts;” and that he farther dissuaded him from attempting any reply to Sir Walter Scott’s unfavourable representations.

A few examples may be referred to, as exhibiting, on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, a marked degree of individual harshness, and presenting various shades of personal resentment and ill will, arrogance and bad temper. His first visit to his great prisoner was unannounced and intrusive; his second, so rude and abrupt as to shut out his predecessor, by whom he ought to have been introduced, and thus to give offence to both Admiral and Emperor. In correspondence with Montholon, he “occasionally acted on his own discretion,” to use his own phrase, “and overlooked” the employment of the Imperial title; and again capriciously and offensively enforced the rule. He reprimanded and superseded Capt. Lutyens for merely receiving books, which Dr. Arnott took from the Library at Longwood and handed to him unreprieved. With similar and cruel caprice, he refused Countess Montholon a passage direct to Europe, after having rewarded the base treachery of Gourgaud by such

indulgence; a breach of instructions which, as he says, he "had been induced to take upon his own responsibility." In another instance he says, vol. 3, p. 231—"I have been opposing somewhat more difficulty than heretofore, by refusing passes," &c. We may mention, under this head, his insisting upon the repulsive right—which, however, even he did not think proper to exercise—of examining the prisoner's soiled clothes on their way to the washerwoman, a privilege used too late by the jealous Ford; his constant opening of letters, which he did not understand, and from which he derived undefinable charges against Balcombe, Stokoe, and indeed all and sundry whom he disliked; his most unintelligible refusal to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent and other persons known and above possible suspicion; his repeated insinuations of malingering or exaggeration of alleged illness; the abrupt dismissal of two servants without cause assigned; the empty threat which he himself tells us he uttered to Baron Sturmer, in asserting that "an inhabitant might be hanged for bringing such communications" as the letter handed by Welle, a hotanist in the Baron's suite, to Marchaud, Bonaparte's valet, containing a lock of the hair of the Duke of Reichstadt, his son—an assertion which, of course, he knew to be false; and his refusal to permit Bonaparte to converse with this man, who had seen his child. When a bust of this only son was sent to *him* by some considerate person, Forsyth tells us that "Sir Hudson Lowe at first hesitated as to his course, and was inclined not to permit the bust to be forwarded until he had communicated with Lord Bathurst on the subject." Why he changed his mind as to this refinement of tyranny, does not clearly appear; but we are left to infer that he yielded to the persuasions of Sir T. Reade, in allowing the marble to be sent to Longwood. Too much, perhaps, was said on both sides about plate and money; but even Lord Bathurst was ashamed to learn that Napoleon had been obliged, with the sanction of Sir Hudson, to borrow four thousand gold pieces from Las Cases on his departure, and urges the interception of the bills of exchange offered.

Among the frequent and striking admissions of his indis-

cretion and unjustifiable captiousness that occur in these volumes, take the following:—"Admiral Malcolm," says Sir Hudson, "considered the regulation in the same light they wished to view it at Longwood." Hence, obviously, the coolness, almost an absolute rupture, between him and Sir Pulteney. Does this difference of opinion, concerning some regulation instituted by Sir H. Lowe, account for Admiral Sir P. Malcolm's refusal, before mentioned, to convey a message from Bonaparte to the Duke of Bedford and Lady Holland? of which Lord Bathurst himself says, that "the excuse was not very obvious for declining to execute the commission." His unscrupulous hatred of Bertrand, which shows itself at every turn, is glaringly exhibited in the story told as follows, by Forsyth. A letter written by Bertrand, at the dictation of Bonaparte, for which, of course, the former was in no sense responsible, contains reasons for objecting to an officer appointed by the Governor of St. Helena. These reasons were, it seems, highly offensive to the officer, Col. Lyster, but they were urged privately, and, as far as was possible under the circumstances, confidentially. "Unfortunately," says Forsyth—observe the exquisite mildness of the phrase—"unfortunately, Sir Hudson Lowe showed Bertrand's letter to Col. Lyster, an act both *uncalled for* and *indiscreet*." Is this all? Indiscreet! uncalled for! It was an atrocious violation of every propriety, and produced, as was probably intended, a challenge from Col. L. to Bertrand, and a threat of personal chastisement to be inflicted on an unarmed prisoner. Bertrand coolly informs Sir Hudson of the affair, and intimates his willingness to meet the principal, though he can take no notice of the secondary instrument of malice. Sir H. L. comments, sneeringly, upon Bertrand's non-acceptance of Lyster's defiance to mortal combat, while he quietly ignores the challenge offered to himself. We afterwards find him magnanimously refusing to receive a similar cartel from Las Cases, Junior, and with Christian meekness submitting not to a mere threat, but to the actual infliction of personal chastisement in the streets of London, by a horse-whipping at the hands of the young Frenchman. A most impressive commentary is afforded by this incident, upon the

nature of the sentiments entertained towards him by the unhappy captives so long under his custody—of whom Col. Jackson says, “that he never heard any one complain;” and of whom, with his peculiar stolidity or affected insensitive-ness, Sir Hudson Lowe himself affirms, “that the absence of all severity is the real grievance.”

We must not omit here to notice, briefly, the ridiculous discussion concerning Montholon’s offer to Count Montchenu, the French Commissioner, of a few “haricots verts” or “haricots blancs,” white beans or green, the product of the ex-Emperor’s boasted success in gardening, and Montchenu’s answer, that he “might send a little of both.” Upon which, Sir Hudson Lowe solemnly and diplomatically remarks:—“Whether the haricots verts and haricots blancs, bear any reference to the drapeau blanc of the Bourbons, and the habit vert of Gen. Bonaparte, and the livery of his servants, I am unable to say; but the Marquis of Montchenu, it appears to me, would have acted with more propriety if he had declined receiving either, or confined himself to the white alone.” On this *niaiserie* Forsyth thus comments:—“It certainly does seem ludicrous to suppose that there could have been any concealed motive in the offer of a few bean-stalks, and it may be thought that it would have been caricaturing caution to have declined, on political grounds, Count Montholon’s polite offer. But Sir H. L. thought the matter of some importance, and again alluded to it in another letter to Lord Bathurst.”

Not less ridiculous is the fuss afterwards made by Forsyth himself, about a ride or two on horseback taken by the Priest Vignali, dressed somewhat in Bonaparte’s style, instead of his own clerical costume; “but”—as he gravely adds—“with a straw hat not the least like the General’s.”

In fact, there was a constant disposition to dwell upon the chances of Napoleon’s escape, and to circulate rumours of every kind on this ticklish subject. Gourgaud’s “revelations,” as Forsyth calls them, afforded some food to this gossiping appetite, which was, doubtless, excited and nourished for the purpose of justifying “stringency of regulations,” increased at will, and “difficulty opposed by refusing pa-



pers," &c., whenever the Governor was in an ill humour. Nothing is too absurd to be listened to and repeated. Some skipper tells a story of a bribe offered him, for what object does not appear, "by some person, but whom he did not recollect." This recalls the famous *non mi ricordo* of the Queen's trial. Gourgaud, it will be remembered, either could not, or would not, point out the channel of clandestine communication with the prisoners, and conveyance of money, which he had asserted to have taken place, nor give any names; yet, nevertheless, Sir Hudson Lowe affected to believe him, and rewarded him for his traitorous falsehood. A running notice occurs in the third volume, of the reports current now and then, concerning a fast-sailing vessel seen about St. Helena, "chased often, but in vain, by the British cruisers." Even Forsyth sneers at these nonsensical rumours; "it would appear," he says, "as if they had a vision of the Flying Dutchman, supposed to frequent those seas."

Longwood—the wretched abode of fallen greatness—seems, indeed, to have been surrounded with an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and hatred, which spread its baleful influence over the whole island. It was universally felt and known to be unsafe to hold any other than hostile communication with its inmates. The intimidation of the medical men seems to have been as complete as it is shameful. Dr. Verling and Mr. Livingston refuse, at one time, "to sign a certificate of Bonaparte's state of health, fearing that it might be considered a political question, and that they might compromise themselves." We know not in what terms to speak of Dr. Arnott's evasive course, which seems to have astonished even those whom it was intended to conciliate. We cannot ascribe to ignorance his gross misrepresentations of Napoleon's condition, even when almost moribund; his inhuman and taunting indifference to sufferings, which the bitterest enmity could not look upon without pity. No! it was too palpably dictated by the base fear that any expression of sympathy with, or even attention to, the complaints of the dying Emperor, might offend his malignant jailor, and exercise some unfavourable influence upon his own future fortunes.

When Antommarchi arrives from Europe to take professional charge of the illustrious patient, he invites his medical brethren on the island to dine with him, but is amazed and mortified to find that his invitation is refused or evaded unanimously, under the apprehensive dread of the dark frown of the despot that kept watch over all their movements. Becoming shocked and alarmed himself, he asks leave to abandon his post of honour and high responsibility, and make his escape from this vile despotism—but is refused peremptorily.

When O'Meara put forth his "Voice from St. Helena," eighteen sets of the book were sent as presents to persons on the island. "They were not retained," we are told, "by a single individual, but sent back to the publisher, *with their leaves uncut.*" Thus was he condemned unheard, unread; clearly because to read or hear him, would have incurred the marked displeasure of the insular tyrant, Governor Sir Hudson Lowe, who at that period was labouring most philanthropically to bring about the emancipation of the few slaves—the *black* slaves, we mean—then living on the island, and procure there the total and permanent abolition of slavery.

It scarcely seems possible that Forsyth should have been conscious of the purport of the above anecdote, strangely introduced into an eulogistic biography and carefully laboured defence of his hero, or of the tendency of the following, with which we shall close our critical disquisition.

Theodore Hook, landing for a short time at St. Helena, prepares a book, which he publishes on his arrival in England, entitled "Facts illustrative of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in St. Helena; being the result of minute inquiries and personal research." Sir Hudson Lowe evidently shrinks under the laudatory representations of this literary sycophant. Was he afraid of being suspected by the British ministry of too gentle jailorship, or was he aware that the gross misstatements of the work would recoil upon him rather than its author? "I am sensible," he says, "of his good intentions, although he appears to have drawn some matters in rather too glowing colours. I believe he

got his information from some naval friend, which may account for its inaccuracy."

Let us describe, in a few sentences, the progressive illness of the dying prisoner. He had long complained of symptoms varying in degree, which O'Meara ascribed to "obscure sub-acute inflammation of the liver." In January, 1819, he was affected with vertigo, and seemed to be threatened with apoplexy. Dr. Stokoe, on examination of him, agreed with O'Meara, and called the case a chronic hepatitis. He "distinctly felt a degree of hardness in the region of the liver." In August, Capt. Nicholls, peeping in, sees Napoleon in the bath. "He had a most ghastly appearance." In July, 1820, he suffered from "a bilious attack, and was restless, changing from one bed to another frequently, day and night." In October, he is described as "pale, but astonishingly fat and very drowsy." In November, he "suffers from frequent vomitings and pains in the stomach." In February, 1821, he has fever, with great prostration; his stomach is irritable, "his mind wandering." He says, gloomily, "there is no more oil in the lamp." Yet Dr. Arnott, most pertinaciously intruded on him by his jailors, speaks lightly of the case. Forsyth says:—"It is certainly strange that Dr. Arnott did not entertain apprehensions of a fatal result." Sir T. Reade writes:—"Dr. Arnott appears to think that Gen. Bonaparte is not affected with any serious complaint. He told Gen. Bertrand that *he saw no danger whatever*." This was on the 6th of April, 1821! On the 11th, Dr. A. examined the abdomen manually, and told Bertrand that he "could find no hardness or swelling." "Napoleon spoke no farther on the subject, merely signifying that he understood what was said, by a kind of contractile motion of the jaw and upper lip." On the 28th, he became so much worse, that all affectation of ignorance or doubt was necessarily laid aside for ever. On the 30th, at midnight, "he seemed dying; he was cold as ice and his pulse was gone."

We find Dr. Arnott staying with him on the 1st of May; "he is much sunk; raves more; rejects every thing offered; seems collected at one time, and at another loses sense and

recollection altogether. He speaks of O'Meara and Stokoe," (long since dismissed,) "forgetting Arnott and Antommarchi" (present). He becomes suddenly calm; remarks "on the untimely presence of Bertrand, and dictates a letter." So he continues until the 5th of May. At eleven minutes before six in the evening, while a violent hurricane was sweeping over the island and adjoining ocean, he died, his last thought and last words redolent of his military habit of command and soldierly feeling.

His death was directly owing to cancer of the stomach; his father, as well as some other members of his family, had been affected with similar disease. It is not difficult now to trace, in the history of his symptoms for years previous, the gradual progress of this insidious and indomitable malady.

The autopsy, as given by Forsyth, is a somewhat curious specimen of a layman's paraphrase of a technical statement. The following are the points of interest:—"The body was very fat, the layer of adipose matter being one inch thick on the breast, and one and a half over the abdomen. The lungs were sound; the heart of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat. The stomach was the seat of extensive disease, connected externally with the liver by strong adhesions, and internally a mass of schirrhous, with cancerous ulceration. It contained a large quantity of fluid resembling coffee grounds. The liver adhered to the diaphragm, and the organ was, perhaps, a little larger than natural. Except the adhesions, no unhealthy appearance was observed in the liver. Dr. Short said it was enlarged; all the medical men present differed from him. Dr. Arnott said there was nothing extraordinary in its appearance. Antommarchi said it was a large liver, but not otherwise extraordinary."

The Italian did not sign the report made at the time, but afterwards published his own. In that he says:—"The liver, which was affected by chronic hepatitis, closely adhered by its convex surface to the diaphragm; the adhesion occupied the whole extent of that organ, and was strong, cellular, and of long existence."

Count Montholon requested that the heart should be taken

out and sent to Maria Louisa, in compliance with the wish of the dead Napoleon. This was refused by Sir Hudson Lowe. It was afterwards put into a silver vessel, and sealed or "soldered up with a silver shilling;" the stomach, also, was enclosed "in a silver pepper-box," and both, in a tin case, placed with the body in a wooden box, within a leaden coffin. These remains of the Mighty Conqueror mouldered in the dust of the distant island to which he was exiled; but this was not their place of final rest. They lie now in his beloved Paris.

On visiting St. Helena in 1828, even the impassive soul of Sir Hudson Lowe must have experienced some emotion. Longwood, for so many years a centre of warm and profound interest to the whole civilized world, presented a scene of neglect and abandonment, decay and dilapidation, almost beyond belief. "The chief approach to the house was through a large pig-stye. Out of the windows of Napoleon's bed-room protruded bundles of hay; the chamber in which he had breathed his last, was converted into a stable."

---

ART. V.—WHAT IS OUR GOVERNMENT?

1. *Tract on Government.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
2. *Southern Quarterly Review.* April, 1854. Charleston: C. Mortimer. Art. VIII. On Government.

THE subject of government—what it is and what it should be—is one that can scarcely be too frequently discussed by the press, in the present condition of our own and the several civilized states of the world. We shall, accordingly, offer no apologies for once more urging its consideration upon the attention of our readers. We are specially prompted to this performance by the review contained in the April number of this periodical, of the tract first mentioned in our caption. This tract is understood to be from the pen of Mr. James M. Walker, of the Bar of Charleston; the review is ascribed, without denial, to the pen of the Hon. Robert Barn-

well Rhett. The high reputation of the latter, as a lawyer and politician, confers so much authority upon his opinions, as renders it necessary that his errors (if he has uttered any in his opinion) should meet with prompt exposure and analysis; and this must be our excuse for undertaking the review of the reviewer. We shall do our spiriting as gently as possible; but frankly state, that, in dealing with one of so much rank and experience, we shall feel no necessity to speak quite so gingerly, as if our customer were a young one, and only beginning his career in politics and polemics. We take for granted that Mr. Rhett has been sufficiently indurated, during his political career in Washington and elsewhere, to endure, with equanimity, an occasional rough jostle in debate. Besides, it should be enough for him to know, that "those who play at bowls must expect rubbers."

It is necessary, in order to understand the issues between Mr. Rhett and Mr. Walker—the reviewer and the tract writer—to observe that the treatise, so far as it considers the government of the United States, urges, as its main proposition, the necessity of an amendment of the Constitution. The particular amendment suggested, is to eradicate from that instrument the words "provide for the general welfare;" by virtue of which, tariff laws, and others similar in their effects, have been enacted. It will not be denied that these have been extremely injurious to our section of the confederacy. It is a fact, that the intelligent men of the Union are divided in opinion upon the question, whether or not Congress has a specific power to promote the general welfare. But it is *certain* that Congress has *claimed* and exercised this power frequently, and that, too, with the sanction of the Supreme Court.

Until within a very short period of time, no one was more ardent, and, we believe, more honest, than Mr. Rhett, in suggesting means to remedy the evils consequent upon the possession by Congress of this power "to promote the general welfare." For more than twenty years, the party to which he belonged, and of which, until very lately, he was the most conspicuous leader, has been sedulously devoted to the discovery and application of an efficient remedy. In 1832

it declared, with indescribable gravity of countenance, that the rightful remedy was found at last. "Nullification is the rightful remedy." It is not for us, at this time, to discuss the question whether this was or not a constitutional remedy. But, writing historically, the fact is, that the panacea of nullification had this good effect upon the political doctors—that it relieved their bosoms of much perilous stuff of a very gaseous nature. But the patient did not benefit by it, for nullification was followed by the Tariff Act of 1842.

Defeated, but not discouraged, Mr. Rhett some time afterwards separated himself from Mr. Calhoun, and began to agitate another question deeply interesting to the South, and upon which it is justly extremely sensitive. The abolition party had pursued a course highly offensive and dangerous to us. Congress was supposed to possess all powers, or at least sufficient to justify it in legislating upon that subject. Mr. Calhoun warned the Senate that disunion would be the lamentable consequence of this course of policy ; Mr. Rhett, differing with him, resolved to make that which Mr. Calhoun regarded as dreadful even in apprehension, a *fact* ! He proposed secession. Nullification was now an obsolete idea of ancient fogydom. Secession was the rightful remedy. But, so soon as, in his usual dashing style of practice, he seized this new panacea between thumb and finger, in order to administer it *secundum artem*, the patient, in a most unaccountable manner, very unexpectedly shut his teeth close ; whilst the medicine, being of a very gaseous character, like most of the gentleman's specifics, exploded like a hand grenade, overthrowing the doctor and scattering his assistants. So very decided was the overthrow and dispersion of the faculty after this explosion, that we have no reason to question the assurance that they give us, that they will kindly wait until the patient shall declare himself ready to co-operate with them in curing himself. The co-operation party, accordingly, continues still to wait for the good time that is coming.

At this stage of the political career of the leading politician of this State, Mr. Walker came forward and respectfully requested him to try a new method, which, although

not having the advantage of the stamp of office to give it currency, was certainly efficacious. It was recommended as a peaceful measure provided by the Constitution, and that it had *not* failed like nullification and secession. "No," says Mr. Rhett; "no remedy can be of any use now that secession is bankrupt." In vain do we protest that nullification and secession are only synonyms for various degrees of insanity. Still, he insists that no other means can possibly be efficient. Now, to a plain man, all this looks very much like an intention, on the part of Mr. Rhett, *not* to remedy the evil *at all*. But, supposing him still uncured of the insanity of secession, this stubbornness of his very much resembles that of the ancient ladies in the island of Laputa, who, when the imperial palace took fire, highly applauded the attempts of the people to extinguish the flames with thimble-fulls of water. But when Mr. Gulliver, seeing the certain ruin of the edifice, if other and more powerful means were not employed instantly, with the instinct of genius, conceived the design of arresting the flames by a process quite as efficient as simple—letting himself fairly out for the purpose, and bringing his engine to bear upon the fire, with a vigour greatly increased by long retention, and the free use of *glimgim*—then it was that the old ladies of the palace shrieked out their hostility to the only process by which the building could be saved. Better that the palace should burn a thousand times, than that they should discard from use the putty-like thimbles, which hitherto had only added fuel to the flames !\* Had our ex-Senator made this little history his special study, he could not more completely have fashioned his own philosophy upon it. We commend him to a re-perusal of Swift, with particular regard to the politics and government of Laputa.

It is also to be observed that the tract is not a party tract. The writer chose to express his opinions on the subject of government, and in so doing violated no duty to the country. His style is courteous—to a degree which is unusual in po-

\* Lest some of our young readers should have passed over Swift among the English classics, we refer them to the source of this comparison in the first part of the *Voyage to Laputa*, Chap. 5.



litical writings. His allusions to parties are accompanied with selected words of sincere kindness. Mr. Calhoun receives from him the praise of being a just man and a patriot. And although he does not agree with that distinguished person in all his opinions, and in his lifetime had never been idolatrous in his admiration of him, so, after his death, he could not be Mr. Calhoun's traducer. "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," is a high and noble sentiment. Under these circumstances the writer of the tract had a right to expect that *his motives* would not be impugned. But he might well be astonished, as he reads the following passage in the article of Mr. Rhett, p. 502 :

"But we do not like his reference to reason as the end of government. Reason is a faculty of the mind, not a principle ; and, although the noblest faculty of the mind, it is, on that account, the most perverted by our fall. At least, its aberrations in religion, morals and politics, are more flagrant, as they rise up continually and agitate the bosom of society. Looking to its vast scope and dignity in man, and rejecting the truths of the Bible, the French atheists, in 1792, enthroned it in government, *as our author seems disposed to do*, although from very different principles. They contended that reason was alone sufficient for man's guidance in life and government. All he had to do was to follow nature and reason. The passions were natural, and, therefore, reasonable. They were, therefore, to be indulged. Convince the reason of what is right in morals and government, and man would practice it," &c.

Now this whole passage indicates a very extraordinary confusion of ideas, and ignorance of the meaning of words. The author of the tract does *not* maintain the proposition as is asserted by Mr. Rhett, that reason is the end of government ; but the reverse, that government is the substitute for reason ; occupies its place in the external affairs of the world, and is necessary only *because human reason is too weak to controul human passions*.

Again, Mr. Rhett has not displayed a very nice discrimination in the use of words in the above citation. He illustrates his remarks by referring to the worship of a woman in *Notre Dame*. Now, reason is a faculty, but it is that faculty of the mind which serves to restrain human passions. It is the brake on the steam car. When passions hurry man

into crime, it is not because of the aberrations of this faculty, but because of its inactivity, its deadness; because the brake is not applied to them. But Mr. Rhett uses the word reason in that vulgar sense which comprehends under it all the mental and moral qualities of man. And it is in that vulgar sense, but not the sense in which Mr. Walker has used it, that the French atheists employed it. They did not enthrone a prostitute, as the symbol of that faculty which restrains human passions, but as the symbol of human passions unrestrained by reason. It is very manifest that the reviewer neither understands the language of the philologist, nor the facts of the historian. The comparison between the practice of the French atheists and that recommended by Mr. Walker, springs solely from that want of discrimination in the use of words, which is characteristic of a particular class of minds, which social and Christian charity will not suffer us to individualize more closely, but to all of which a course of Lindley Murray, and a certain moderate delay at Jericho, until their beards had grown, would be only proper recommendations.

It is also to be remarked, that the necessity of resuming the study of grammar, which we have recommended to the reviewer, is made very manifest by his criticism on the opinion, that "government is purely an instrument of restraint. The powers essential to it, are none, therefore, but such as will render it efficient for restraint." The reviewer states that the author "looks upon government not as an instrument to prevent injustice, but as a mere instrument of restraint." He then proceeds to state, and manifestly he intends to contradict the author, that "it (government) is an instrument of preventing injustice, which is its aim and end. In reality, government restrains only to promote this great aim and end of its existence."

Then government is an instrument of restraint, according to this admission. The reviewer agrees with the tract writer fully, although unconsciously; and that instrument of restraint has for its aim and end to prevent injustice. Every one who has read the tract, knows that its theme is, that the only use of government at all, is to prevent one man or one

people from indulging their passions to the wrong and injury of another. But when the reviewer proceeds to say that government is not only an instrument to prevent or restrain (the words are synonymous) injustice, but "is also a great deal more," he contradicts himself. For if *the aim and end* of government is to restrain or prevent injustice, then no other powers are essential to it but such as will render it efficient for that purpose. If other powers are possessed by government, then it has other ends than to prevent injustice, and to leave the people free to choose and to act. Now the reviewer cannot name any power which government can possess, beyond those which make it a mere instrument of restraint, that will not fall under the class of progressive powers, or, if he pleases, aggressive powers. These, too, are the powers which governments have invariably used for the destruction of popular freedom, and are the only powers that can be used for that purpose. We must, however, here not omit to notice the complaint that we have used the word progressive for constructive powers. Here, again, a good grammar and dictionary were necessary to the reviewer. Progressive powers are possessed by every potentate in Europe, but none of them have powers by construction, or constructive powers. These can be found only in *our* government, where we have a Constitution, which, together with the laws passed in pursuance of it, is to be construed by a Court. The phrase constructive powers has been derived from the Courts. Progressive powers, therefore, may be obtained by Congress by construction, but all Europe proves that most commonly they are held by governments as their inherent and express right. The phrases, therefore, are not by any means of identical meaning, as the reviewer improperly imagines.

We have glanced hastily, but sufficiently, at the chief objections which the reviewer has presented to the two first chapters of the tract. Neither time nor space will permit us to notice all the platitudes and errors which abound in the article of Mr. Rhett. But, before proceeding to graver matters, we will observe upon the following remarks of the reviewer :

"Another kindred fallacy put forth by the author before us, and very common amongst writers, is that free governments are not suited to every people. The truth of this position is easily tested by the question, what is free government? A *free government* is a *just government*."

Here, we desire to propound a few questions to the reviewer. Does Mr. Rhett hold it to be a *fallacy*, that the negro race is not fit to be free? Does he hold it to be a kindred fallacy, that that race is now governed justly by the whites? Does he mean that the government of the whites over their slaves, is not a just government, because it is not a free government, and is an unjust government because the negroes are not free? Will he defend his answer to his own question, "how are they to obtain a more enlarged freedom from their government?" *By fighting!* Furthermore, is Mr. Rhett, himself, a freeman? Is he not, by his own definition, a mere slave? For he has, for the greater portion of his life, been clamorous in his declarations, that the government of the United States is not a just government, and, therefore, not a free government. It is not our design to impute to Mr. Rhett sentiments which might justly be inferred to be entertained by him from the above citation. Our questions have been put, not with a view to show that he has been writing abolitionism, but nonsense.

Having now disposed of these preliminary objections to the tract, which are original with Mr. Rhett, and, indeed, peculiar to him, we shall proceed to examine two grave objections that have been made by others as well as Mr. Rhett. These are: 1st. That the tract maintains that Congress possesses, by virtue of the Constitution, a specific power to promote the general welfare. 2. That the tract maintains the doctrines of the old federal or consolidation school. We shall consider these assertions in the order in which they are placed.

It is admitted that the tract does expressly state that, in the opinion of the author, the *Constitution* is the source of the mischief; inasmuch as it contains a specific power to promote the general welfare. Furthermore, that, so long as that power remained in it, even as a *seminal* principle, that the people would suffer. Hence, he proposed, in energetic lan-

guage, to eradicate this specific power from the Constitution. With such views, it was plainly unnecessary for him to consider whether or not the Convention intended to give this power, either in a limited or unlimited extent. For, in either case, he regards the power as inherently and incurably mischievous—unmitigated by a single particle of good, and, moreover, incapable of any such mitigation. He argued that it was, and necessarily must be, productive of class legislation; although limited to a degree suitable to the fancy of a strict constructionist. So far, therefore, from approving of the existence of the power, or its exercise, by way of tariffs, &c., he condemns it and them, in the strongest language. Moreover, he recommends, as the true policy of the South, that every member of Congress should vote against the use of that power, and that every one who votes *for it*, should be cashiered.

The question, therefore, between the critics of the tract and its author, is reduced to this, whether or not there is in the Constitution, even as a seminal principle, the power to promote the general welfare. For, if there be any power at all, in the slightest conceivable degree, to promote the general welfare, then it must be admitted, that neither a concurrent majority, nor any other device can eradicate it from the Constitution, and that those devices can, in their most successful application, only mitigate its evils, not cure them. This, no candid man will deny.

Now, according to the plain words of the preamble of the Constitution, one of the ends for which this government was created, was *to promote the general welfare*. Mr. Calhoun, in his disquisition, does not deny it; but, on the contrary, cites the preamble to show for what objects the government was created. He could not deny its existence without contradicting his early speeches in favour of the tariff—without reproaching Mr. McDuffie on account of his celebrated report in favour of the United States Bank—without censuring his own speech at the Memphis Convention, in favour of the improvements of that “internal sea,” the Mississippi river. Let us pass, then, to the 8th sec. 1st article.

"The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States."

Here, it is to be observed, that there is a little want of candour on the part of Mr. Rhett. The author of the tract inserted, before the words "general welfare," the words "*to promote*," but carelessly omitted the marks of parenthesis, which should have preceded and followed those words. The passage should have been printed thus :

"The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and [*to promote the*] general welfare of the United States."

No candid or just mind would have suspected the writer of the equal stupidity and immorality of designing to interpolate a clause of the Constitution with his own language, for a party purpose, or for any purpose ; and Mr. Rhett should have shown himself above conceiving, and, still more, of expressing, such a thought. We frankly say to him, that the very notion of such a thing is discreditable to his nobleness and candour. Mr. Walker evidently inserted the words in question, simply with the view to express his understanding of the meaning of the word "provide" for the general welfare. Let us return to the question.

We admit, for the sake of argument, that the Convention did not intend to give to Congress unlimited power to promote the general welfare. We admit, for the same purpose, that it did not intend to give more than extremely limited powers to promote the general welfare. But we deny that it did not give some power to promote the general welfare. Mr. Rhett may limit it as much as he pleases, short of its total extinction. So long as that power exists, as a mere seminal principle, so long all "concurrent majorities," including single State veto and double Presidents, are useless. That the power *does* exist to this limited extent, is admitted even by Mr. Calhoun. Upon that point we have his own

express testimony. It is well known that he was the author of the Report and Resolutions of 1827 (1 vol. St. at Large, p. 238). Hear him—

“Whether, under the power ‘to promote the general welfare,’ Congress can expend money in internal improvements, or for any purposes not connected with the enumerated objects in the Constitution.”

Here is an explicit acknowledgment, by Mr. Calhoun, which was adopted by both branches of the Legislature, that there is a specific power to promote the general welfare granted to Congress by the Constitution. Indeed, the question was, at the time, not whether such a power existed at all, but whether it was a limited or unlimited power. Now, however painful it may be to some persons to answer, still it is our duty to ask them, whether they hold *now* the same opinions that they did in 1827? It cannot be pretended that this State has, by any authoritative act, repudiated the report and resolutions of that year. Nor has the State Rights party of the South altered its position. Nor, so far as we are informed, has Mr. Calhoun disowned those opinions. The author of the tract, therefore, stands firmly fixed upon the old principles of this State.

It is to be observed, here, that Mr. Walker differs, in this material respect, from the school of Alexander Hamilton: that he condemns what it approves—the power to promote the general welfare. He would eradicate it entirely from the Constitution. Mr. Hamilton would have had the power unlimited. But, according to the views of Mr. Walker, no limitation can, in fact, be applied to the exercise of this power. As well may the physician attempt to confine poison infused into the blood to a particular limb or artery. It will be borne upon its silent current through every portion of the body. The whole history of the legislation of this country, by virtue of the power to promote the general welfare, demonstrates the fact that, for all practical purposes, the supposed limitations upon its exercise are vain and nugatory. There is no effectual remedy, then, but to eradicate it from the Constitution.

It has been shown that the power to promote the general welfare has been admitted, even by Mr. Calhoun, to exist. We might, therefore, stop at this point ; for further argument will not be necessary in order to defend the tract. But it is said that, although the Constitution gives the power to promote the general welfare, still it is not an unlimited power, but one limited to certain enumerated objects. We regret sincerely that such a construction is not sustained by the proceedings of the Convention. As we have often repeated, our purpose is to *amend* the Constitution, so that Congress shall *not* have this power. There is, however, a great difference between what the Constitution *is*, and what it *ought to be*. At present we are considering what it *is*. To know what the Convention meant by the words "promote the general welfare," "provide for the general welfare," let us trace these words throughout the proceedings.

Soon after the Convention assembled, and had arranged its rules of procedure and other preliminary business, Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, arose. He remarked that the government which was to be formed, ought "to procure to the several States various blessings of which an isolated condition was incapable."—(*Mad. Papers*, 729.) He proposed, therefore, several resolutions, and among them the following—

"*Resolved*, That the articles of confederation ought to be so corrected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution, namely : the common defence, security of liberty and *general welfare*."—(781.)

This resolution was referred to the committee of the whole house. Here observe that the words "general welfare" are separated from the words "common defence," by the insertion, between them, of another object of the Union—"the security of liberty." During the same day, Mr. Charles Pinckney submitted to the Convention the draft of a Constitution, which seems to have been made the foundation of the present Constitution. Its preamble sets forth that—

"We, the people of the States of, etc., etc., do ordain, declare and



establish the following Constitution for the government of ourselves and our posterity.”—(735.)

Here nothing is said of any particular objects for which the government is to be established. So, in article 6, clause 1, it is provided—“The legislature of the United States shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises;” but no particular objects for which taxation should be levied are mentioned. It does not contain the words in our present Constitution, namely: to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare. This draft was also referred to the committee of the whole house. It is notorious that the difference between the members from the large and small States now began to be manifested. Violent discussions ensued, threatening the dissolution of the Convention, and which were never perfectly healed. However, after many questions had been agitated, and a committee on detail had been appointed, this committee reported, by Mr. Rutledge, another draft of a Constitution, but which draft merely copies the words, already quoted above, of Mr. Pinckney’s draft.—(1226.) The preamble and article 6, clause 1, are in the same words in both drafts. At the time of making this report, the same committee had under consideration the following resolution of Mr. Madison—

“6. *Resolved*, That the National Legislature ought to possess the legislative rights vested in Congress by the confederation; and, moreover, to legislate *in all cases for the general interests of the Union*, and also, in those to which the States are separately incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation.”—(1221.)

Again, at a *subsequent* day, Mr. Madison proposed, in order to be referred, to give Congress power “to secure the payment of the public debt.”—(1355.) These two several propositions were referred to the committee on detail. On a subsequent day the committee recommend and report—to add at the end of 1st clause, 1st section, 7th article (not as it now stands)—“for the payment of the debts and necessary

expenses of the United States," etc.; and they recommend to add, at the end of the 16th clause of the 2nd section, 7th article (not where it now stands), "and to provide, as may become necessary, from time to time, for the well managing and securing the common property and general interests and welfare of the United States, in such manner as shall not interfere with the government of individual States in matters which respect only their internal police, or for which their individual authority may be competent"—(1398). Thus it appears that the Convention, having before it a draft of the Constitution, inserted in places different from those which they now occupy, specific powers to pay debts and provide for the general welfare; and that these powers were inserted upon the motion of Mr. Madison. There can be no doubt, unless Mr. Madison stultified himself in the "Federalist," that he *did* intend to confer upon Congress a specific and almost unlimited power to promote the general welfare. And, moreover, he always insisted that Congress *had* such power, by virtue of the clauses which have been before cited. But to proceed: these reported additions, with numerous others, were, after their adoption by the Convention, referred to a committee "*to revise the style of and arrange the articles.*"—(1532.) This committee consisted of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Madison and Mr. King. Excepting Mr. Johnson, who was from Massachusetts, the other members were all from the large and *suspected* States.

The committee on style reported the preamble of the Constitution in the words as we now read them—(1542). They altered the arrangement of the articles made by the committee on detail, and included them thus—

"Sec. 8. The Congress may, by joint ballot, appoint a Treasurer. They shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

Thus adding to the draft of the Constitution originally reported, the power which had been given specially and separately, to pay debts; and, also, the other specific power

which had been separately given to promote the general welfare. The words "for the common defence" were never considered separately, and seem to have passed without particular consideration. The other powers were all sharply contested, and formed parts of those objections which then were, as now they are, urged against the Constitution itself. It cannot be denied that the specific power to promote the general welfare, unlimited except by the internal affairs of the States, had been recommended by the committee—(1398). This, too, was on the motion of Mr. Madison. When, therefore, it was referred to the committee to arrange the articles, of which Mr. Madison was a conspicuous member, it is absurd to suppose that the mover of the measure would insert it in the Constitution in such a way as to abrogate and nullify it. On the contrary, we know that it was one of his favourite measures.

Let us now finish the investigation of this clause. Much has been said about the power to promote the general welfare, being negatived by the last words of the clause, providing that taxation shall be uniform. Now, whilst the clause stood thus: "The Congress may, by joint ballot, appoint a Treasurer. They shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States"—various motions were made to strike out the power to elect a Treasurer, and so to alter the clause that it should read as it now does—(1440). Previously, the committee had reported and recommended,

"That there be inserted, after the fourth clause of the seventh section, 'nor shall any regulation of commerce or revenue give preference to the ports of one state over those of another, or oblige vessels bound to or from any state to enter, clear or pay duties in another; and all tonnage duties, imposts and excises, laid by the Legislature, shall be uniform throughout the United States.'"

On a subsequent day, Mr. Madison states :

"ART. I. Sec. 8. The words 'but all such duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States,' are unanimously annexed to the power of taxation"—(1575).

Thus, after the Convention had adopted specific motions giving Congress power to tax, for the purpose of paying debts and providing for the general welfare, it was declared that the taxation should be uniform. The rest of the report became, and now is, a separate clause of the Constitution—Art. 1 ; Sec. 9 ; Clause 6. The committee of details merely annexed it to the end of the taxation clause, instead of inserting it immediately after the words creating the power of taxation. The reason of this is, that had they inserted it, either they must have made of the uniformity words an awkward parenthesis, or repeated the previous words, "Congress shall have power to levy taxes, to pay the debts, &c." As it stands, Congress has power to levy taxes, pay debts, &c., *provided* the power is exercised so that the taxes shall be uniform.

Whether, therefore, we look to the history of the power to promote the general welfare, to the movers of the measure, to the arrangement of the style and order of the powers, it is plain that the Convention *did give* to Congress this power. It is equally plain that the limitations upon the power proposed by Mr. Madison, and recommended by the committee, and adopted by the Convention, are not contained in the succeeding clauses of the 8th section. The limitations proposed by Mr. Madison and the committee, are that Congress shall use this power "in such manner as shall not interfere with the government of individual States, in matters which respect their own internal police, or for which their individual authority may be competent"—(1398). These are the limitations, and the only limitations intended to be put upon this power, by the movers of the proposition, the committee that reported, and the Convention that adopted it. On the other hand, all the clauses that follow it, in the 8th section, are distinct and substantive powers. They, according to grammatical construction, leave understood, at the beginning of each clause, the first words of the section, namely: "The Congress shall have power to borrow money, &c. The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce, &c." Furthermore, the limitations recommended by the committee are not, as we have before stated, to be found in any part of the

8th section of the Constitution. Hence, the attempt to limit the power to promote the general welfare to the objects enumerated in the succeeding clauses of the section, is entirely without warrant. Much has been said about the Convention having refused to authorize internal improvements—manufactories—a bank. The Convention did so refuse to grant specific powers, distinct from the general welfare, for these purposes. But the effect of that refusal was simply to leave the power unlimited; for, if those objects had been enumerated, if power to promote the general welfare, by establishing manufactories, had been granted, then, of course, it would have excluded the idea that the power could be used for other non-enumerated purposes. The expression of the one would have been the exclusion of the others. So that the Convention did, in fact, *refuse* to insert any clause which could be construed as a limitation upon the power to promote the general welfare.

Now, we have entered into this tedious inquiry, not to justify the Convention in granting this power; not to sanction the free construction of it, not to intimate our approval of the laws which have been passed in pursuance of it; but to make more clear and unquestionable, the indispensable necessity of eradicating from the Constitution this tremendous power. We believe that the Constitution is what we have shown it to be. We desire that it should not continue in its present state, but should be amended. Those who cannot understand our designs, and mistake our motives, must continue to entertain their suspicions. But every candid and intelligent man will admit that this power, which, limited or unlimited, has always been abused by Congress, ought to be taken from it. It is mere idle disputation to discuss strict construction and free construction, when, by either construction, the power is, and must be, pernicious. Let us leave such discussions to the schools, and, like men of sense, remove the cause of quarrel and prevent misconstruction, by taking away the power to be construed.

Another topic which we propose to notice, is the position, urged in the tract, that the Constitution has made this government partly federal and partly national. Undoubtedly,

the articles of confederation created a confederacy—a system of governments. The deputies who met in Congress, were appointed by the governments of the several States. It differed in principle in no respect from the many European Congresses which assembled at various times to concert measures of resistance against France. But the deputies appointed by a legislature or State government, do not represent the sovereignty of the people of a State. They can have no more power to limit or surrender the rights of sovereignty belonging to the people, than the legislature. Their powers are greatly inferior to those which belong to a convention of the people. When, therefore, the articles state that the confederacy was formed by the States, they mean, of course, by the legislatures or governments of the States. The confederation was, therefore, a system of governments.

This union was found to be inefficient for the accomplishment of its purposes. A Convention, therefore, was held, which formed the present Constitution. And as that Constitution conferred extraordinary powers upon Congress, it was admitted to be necessary to have it ratified by conventions of the people of the several States, each acting as an independent people or "sovereign community." The present Constitution, therefore, was not ratified and made obligatory by the governments of the several States, as the articles of confederation had been, but was ratified by the several people of each State. Hence, therefore, the title, the Constitution of the United States, means the Constitution of the united societies—peoples—communities; whereas, that of the confederation meant the Constitution of the several governments—legislatures—States. That the word State should be used in several senses, is not unusual; and being equivocal, ought to be rejected, or some definite meaning given to it, in discussions of this sort. Thus, Mr. Calhoun uses the word to express government; for, at the beginning of his disquisition, he states that ours is a system of governments. In the Constitution, however, the word is generally used to mean "people," or sovereign community. In the art. 1, sec. 2, representatives shall be chosen "by the people of the several States." Here, States seem to refer to territories. It is,

therefore, necessary, in order to discuss the subject with clearness, that the word State should be rejected, and the word government, or the word society, used in its place. But as the word State means, under the articles, government, and as Mr. Calhoun uses it in that sense, we will adopt it, and hold it to mean government. With this understanding of its meaning, then, it is plain, that if we look, as Mr. Calhoun properly thinks we should do, to the source and creator of the government, it is plain that our present Constitution is a Constitution of the united peoples, or sovereign communities. And its title ought to have been the Constitution of the united peoples, whilst that of the articles was an union of the governments. In other words, when we adopt his test of the nature of the government, the source and creator of it, the present union differs from the union of the confederation, as much as the sources of these two governments differ from each other. The articles created a union of governments, the present Constitution an union of peoples. Now we deny that two or more peoples can be united for specific purposes, without being, as to those purposes, one people. Just as several individuals, by entering into a compact to accomplish certain lawful purposes, are, in legal sense, one person, or a firm. To prevent the union of these several peoples into one, it is indispensably necessary to interpose their governments ; and if we interpose their governments in reference to the present union, with a view to prevent this union of the peoples, then we contradict and deny the test of the nature of the government, the source and creators of it—in short, we contradict the premises which Mr. Calhoun has himself established as true. But it is as certain that the peoples of the several States formed our present Constitution, as it is that the governments of the several States formed the articles of confederation.

It is plain, therefore, it was with a view of uniting several peoples—of making several peoples into one people—that our present government was formed. This could only be effected by a convention of each people acting as independent and sovereign communities, free to become consolidated with the other several peoples, or to refuse. They

chose to become one people. To do so, it was necessary to surrender either all their separate rights of sovereignty, or some of them. In the former case, the consolidation would have been complete for all purposes—in the latter, for some. Did the several peoples surrender any of their sovereign rights, and thus become partially consolidated? We shall show that they did surrender some of their rights of sovereignty, and it must follow, then, that they were partially consolidated, and, of course, could not be united wholly in a federal government.

During the session of the Convention, George Washington, whose opinions, we very humbly conceive, are as valuable and as much valued as those of any other person, wrote thus :\*

“Persuaded I am that the primary cause of all our disorders was in the different State governments, and in the tenacity of that power which pervades the whole of their systems. Whilst *independent sovereignty* is so ardently contended for—whilst the local views of each State and separate interests by which they are too much governed, will not yield to a more enlarged scale of politics, incompatibility in the laws of different States, and disrespect to those of the General Government, must render the situation of this great country weak, inefficient and disgraceful.”

Shortly afterwards, he addressed a letter to Benjamin Harrison,† sending “a copy of the Constitution, which the Federal Convention has submitted to the *people* of these States.” Mr. Harrison replied, “*if the Constitution is carried into effect, the States south of the Potomac will be little more than appendages to those to the northward of it.*”‡ Col. Mason, of Virginia, declared “that he would sooner *chop off* his right hand than put it to the Constitution as it now stands.”§ This he said on the floor of the Convention, in the face of George Washington, and he never *did* sign the Constitution. The Constitution, however, was adopted; and the President, George Washington, in his letter to Congress, accompanying the draft of the Constitution, says:

\* Writings of Washington. Sparks. 9 vol. p. 258. † Ibid. p. 265.

‡ Ibid. p. 266. § Mad. Pap. p. 1475.



"It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these States, to secure *all rights of independent sovereignty* to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest."\*

And in another paragraph, quoted by Mr. Calhoun, he says :

"In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union."

Here we have, in the first citation, an express declaration that the peoples of the several States did not surrender *all* their rights of independent sovereignty, and, of course, surrendered *some* of them ; and, in the second, that this was done with a view to the *consolidation of the Union*. And we have seen the conduct of Mr. Mason, and the opinion of Mr. Harrison, as to the effect of this Constitution upon the States south of the Potomac.

But the evidence is not exhausted. We will pass by, for the present, the opinions of Mr. Madison, so much criticised by Mr. Calhoun, and refer to the opinions and conduct of Patrick Henry. Who will undertake to denounce *him* as a traitor to his State ? Who dare assert that the earliest advocate of American Independence was no friend to liberty ? Who will taunt *him* as a consolidationist ? None but a fool or a slave ! When the Constitution was presented to the Convention of the people of Virginia, for ratification, he opposed it, and declared that it *did* make a consolidation of the United States—that it *did* destroy the independence and sovereignty of the States. "Have they said, *we, the States* ! † Have they made a proposal of a compact between States ? If they *had*, this would be a confederation ; it is, otherwise, most clearly a consolidated government." Again—"To all the common purposes of legislation, it is a great consolidation of government."‡ These are not the sentiments of one who *approved* of the Constitution, but of one who, in the Virginia Convention, closed his speech in opposition to the ratification of the Constitution, with these words :

\* Constitution. Hickey, p. 188.

† Wirt's Life of Henry, pp. 286-7.

‡ Ibid. p. 307.

"My head, my hand and my heart, shall be free to retrieve the loss of liberty, and remove the defects of that system in a *constitutional* way—I wish not to go to violence, but will wait, with hopes that the spirit which predominated in the revolution is not yet gone. I shall, therefore, patiently wait, in expectation of seeing that government changed, so as to be compatible with the safety, liberty and happiness of the people."

Now, Mr. Calhoun has declared himself to be directly of the opposite opinion, and has maintained that this is a government altogether federal. We have expressed an opinion different from that of Mr. Henry, as well as of Mr. Calhoun—an opinion in accordance with that of George Washington, that the States have *not* surrendered "all rights of independent sovereignty." This is *our* language. It is *not* true that this Union is a "system of States" alone—a mere confederacy. It is neither a system of States alone, nor an absolute consolidation of all the people.

"Again. But suppose the other States, not content with a dissolution of the Union, and refusing to repeal the law, should say that this is not a system of States—that it was such under the articles of confederation, but that source of weakness was removed by the adoption of the Constitution—that this Union is *partly federative and partly national*—all of which they would be well warranted in saying," &c.

Again—"For certain and for *limited purposes*, the Constitution has amalgamated the several peoples of the States into one people."\* But this is the language of Mr. Calhoun—"How strange, after all these admissions, is the conclusion *that the government is partly federal and partly national*."† And the same idea is repeated in various other places, and the opinion that this government is partly federal and partly national, declared to be an absurdity. With a full knowledge of this censure, we have taken to ourselves the liberty expressly to deny its justice.

To maintain our position, we appeal from Mr. Calhoun in 1852 to Mr. Calhoun in 1832:‡

"It must never be forgotten, that it is to the creating and to the controlling power, that we are to look for the true character of the fede-

\* Tract, pp. 30-35.

† Disquisition, pp. 181 ; 140-2-6 ; 162.

‡ 1 Statutes at Large, p. 335.

ral government, for the present controversy is, not as to the sources from which the ordinary powers of the government are drawn ; *these are partly federal and partly national*. Nor is it relevant to consider upon whom these powers operate. In this last view, the government, for limited purposes, is entirely national."

In 1832, Mr. Calhoun admitted that, considering the sources of the government, the powers are partly federal and partly national ; and that, for limited purposes, the government is entirely national. Mr. Walker has simply copied this passage, almost verbatim, into his tract. Is Mr. Walker, in consequence, a political heretic who has deserted the principles of this State ? Perhaps Mr. Rhett will be pleased to answer the question. We beg that he will do so.

It must not, however, be omitted, that, in the same paragraph which we have before cited, are these words :

"The true question is, who are the parties to the compact ? Who created and who can alter and destroy it ? Is it the States or the people ? This question has been already answered. The States, *as States*, ratified the compact. The people of the United States, collectively, had no agency in its formation."

Mr. Calhoun, in his disquisition, uses the word States to mean governments ; and, if such is its sense in the above citation, it is unquestionably untrue that the governments or Legislatures formed the compact. On the other hand, it is true that the several peoples ratified the compact, surrendered some of their rights of sovereignty, and created a "government for limited purposes entirely national."

The truth is, that the ambiguous meaning of the word *States*, has led to much confusion of reasoning, and is the foundation of the whole theory of Mr. Calhoun. None will deny the fact, that the present Constitution was the act of the several peoples of each State, acting as sovereign communities, and that the Legislatures had no power to surrender any of its sovereign rights, nor to cede the extraordinary powers contained in the Constitution. From this incapacity of the Legislatures sprang the necessity of a ratification by Conventions. The people in Conventions, by adopting the Constitution, authorized the several Legislatures, for instance,

to elect Senators ; reserving to themselves the right to elect Representatives. If this is not true, then the Legislatures reserved to themselves the power to elect Senators, and granted power to the people to elect Representatives. But this idea is a mere absurdity, for the Legislatures have no ability to grant powers to the people, who are the owners of all power. But, absurd as this idea is, it is yet gravely stated that this "is a confederacy, because the extent of the powers of the government depends not upon the people of the United States collectively, but upon the *State Legislatures*, or on the people of the separate States, acting in these State Conventions." It is *not* true that the government exercises any power in any extent, by leave of—or that the extent of any power depends upon—the State Legislatures ; it depends solely, and altogether, upon the peoples of each State. Not even the head of the federal party, Mr. Hamilton, much less a member of the democratic party, would venture to attribute, to a Legislature, any original power not derived from the people. If that is not the meaning of the words "upon the State Legislatures"—and these are mere surplusage—then let them be stricken out. But, in striking them out, you throw confusion into, and make nonsense of, the whole document. For it is a fundamental maxim of Mr. Calhoun, that "ours is a system of governments," and that the General Government is the agent of governments. Then, of course, it derives its powers from the *governments*, not the *peoples* of the States. A more naked attribution of sovereignty to the Legislature, in contradistinction to the people, has never been propounded. But we return from this digression, to the main point, and affirm it to be true that, in stating that this government is partly federal and partly national, we repeated the authoritative sentiments of the people of South-Carolina.

We apprehend, therefore, that the tract of Mr. Walker is not justly chargeable with politically heretical sentiments, either on the subject of consolidation, or that of the general welfare. It does not, it is true, servilely copy the opinions propounded by Mr. Calhoun in his disquisition. It takes leave to differ from them ; and this the author might do

without violating any duty to the State. Those who believe in the infallibility of Mr. Calhoun, will, doubtless, censure a protestant against such "base abandonment of reason." Yet it would be well for them to remember that they are themselves, and have been, for a quarter of a century, protestants, too, against the infallibility of the government of the United States. Is that an offence in the *private*, which is commendable in the *officer*? But, censured or not censured, ostracised or not ostracised, we will assert, for ourself, the freedom of thought and of speech; and do, and will, deny the infallibility of any man, however illustrious by office and genius. Finally, in criticising the writings of our great statesman, John C. Calhoun—"Clàrum et venerabile nomen gentilis et multum nestræ prodorat urbi"—we act in perfect accordance with his expressed wishes. In a letter, 4th November, 1849, he says:

"I wish my errors to be pointed out. I have set down only what I believed to be true, without yielding one inch to the popular opinions and prejudices of the day."\*

Our purpose has been to gratify that wish in the amplest, and, at the same time, the most respectful manner.

J. M. W.

#### ART. VI.—NECESSITY OF THE CLASSICS.

*Grundriss der Griechischen Litteratur; mit einem vergleichenden Ueberblick der Römischen.* VON G. BERNHARDY. Zweite Bearbeitung. Erster Theil: Innere Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur. Halle, bei Eduard Anton. 1852. (Outlines of Grecian Literature.)

HOWEVER slight the analogy may be between ancient and modern colonization, it is, notwithstanding, interesting to

\* Preface, p. 7.

observe even the faint semblances of prototypes, which lie scattered throughout the range of history, and to recognize a foreshadowing of our own genesis in the foundation of states long extinct. Sybaris had been destroyed in one of those internecine wars which disfigure the annals of Lower Italy, and the beneficent genius of Athens prompted united Hellas to found a common colony on the ruins of the fairest city of Magna Græcia. Apollo was selected as the leader, and Thuriî arose, celebrated on account of its origin and constitution.\* We, too, are a common colony of united Europe; every nation has sent its contingent, and our origin and constitution are, like those of Thuriî, unique. But who is the leader of our grand colony? Is it the Grecian Apollo or the Roman Mercury? A few more generations, and we shall be as little a colony of Europe as England is a colony of Hengist and Horsa. The old colonists are dead, the old elements have become effete or have passed over into new forms, and, in this chaos, culture and lucre may well seem to the vulgar apprehension to be striving for the mastery. From all sides we hear outcries against the utilitarianism of our century and of our country. Plautus, the poet, is grinding at the mill. Pegasus is impounded, and Castaly choked up. Such declamations are useless. The greatest geniuses move but in and with their time, and "like the waves which, forced away by the passage of a ship, rush together immediately behind it, so doth error, when master-spirits have crowded it out and made room for themselves, close with natural rapidity in the rear." All that is not founded on the necessities of the age, is evanescent; and all attempts to revive a dead science can end, at best, in a momentary galvanization. Were it our purpose to repeat the story of the revival of learning, to fall into raptures over Plato the divine and Ovid the holy,† the judicious reader

\* We avoid current quotations from the classics. See K. F. Hermann, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, § 80, 22—(*Political Antiquities of Greece*). The dodecade of the *phylæ* of Thuriî is, according to Neibuhr—(*Lectures on Ancient History*, II. 127, Eng. trans.)—a multiple of the Ionic tetrad and the Doric triad.

† Coleridge, note to the *Garden of Boccaccio*.

would do well to pause on the threshold. It might become a sanguine humanist like Poliphilus\* to prove at length that, of all nations, the Greeks have dreamed the most beautiful life-dream, or a philosopher like Hegel to wish himself a Cecropiad of Athens' palmy days. We have a far different task from that of dreaming and wishing. We must watch the chaos not as idle spectators, but as sentient participants.

There never has been an age so profoundly introspective as our own—none so zealous in giving itself an account of its own impulses. It is to this century that we owe the thousand and one essays on the "Genius of Christianity," "The Spirit of our Present Age," "Our Condition and Prospects." In this consciousness of our state, many have seen the symptoms of our unhealthiness. It has been fashionable for some years to speak of the unconsciousness of genius, to speak of self-analysis as the sure sign of sickness and weakness, and every school-boy holds forth on the text furnished by Mr. Carlyle's "characteristics." The greatest poet of the two preceding generations inculcated this maxim with the utmost ardour; repeated it in every form. Not even the dullest reader ever arose from the perusal of Goethe without at least this one idea, that the great characteristic of genius is unconscious spontaneity.† "On the whole," says Carlyle, who has adopted this principle and applied it in his peculiar manner, "genius is ever a secret to itself. Of this old truth we have, daily, new evidence.

\* In his *Hypnerotomachia*. See Wachler, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Literatur*, b. III., s. 11; Comp. Goethe. *Werke*, b. III., s. 191.

† To hedge in the assertion of the text with such limitations as readily suggest themselves, would be equivalent to cancelling it, and we must, therefore, "reserve the point." We subjoin a brace of quotations from Xenia:

"Ja, das ist das rechte Gleis,  
Dass man nicht weiss  
Was man denkt,  
Wenn man denkt,  
Alles ist als wie geschenkt."

And again—

"Wie hast du's denn so weit gebracht?  
Sie sagen, du habest es gut vollbracht?  
Mein Kind! ich hab' es klug gemacht,  
Ich hab' nie über das Denken g'dacht."

The Shakspeare takes no airs for writing *Hamlet* and the *Tempest*, understands not that it is anything surprising: Milton, again, is more conscious of his faculty, which is, accordingly, an inferior one." What becomes, then, of Carlyle's great idol, Goethe himself, whose power of self-analysis is unparalleled? The ancients appear to us less conscious of their individual power than others, because our acquaintance with them is, after all, confined to a limited sphere. With the exception of Pindar and a few precious fragments, all the lyric poetry of Greece has perished. It is to this department that we must look for a display of self-consciousness; not to the Epos, which, in its antique form, is foreign to our culture; nor to the drama, for the individuality of the author is modified in the two great coryphæi, under whom the Attic tragedy reached its culmination, by the characters represented both in the dialogue and the chorus. It is in lyric poetry and the professedly personal parabasis of the old comedy, that we find as perfect a recognition of self, and as clear a statement of the principles of art, as can be found in any modern poet. Pindar and Simonides carried on a controversy in their odes, and evidently pursued different theories of art.\* Pindar, as true and antique as a statue from the Parthenon, measured his own proportions as carefully as Phidias did those of his Pallas, and proudly asserted his own superiority in lines which strongly reminded us of Goethe's own self-exaltation.† How many men, in the whole range of literature, are secrets to themselves? Homer has escaped the charge of self-consciousness from the remoteness of his antiquity and the mystery of his origin, Shakspeare from the peculiar nature of the drama; and yet Homer and Shakspeare, if carefully studied with reference to this point,

\* Bernhardt, *Gesch. der Gr. Litteratur*, s. 511. More in Schneidewin's *Prolegomena* to Simonides, p. xxx. Rauchenstein, *Einleitung in Pindar's Siegeslieder*, s. 66.

† Pind. Ol. II., 86 seqq. *μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι*  
*παγγλωσία, κέρατες ὄς, ἀκραντα γάρβειον*  
*Διὸς πρὸς ἑριχα θεῖον.*

Goethe in his *Xenia*—

Sollen die Dohlen dich nicht umschrein  
 Musst nicht Knopf auf dem Kirchthurm seyn.



would evolve strange results.\* We owe the erroneous impressions which are stamped on the minds of our educated men, to the abuse of those two very convenient and fashionable words, *objective* and *subjective*. How much farther down these terms will go, how much more hackneyed they will become, it is not easy to conceive. Now, while we are writing, a plain matter-of-fact man is called "too objective," while another, properly termed an arrant liar, is pronounced "too subjective." It is, therefore, not without design, that we here briefly protest against ranging antiquity under the banner of objectivity, and modern literature under the flag of subjectivity. No sensible man will suppose that human nature is so essentially different in different ages and countries. Anchilochus and Hipponax lampooned as fiercely and grumbled as savagely as any denizen of Grub-street. It is not because ancient literature is severe and statuesque, that we urge the necessity of an instamiation of the study. It is because it is the offspring of a healthy humanity, that we would hold its fair, firm features up to the gaze of our teeming present, as the ancients are said to have environed the future mother with none but beautiful objects.

The dominant authority of the two classic nations cannot be shaken. The projective power of the one and the receptivity of the other have exhausted all the categories of literature, and have left standing norms for production and reproduction. The history of Grecian literature is essentially organic—"First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." Poetry preceded prose. The Epos, which derived its material from without, was the forerunner of lyric poetry formed from within, while both were afterwards united in the artistic compass of the dramas, in which action supplemented narration and modulated the ideal flight of lyric poetry. In the field of prose, to which mature reflection led the Grecian mind, we find the Epos transmuted into history, while the perceptions of the seer, at first communicated in numbers, pass from lofty verse into unfettered language, and the orator—as true an *εὐνομήτης* as another—nar-

\* Coleridge has a few remarks tending to this point, in *Biographia Literaria*, chap. II.

rates and reasons in dramatic monologue. Here, as in all highly organized existences, we find transitions, half-classes, connecting links. Where full development is wanting, the indicative rudiment is found. Here, as in all highly organized existences, we find a brief bloom preceded by a gradual development and followed by a gradual decline. As there were many heroes before Agamemnon, so there were many poets before Homer. Many philosophers came after Plato, many poets succeeded Sophocles. The great Aristotle spanned the chasm which separated the old world from the new, and the great Euripides planted one foot on the firm shore of antiquity and the other on the troubled waters of our agitated times, which were even then eddying up against the land.

The Greeks solved the problem—the Romans verified the solution. The former produced the flower from within outward; the latter proceeded in their imitation from without inward. The Roman drama preceded the bloom of lyric poetry, and lyric poetry was followed by the Epos. The traces of Roman literature, like those of the Kine in well-known myth, are all backwards. Intense consciousness marks every step. In Rome we have the strange, but by no means unaccountable phenomenon, of grammarians in advance of and parallel with classical literature. No people ever observed so closely the celebrated sentence of Schiller—

“The weakling is to be despised  
Who ne’er hath weighed what he fulfils.”\*

Livius Andronicus, with whom the history of Roman literature begins, was a *grammaticus*, and divided his time between the Odyssey, with which the *plagosus* *Ortilius* tortured little Horace, and his private class of Roman gentlemen. In Ennius we find an instance of that straight-forward perseverance so truly Roman, which would undertake alike the laying of an aqueduct and the alteration of a language. Had Mr. Pinkerton and Frederic II. been Romans, the Eng-

\* Den schlechten mann muss man verachten  
Der nie bedacht, was er vollbringt.

lish and German languages might this day be tricked out in the cast-off finery of Italian terminations. Ennius was fully determined to introduce the hexameter—the *versus longus*—into the Italian literature, and he achieved it against difficulties, the number and magnitude of which have been but recently disclosed. Many and many a struggle did it cost the trilingual Calabrian before he could force the stubborn materials into that superb causeway over which the numbers of Virgil march so firmly. Attius, the tragic poet, attempted to reform the spelling.\* Lucilius devoted more than one book of his *Saturæ* to the subject of orthography. Hence it is not surprising to find Cæsar writing a treatise on grammar, or Cicero making etymologies, which sound marvellously like bad puns. Indeed, the history of Roman literature cannot be studied aright without constant reference to the parallelism of grammatical and literary systems. We must watch Ennius cautiously clipping the refractory long syllables, Attius doubling his letters, Horace breaking in the high-trotting hexameter to a gentle amble, and Ovid, that seemingly careless child of the Muses, deftly arranging the fall of his pentameters. The writers of Rome were, at once, the *demiurgi* of language and of literature. By reason of this intense consciousness, the Roman literature has been called a bridge to lead us to Hellenism, a law-giving school-master to bring us to the knowledge of that grand æsthetic revelation: This mission is well-nigh accomplished with regard to the world at large, and is continued chiefly in its bearing upon individuals. To speak with Bernhardt, “the Roman literature has totally exhausted its world-historic task, and will henceforward develop a propædæntic power rather than enter into the thesaurus of our ideas or the movements of our culture.”†

As the Roman literature was based on reflection, it ceased when there was nothing left to analyze. Satire and history, where the peculiar merits of original Roman conception found ample scope, were the one narrowed down to the *pasquill*, the other attenuated into the gossiping chronicle. The

\* Ritschl, *De Vocalibus geminatis deque Lucio Attio grammatico* Bonnæ. 1859.

† Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur, s. 132.

iron age of Latinity lost itself in the dross of the middle ages, before the spirit of Hellenistic productiveness had been crushed, under the pomp of the Byzantine court, before Paulus Silentianus hymned the pulpit, or Tzetzes broke up the artistic rhythm of Homer into the halting jumble of the *versus politicus*. The formative elements of Græco-Roman literature continued to work through the lapse of centuries, though straightened and distorted in its modes of operation and manifestation. Aristotle reigned supreme, though robbed of the fine robe in which he clothed his subtle distinctions, as he did his delicate frame, and draped in the rags of an Arabic version woven into a texture of barbarous Latin. Virgil, the sorcerer, took the place of Virgil, the poet, and figured as a prototypical Dr. Faustus.\* The heroic forms of antiquity, historic as well as mythical, the fair impersonations of its theology, formed the groundwork of much of the poetry on which Roman tri-literature is based. Venus, the enchantress, has still her mountains in Germany. Alexander figures in the western as well as eastern myth. The princes of England derived their origin from Brutus. The siege of Troy attracted listening ears, which were strangers to the Latin or Hellenic tongue. The most sacred persons of our theology were commingled with the plastic forms of mythology, and the legend of many a saint meets the eye of the enquirer in a heathen garb. Diana and Minerva, or Artemis and Athene, furnish parallels for many an artistic conception and many a theological dogma, which are admired and revered down to the present day.† Around the magic cadences of our existence, the twin eternities of the Hebrew faith and the Hellenic imagination have buried themselves inextricably, and the one can be as little dispensed with in art as the other in morals. The grand revolution of the Reformation overturned the physical systems of antiquity, and opened the

\*Bernhardy, l. c. p. 413. This subject has recently excited much attention. We cite, in addition to Bernhardy's authorities, Michel and Tappet. A French scholar has written an especial Essay on *Virgile Penchanteur*.

† We have found a trace of the Immaculate conception in the myth of Erichthonius or Erichthonius, Schuenck, *Mythologie des Griechen*, p. 79. The legend was preserved in the *Εἰδή* of Callimachus, according to the Schol. on Il. B. v. 547.

field of science, which, no longer fettered by the terminology and categories of the schools, entered boldly on the search for new truths. But before Aristotle had given way to Bacon, Ptolemy to Copernicus, Theophrastus to Linnæus, a victory was gradually but completely achieved. The humanists conquered the obscurants, and while much of the science of antiquity was made obsolete, the form reappeared triumphant, like the line of Egyptian kings, who went away into the wilderness and returned to rule. The thought of these men was a beautiful one. Like Petrarch, their great forerunner, they wished to ignore the dark and turbulent dream which had passed over the world, and to wake, like Socrates, after some classic symposium, not a whit the worse for their copious draughts. Hence, the return to the same forms and to the same language. But nature must have her right. Melancthon was Schwarzerd, and Erasmus, Gerard still. Yet the native literature, which soon eclipsed the appropriated literature of the learned, was full of reverence for the antique, which was displayed in the abundant transfer of material, and the warmth of an inspired imitation. Between the exuberance of this spring-time, and the precise but ingenious formality of the age of Louis XIV., stands the proudest monument of classical study and enthusiasm—one, whose height and depth will be more appreciated by the individual student the further he advances in the knowledge of the great honours which regulated the impulses of Milton's supreme genius. The warmth of the Italian school of philosophy was cherished in his bosom like the sacred prytaneum-fire of the ancient colonists, and while at times remote allusions and far-fetched comparisons show that he was the contemporary of his overlearned antagonist, for whom the biting epitaph was written, "*Hic situs est Salmasius, vir immortalis memoriæ, expectans judicium,*" still his keen vision seems to have penetrated even to our times, and to have taken in at least a part of the whole fabric. The vitally defective French "classic" drama was based on a system of artificial laws derived from the misinterpretation of Aristotle, and operating under false conditions. A seductive rhetoric and the brilliant prestige of court favour gained an ascen-

dency for a mutilated and starveling growth, which, like a western Bagoas, ruled the court of a western *grand monarque*. A new spirit came with the Phrygian cap and would-be antique absurdities of the first French Revolution—the spirit of enfranchisement. The false idols of the preceding generations were attacked by a new race of iconocluts. The new Batrachomyomachic of the classicists and Romanticists is now over. The world has withdrawn from its noise and confusion. The smoke of the battle-field has cleared away, and we can see the results plainly. The Romanticists tried to revive a poetical literature, which cannot take root in our reflective eye. The classicists held fast to a formal literature, which lacked the deep feeling with which our reflection is combined. The followers of the Latin school laid down laws which they themselves did not follow, and Byron's judgment was at variance with his art. In France piebald eclectiveness has taken the place of a national literature. The Greens and the Blues have formed a coalition. In Germany a truer conception of the nature of classicism prevailed during the whole conflict, and has come forth triumphant. Romanticism is cherished only by a faction of modern obscurants. Stories of the feudal times—ballads of knights and 'ladies'—are now standing themes for travesty and parody, and it is ludicrously provoking to see this Brummagem ware brought forward in our country, which, if the fervent prayer of the great German poet,\* to whom we have already had, and, indeed, in every question of culture must have, frequent reference, had but been heard, would have escaped the infliction. The recent literature of the English language has been marked by a steady return to antique themes. The deeper apprehension and livelier conception of Grecian myths has given rise to a class of poetry of peculiar and ex-

\* Den vereinigten Staaten,

\* \* \* \* \*

Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück.

Und wenn nun eure Kinder dichten,

Bewahre sie ein gut Geschick

Von Ritter—Räuber—und Gespenstergeschichten.

Goethe, 6, iii s. 120.

quisite beauty. A soft rose light is thrown on the classic statue, and it seems alive. We are not ready to admit with some, that Keats or Tennyson have seen deeper into the Eleusinsian mysteries of antiquity than the ancients themselves. Impersonations and conceptions to us, these were entities and realities to them. Keats may be "as sublime as Æschylus," but the chasm between them is impassable. Here, too, we find a contradiction, in fact, to the specious fallacy that poetry can only flourish in an unenlightened age. On the ruins of Roman history Macaulay has built his "Lays." The heroic character is now a different being from the Achilles of the time of Louis Quatorze, who talks the court language, calls Iphigenia 'madame,' and wears a horse-hair wig. No poet of our age would bid the *fearful Naïddo* fly before "Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, accompanied by his field-m Marshals," as Victor Hugo maliciously phrases it.\* In short, classical machinery is worn out, but classic inspiration remains as fresh as ever.

A sure index of the returning influence of the ancient classics is to be found in that department of literature which seems to be the most remote from the classic norm. The general reader knows that the modern novel, which completed its form in the last century, and has filled up the measure of its high importance in the present, was almost unknown to the ancients; that from the first writer of Milesian stories, down to Aristænetus, the history of the Greek romance, no genuine product of the Hellenic mind, but arising from Hellenized nations, exhibits nothing but a series of smooth descriptions—luscious pictures, theatrical incantations, wild and improbable adventures. The modern novel is the exhibition of the highest talent, and the expositor of weighty principles. Yet, on this very field, if we mistake not, a law of ancient art is every day asserting itself. We learn from the archæology of art, that the types of Zeus and Athene were fixed by Phidias, Apollo and Aphrodite, by Sco-

\* En trouvant fort ridicules les *Néréides* dont Camôëus obsède les compagnons de Gama on désirerait, dans le célèbre *Passage du Rhin* de Boileau, voir autre chose que des *Naiades craintives* fuir devant Louis, par la grâce de Dieu, roi de France et de Navarre, accompagné de ses marichaux-des-camps-et-armées.

pas and Praxiteles, Hephæstus by Alcamenes. From these no subsequent artist ventured to deviate. The ideal was found, and no word could be added to, or taken away from, the finished revelation. The same law prevailed in the statuesque drama. Not even Euripides dared change the ground-features of the heroes, whom he brought upon the stage. Our modern literature has never been content with types. It has vehemently sought to produce new creations. And how has it succeeded? Except Shakspeare, that miraculous Prometheus, who broke the moulds of all his persons, whose four-worded\* characters have a life distinct from all the rest of mankind; and how many creations are there in English literature? How many that are not types are not shadows? Examine the works of Dickens, universally extolled as a creative mind, and how many creations will be found that are not monsters or abortions? Let any one ask himself, is Quilp a human being? Is Barkis anything but a sentence? Is Uriah Heep a possibility? Wherever Dickens has succeeded, it has been in the delineation of a class, in Dick Swiveller, Miss Trotwood, Mr. Pickwick, all of whom are our acquaintances, all of whom we can, to use a popular term, at once *locate*. The works of our older novelists, Fielding and Smollet, present us with characters closely imitated from nature. The types, which they have thus formed, are immortal, while the nightmares of a heated imagination must pass away even in the narrating. The characters of Sterne live again in Bulwer, and if the novel of the Caxtons is not equal to Tristram Shandy, neither is the Medicean Venus equal to the Cnidian. In this connection, it is remarkable that Thackeray, who has been blamed for a similar tendency, defends the reappearance of his standing characters, by an olio of apologies, the most clearly typical of all representations.

We have thus endeavoured to demonstrate, or, at least, to indicate, that the classics are eternal norms and present facts, that we are drawn toward them by a two-fold necessity, a

\* It was Coleridge, we think, who maintained that the character of James Gurney, in *King John*, was fully depicted in the four words assigned him, "Good leave, good Philip."



natural and historic. It would be easy to proceed a step farther, and evolve the connection between our literature and the Græco-Roman, from their common linguistic elements. But from this wide and inviting field, we are debarred by the limits of our article—and we must, therefore, content ourselves with the repetition of the old maxim, “He who is not acquainted with foreign language, knows nothing of his own,” and with urging its peculiar application. The premises being thus settled by demonstration and admission, we proceed to the practical consideration of the condition of classical study in our country. In order to do this, we must first look abroad. Our achievements in this department have been, at best, reproductions, and we must, therefore, examine the original before we judge of the imitation. Two nations have given tone to the study of the classics in this country, the English and the German. The former element is decaying, the latter just springing into life.

To some of the secluded scholars of our Southern country, who devote much of their abundant leisure to the perusal of the classics, and collect Aldines, Juntines and Elzevirs with bibliomaniac zeal, England may still seem to be the Gilead whence the balm must come. But England has never had a philology. The scholars who arose from her soil were of foreign seed. The dragon’s teeth brought forth a strange race. Bentley lived a century too soon, and England laughed at the new Aristarchus as she cheered glory-and-shame Porson, not knowing what she did. It is sad to look at the full-length caricature of Bentley, which Pope has drawn, with such malicious distortion, in his *Dunciad*, and to reflect upon the uniform fate of all those great men who have been sent to that ungrateful people. But a just punishment has overtaken them. Their philological worthies have no national existence and form no national school. The type of their educationists is Dr. Busby, and the type of their scholars Dr. Parr. It is astonishing with what vehemence obstinacy, so to speak, England prides herself upon the mere negative merit of keeping her quantity void of offence. In no country on the globe has so much turmoil been made about the fact that scholars know the right hand

from the left, and leave Priscian's head unbroken. The most earless nation on earth—a nation which has produced no music, except those simple strains which, like currents of electricity, run round the whole globe, which cannot show a single composer of real eminence—prides itself upon an accuracy for which there is no parallel save that of a deaf musician. The whole world must be pestered with the information, that the British Senate knew that the penult of *vectigal* is long, and that Cambridge was aware that the penult of *profugus* is short: and these stories are hawked about wherever the English language is spoken, and every lad in the rudiments learns to sneer at Paley's quantity and triumph over Pitt's short syllable in *labenti*.\* Every article on America contains some gibe at our unfortunate proclivity to Polish perversions.† Even men who should know better, lay special stress on the mechanical accomplishment of making verses. The same Bulwer who, in Pelham, laughed at the facility with which he could turn off Latin verses, compared with his other deficiencies,‡ in “the Caxtons” throws a slur on German erudition by contrasting Dr. Herrmann's eulogy of Pisistratus' ode with the parody of Mr. Caxton. Classical education in England has been, for long years, one huge polypus of verse-making, an exercise which, however useful, still stands, in a pedagogical point of view, far behind the exercise of writing prose, not so much on account of the disproportion in numbers between those who possess the faculty divine and those who do not, as because vapidty and inanity cannot conceal themselves so well on the plain ground of the *pedestris oratio*, as in the flight of an *anser inter olores*, nor loose syntax and careless construction shelter themselves behind the convenient plea of poetic license. “Long reading and observing, copious invention and ripe judgment,” may enable a Herrmann to reproduce

\* Macaulay's *Essays*. Art. Thackeray's Chatham.

† Nos Póloni non cūramus quantitatē syllābarum.

‡ “I could make twenty Latin verses in half-an-hour; I could construe *without* an English translation all the easy Latin authors, and many of the difficult ones *with it*; I could *read* Greek fluently, and even translate it, through the medium of a Latin version at the bottom of the page.”

Schiller in Greek or a Ritschl to supply the *lacunæ* in Plautus; but, as Milton concludes, "these are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose or the plucking of untimely fruit." And yet, after all their true British boasting, the schools of England must be very defective in the matter of classical training, if we may judge by recent disclosures.\* Scholars, who ignore Greek accents and are unacquainted with the composition of words of frequent occurrence and evident structure, are strangely misnamed. We, for our part, would apply in their favour the educational observation of the worthy South: "Stripes and blows are the last and basest remedy, and scarce ever fit to be used but upon such as carry their brains in their backs, and have souls so dull and stupid as to serve for very little else but to keep their bodies from putrefaction."

Reprints of American school-books, translations of German works, editions prepared by Germans, for the English market, do not constitute a national philology; and we, therefore, pass over to a brief notice of the Neo-Hellenistic school, under the leadership of Prof. Blackie, who has recently entered upon his high career as Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. This distinguished scholar bids fair to furnish as long a succession of "heads" as any philosophic school of Athens could boast. We are to look,

\* We have especial reference to an article in the Westminster Review for October, 1853, from which we extract the following morsel. "On one occasion, when urging the importance of etymology on the attention of a principal of a most respectable school, we said that a boy ought not to pass through his Greek studies without knowing the derivation of such a word as *sarcasm* (the word which occurred to us at the moment). His answer was: 'I am not ashamed to confess that I myself do not know.' Yet he was a superior scholar, and a man of great intelligence. An eminent Hellenist, now dead, whom we knew, in like manner did not know the derivation of *paraphernalia*. How many classical scholars are there who cannot tell the real meaning of so common a word as *squirrel*, detect *cura* in *proxy*, or show that *galaxy* and *lettuce* are, at base, one word!" The first two instances of *crassa ignorantia* are so crass, that were they related of any respectable teacher in our country, we would reply, if not by the *lie direct*, at least by the *reproof valiant*. To find *γάλα* in *γαλατίας* and *lacte* in *lactuca*, requires no superhuman exertion. *Proxy* (a contraction for *procuracy*) is not a fair instance, while the etymology of the shadow-tailed *squirrel* (*oxloupes*) is as celebrated in its way as those of *fox* and *cucumber* in theirs.

forsooth, for a revival of the study and general diffusion of the literature of ancient Greece, from a more intimate acquaintance with the Slavonic tribes, which inhabit the seats of the ancient Hellenes, and which have received the mantle of their great predecessors in tatters.\* The name of this professor is mentioned with great deference in the Westminster Review, and a fervent follower of the new school has had the hardihood to publish, in the North British Review,† an article on the Literature and Language of Modern Greece, which savours strongly of Romaic anthologies, and which we shrewdly suspect to be the production of some Edinburgh or Glasgow student, who has spent six months in Greece, and has derived his limited knowledge of the ancient tongue in that short space of time, from some of the illustrious professors whom he delights to honour. "Greek," they triumphantly maintain, "is not a dead language;" and point to this and that purely classic word. It would require a close observer to tell the difference between an empty nut and a full one, between bark growing on its tree and that which has been stripped off. The difference is in the continuance of organic life. Latin was not more certainly a dead language in the middle ages than Greek is now. The ancient spirit, and, consequently, the ancient syntax and constructive power, are gone forever. The language of modern Greece is essentially a modern language, its syntax is loose and shambling, its composite words are the laughing stock of educated Europe. Its sentences run into the straight channels of modern construction, and only here and there a classic idiom reappears, as a fossil relic of a dead antiquity. The absurdities of this system of learning ancient Greek are, indeed, so glaring, that it would be an insult to the intelligent reader to pursue the subject much farther. The Romaic language, it is true, is undergoing a process of reconstruction, and, in the course of time, an approach will, no doubt, be made to the external semblance of ancient Greeks.

\* The boasts of our Greek friends never fail to remind us faithfully of Lessing's bitter fable, (b. 1, fab. 16,) founded on the text of Ælian (de nat. animal. 1, 28), "Ἰστος ἐφθιμμενος σφηκῶν γενοῖς ἰστίον."

† Nov., 1853.

Words of foreign origin have been resolutely plucked out, and others derived from the ancient language, or composed of Greek elements, have been substituted. The time will come when the eye and taste will no longer be offended by a *lingua franca* in Greek characters. But, as yet, the struggle has been chiefly with the vocabulary. The next step will be to remodel the syntax, an undertaking which, we venture to say, is hopeless. Words, the symbols of ideas, may be exchanged with comparative ease. But to alter the syntax, to change the sequence of men's thoughts, with the structure of their sentences and the connection of their words, is nothing short of raising up children unto Abraham from the stones of the causeway. A modern Greek philologist told the writer, that since his school-boy days at least a thousand words, which were then culled carefully from dictionaries and committed to memory, had found their way not only into the written, but also into the spoken language. A thousand years must elapse before the Greeks give up their *πρὸς* for *ἐν*, or restore the dative to its full rights, and bring back the optative and infinitive. What little literary merit there is in Greek is modern in its cast, and must be read with modern eyes and modern feelings. When the ancient models are held up over against these modern productions, and the Hellenist is forced, as he is by these stony advocates of "living Greek," to compare them, the only emotion excited is that of disgust. A single wild ballad, which jumbles Hercules, Alexander the Great and Themistocles, into one category, is far more pleasing to us than all the would-be eloquent speeches of the wordy representatives of the Parliament of the Ionian Islands.

We have taken leave of our English school-masters and English sciolists with joy, and not with grief, recommending, as a motto for their future productions, the words of Sir Andrew Aguecheek—"I am a great eater of beef, and, I believe, that does harm to my wit."

"The history of sciences," says Goethe, "is a grand fugue, in which the voices of the peoples come in one by one." The Germans are now dominant in the science of classical philology, and we must harmonize with them or make a

senseless discord. To characterize German philology at once, briefly and satisfactorily, is impossible. To understand its present state and influence, we must go back to the Alexandrians, and trace the history of the ancient *grammatica* in its genesis, developement, flower and decay. We must sympathize with the ardent enthusiasm of the Italian period, and admire both the varied condition of the French school, and the patient industry of the plodding Dutch, as they

"Stuffed the head  
With all such reading as was never read."

We must, also, take note of individuals, such as are called, in our day, "representative men," because they cannot find representatives; we must mark Scaliger's genius and Bentley's method. For, as the last great German school of philosophy boasts that it has absorbed and appropriated all the essential elements of its predecessors, so does the last great school of philology embrace, in its universality, the warmth of the Italian period, the material knowledge of the French school, the geniality of Scaliger, the method of Bentley, the accumulative perseverance of the Dutch. The results lie plainly before us. The science of textual criticism may now be regarded as complete. The irregular and empirical, though, at times, surpassingly ingenious attempts of former schools, have given way to a systematic treatment. The mechanical collation of manuscripts has been succeeded by an intellectual classification. Nor has the science of Hermeneutics been neglected. Less attractive in its nature, and more chary of flattering rewards than its twin-science, it has, notwithstanding, received great and increasing attention. Under the influence of a more expanded philosophy, departments, once considered as the mere auxiliaries of classical learning, have been drawn into the circle of philological study, and subjected to the same searching investigation and acute analysis. The history of ancient literature has been raised to a higher power; and a closer scrutiny into the latter, and a deeper penetration into the spirit of history, in its wider sense, are the legitimate results of a more pro-

found and intellectual criticism. Niebuhr is the consequence of Wolf. The numerous shoots which classical philology has put forth, derived their vigour from the parent stem. The experience and the thought of centuries, go to aid the youthful sciences of comparative and oriental philology. Lachmann and Haupt are, alike, celebrated in the criticism of German and Latin authors. An encyclopædia of classical philology is now possible. The expansion of the study has contributed to its unity.

Until within a few years our philological, or rather pedagogical labours, were eclectic in their character, or rather want of character. The methods varied according to the individuality of the teacher. The Westminster Grammar was used in our country in times not beyond the memory of man, nor indeed beyond the memory of the writer. Adams is still extensively employed, and the Dauphin editions, with their corrupt texts, defective commentaries, and, strange to say, excellent indexes, are still in demand. But, on the whole, we have shown a willingness to receive, and a readiness to apply, the teachings of Germany, which contrasts favourably with the obstinacy of the English. Unfortunately, however, this receptivity has been, thus far, confined to a wholesale appropriation of the results, instead of an adoption and application of the method. Piracy is no more a reproach among our editors, than it was among the ancient Greeks. Anthon is the great fugleman of all these literary fillibusters. This Review has always entered its protest against the blind admiration with which he was once regarded, and can, therefore, speak plainly, now that his reputation is declining, without fear of reprehension. In all that Anthon has translated, compiled and copied, for the quarter of a century over which his literary activity extends, there is not a single contribution of real worth. Not even one half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack. His most useful works are his compilations, and the composite parts of these are not always chosen from the proper authorities, or graduated according to a proper measure. His classical dictionary is a map, in which Rhode

Island and Texas are of equal size.\* Of the beauties of his style, we need remind no one who has read the dialogues between Henry and Dr. B., or looked at a page of his annotations to Vigil and Horace. The clearest exegesis becomes in his hands obscure, and the neatest emendation bungling. *Nil tetigit quod non fœdavit.* His Homer is a mere "pony;" his book in Latin versification swarms with false quantities. These we might forgive. His great sin is, that he knows nothing of the spirit and aims of classical philology—that he offers to act as a medium for thinking men without thinking himself. But, fortunately, all our philologists are not of this class. Some transfer from their sources with discrimination, elegance and due acknowledgment; and, while those who might have attained to eminence in this department have found it too barren, and have left it for the area of politics or the field of lighter literature, there are some who have given an earnest, and many who are giving promise, of original American contributions to philological science. We, of the South, should take this specially to heart. Our Northern brethren have developed greater commercial activity, and, without being more literary, have produced a more comprehensive literature. Here is a harvest untouched by the sickle. The host of school-books published at the North, go for nothing in the philological account. We must wake to higher efforts, for which we are well adapted by the quick conception, love of classic form and instinctive rejection of extravagance, which are our birthright. Here, the wild political, social and physical theories of our day, find no debateable ground between those who know too much and those who know too little. If united with vigorous action, this conscious self-possession would make us the arbiters of

\* The apparent completeness of this work should not be suffered to deceive the student. We notice the following glaring instances among a host of omissions:—Callinus, the elegiac poet; Clitarchus, the historian; Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, at whose instance the celebrated extracts were made (*Excerpta Constantini de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, etc.); Crates of Mallos; Diogenianus, the lexicographer; Dionysius Thrax, the grammarian; Druis of Samos, the historian; Philochorus, known as one of the writers of *'Αρχαί*; Municius Rufus, the philosopher; Telsilla, the virgin heroine and poetess of Argos; Tolmides, the Athenian strategist; Zenodotus, the first librarian of Alexander and editor of Homer.



literary destiny. The sentences which we pass are confirmed by time, but they lack the weight which power confers. If we make the South, where the materials abound, the centre of classical learning, we must hold the balance. To create and perpetuate such a classical school, we must have an enlarged and elevative system of education, and the rising generation must be trained in a domestic institution, of a higher type than the out-door schools, whither so many of youth go, seeking knowledge, and finding a miserable *succedaneum*.\*

Our reviewers are often like the Pharisees, and make broad their phylacteries at the head of their articles, without paying much attention to the contents of the text. We do not desire to treat Professor Bernhardt so cavalierly, by making his valuable work a stalking-horse to our own considerations.† We have merely reversed the order of our thoughts in tracing back the continuity of reflections which arose from the study of this book, by which we were led to the consideration of the pre-eminence of the German school of classical philology, and thence, by easy steps, to the general discussion which has given a name, if not a character, to the preceding remarks. The subject which was the first in our conception, becomes, necessarily, the last in execution.

To write a history of Greek literature, is, in our day, an undertaking for which a boldness is necessary, little short of audacity. The material has increased so much in the last half century, that a supplement might be written, which would outnumber the pages of Harless' edition of the mammoth Fabricius. Almost every department has its especial students. Monographs have thrown individual rays of light on almost every author. Life and light go together, and every

\* The able letter of President Thornwell to Gov. Manning, on Public Instruction in South-Carolina, has given an impulse in the right direction. Amid the jar of contending sects, and the "solemn chatterings" of theorists, it is grateful, beyond expression, to listen to such excellent and temperate counsel.

† The first volume of Prof. Bernhardt's *Outlines*, containing the Inner History of Grecian literature, appeared in 1836, and the second volume, in which the Outer History of Greek poetry is comprised, in 1845. Upon the present revised edition, or "*Bearbeitung*" of the 1st volume, the third volume will no doubt follow, thus completing the whole.

material acquisition aids in the spiritual reconstruction of antiquity. To unite these separate atoms—to fuse them into a living unity, demands the strength of no common mind. A mere reader would have the substance without the life. A mere theorist would produce the semblance of a spirit without the body in which the spirit must have its being. In Professor Bernhardt, both requisites—theoretic constructiveness and comprehensive reading—are united in a high and rare degree. We do not claim for him absolute infallibility in theory or statement. A phrase may have misled him, or an important fact may have escaped his notice. But these intervals of giddiness and sleepiness, if such there be, are exceedingly rare. Our author seeks no excuse in the Horatian allowance :

Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.

We find, in the work before us, clear perceptions of literary laws, phenomena significantly grouped, controversies luminously and succinctly unfolded and decided, hints of penetrating suggestiveness. His style is unfortunately rugged, at times positively obscure, at all times demanding, imperatively, an attentive and thoughtful reader. He cannot be read with the same placid attention as Müller, and many a passage will balk even those most conversant with the idiom. By reason of this defect and his numerous excellencies, our public is not yet prepared for him. For the present, the English reader must be content with the elegant but incomplete history by Müller—the review—articles of Mure,\* and the recent *opus tessellatum* of Anthon, that gigantic scholasticus, who builds his philosophical houses out of specimen-bricks.

Many have raised the hue-and-cry of Hegelianism against Bernhardt's works. Philologists are not wont to swear by the magistral words of any school, and this imputation is intended to diminish the authority of our author. We, for our part, have found nothing in this volume that requires the aid

\* Bernhardt notices "this first attempt of the English" in the following way: "This author, acquainted, but not agreeing with the investigations of the Germans, gives us a series of ratiocinations in the spirit of British æsthetics."

of the Hegelian system, or the Hegelian terminology. If his peculiar views were transferred into our literature, they would be at once admired, and readily appreciated by many a M. Jourdain, who would afterwards be astounded at the discovery, that he had been speaking the language of Hegel without knowing it.

B. L. G.

---

ART. VII.—LES SAVANES, BY L'ABBE ROUQUETTE.

*Les Savanes—Poésies Américaines.* PAR ADRIEN \* \* \*

[ROUQUETTE] de la Louisiane. Paris: Jules Labitte. New Orleans: Alfred Moret. 1841.

WE have found pleasure, on two former occasions, in drawing the attention of our readers to the muse of the Abbé Rouquette, of Louisiana. A brief notice of his English verses may be found in our pages for October of last year: and the body of critical notices, in our last, contained a hurried description of his "Thebaid," a prose work, partly philosophic, partly sentimental, with a warm poetic tone giving eloquence to the author's ideas upon subjects particularly well calculated to appeal genially to the poetic temperament. The volume under examination, though published in 1841, has only now come to our notice; and we take for granted, in the too general indifference of the people of the South to literature of domestic origin, that, beyond the author's own parish, it has been as little known to others as to us. We shall endeavour to repair this ignorance. We are glad of the opportunity, though at this late day, to welcome this additional proof of the vitality of the Muse of Louisiana; and shall devote a few paragraphs to the consideration of the claims of this volume, not because of any surpassing merits which it possesses, beyond the qualities of grace, sweetness and delicacy of sentiment, such as we have ascribed already to the writings of the author; but because he is one of our special brood—a native son of the South—

one of a class to whom we shall always accord our prompt attention, for the very reason that it is so common with all others to pass them by with little notice. Young poets are necessarily a sensitive race, needing to be encouraged; and a kind word in season may relieve a Muse in her embarrassment, and bring about her safe and easy *accouchement*, giving birth to a very handsome and vigorous progeny. The criticism that helps to do this, is the only proper sort of criticism; the properly-minded critic only using saw and for-ceps, when there is a necessity that the birth should be extinguished in the bud. For our own part, we are pleased to think that we are very tender in our treatment of these young innocents; and, even when compelled to have to resort to such processes as the "Cæsarian," we make it a point to save both dame and young, whenever they have sufficient vitality to survive the operation. Our maxim is not unlike that of Dr. Isaac Lettsome, well known to the ancient readers of Joseph Miller—at once humanely tender and philosophically indifferent.

"If any sick to me apply,  
I physica, bleeds and sweats 'em;  
If, after all, they choose to die,  
What's that to me?  
I Lettsome."

Patients are of very differing degrees of strength and fortitude; a fact equally well known to critics and physicians. What will kill Keats, only puts Byron in a passion. We should regulate, as good critics, our processes to the capacity of endurance and temper of the patient. The poet that has much of the "*irritable*" in him, we dismiss with the exemplary policy of Dogberry, dealing with the "vagrom man" who will not stand at official bidding. "Take no note of him; but let him go; and presently call all the watch together; and thank God you are rid of a knave!" Little do these irascible poets conjecture how much good censure they have escaped, because of the critical reluctance to meddle with edged tools.

But, to the poesies of M. Rouquette. We may safely ven-

ture to discuss them, as no Muse shows herself more properly amiable than that of our author. She is not simply gentle. Her life is pure. Her walks are in quiet valleys, by cool waters, such as the Royal Minstrel sung with so much satisfaction, and so much longed for when the world went wrong with him. She hoods herself with becoming modesty, like Milton's lady, in Comus. Her passions are few, and held in subjection by her sentiments. Her thoughts are pure ; her mind unsoiled by sinful desires and aims. She has lived in the gay world—such a gay world as Paris—and she has prudently fled in season from its fearful fascinations. Even while the warm blood of youth gushes tumultuously through her veins, soliciting only, and ever, the overflowing cup of intoxicating pleasures, she has quelled the rebellious impulse, dashed from her hand the beguiling beverage, turned her eyes away from the dangerous and subtle temptations of the city, and gone, hermit-like, into the solitude to pray ! Her faith is warmer than her blood ; her religion more precious than the wild passions and fierce phrenzies of mortal love ; she seeks in solitude for the mysterious tree of redemption ; she flies to the realm of silence, that she may the more easily hear the still small voice of God. There, on the wings of a pure enthusiasm, she ascends with the lark to the gates of heaven ; and, while listening at the porch to the divine strains which issue from within, she answers with the humble song of a sad but loving heart, in the fond hope that her own feeble music may mingle with and swell the glorious diapason which she hears, and be commended to that Great Sense of the universal nature, which hears the *whisper* of the soul as quickly as its most powerful voice, and refuses no ear to one who sings with humility, from a heart that bleeds with love !

Even so gentle, humble, soft and modest, are the strains from our author's lyre. His life, so far as we can learn, has properly illustrated the career of his Muse. We refer to our pages, last October, for a brief notice of his origin and connexions ; his successful studies in the brilliant capital of France ; his impressions of that gay and fashionable world ; his disappointments at the hollowness of its joys ; his fare-

well—not reluctant or lingering—to its dangerous but delicious fascinations; and his glad return to the more homely regions of his birth, in western solitudes, where he may better hearken to the voice of duty; where he may better comprehend the lessons of wisdom; where he may the more readily hear the whisper of the always-accusing conscience, and, in the practice of self-denial, become lifted to the divinest consciousness of religion. He fled from no ordinary temptations. We read of the many generous encomiums lavished upon his writings by the Parisian critics, his friends and contemporaries; and we feel how great must have been the struggle, with a young poet, to tear himself away from a world of such superior art and attraction—from circles which so highly appreciated his Muse—to bury himself in the lonely wastes of our great country. In some degree, the praises of his critics were deserved; some of them, the most eulogistic, might be explained as only the usual encouragements bestowed upon a young and inexperienced poet—a benevolent and courteous manner of introducing a Creole of Louisiana, to the conventional world of France; one of the modes of stately courtesy, such as prevails among the Spaniards, which must not be taken at the full of meaning, but with drops of allowance; but, even Spanish hyperbole may be found consistent with a very sincere respect and regard, and with a very serious and honest purpose to utter nothing but the truth.

Such, no doubt, was the meaning of the friendly French critics who gave their tributes so freely to the firstlings of our author's muse. We have seen that they could not detain his footsteps—that he fled from these pleasantly persuasive voices—sounding, almost, like those of Fame—and that he now harbours, with a Muse subdued, in a country parish of our sister State. Here, Religion prompts rather than Fame, and the songs which M. Rouquette has subsequently put forth, speak only for *her* inspiration. It is well that such is the case! For what voice of fame could ever, in our week-day world, beguile the most credulous into the notion that praise or pay was in readiness for the native minstrel? In our crude, transition state, hurrying evermore, and with toilet

never quite made, who stops to listen to the Muse, pipe she never so prettily? Very sad is the truth, that there is a temporary retrograde in our march of progress, in almost all respects which demand the helping hand of art. Our notions of art are very little raised above those of the red men, whose places we have usurped. Our ambition is not more elevated, and seems to be somewhat of the same character—to compass mere territory; overrun rather than conquer; possess, not keep; waste, not use to God's glory, and our own happiness and honour. Poetry, the profoundest of all the fine arts, arrests no traveller; though the gurgle of secret waters steals up to his ear as he stops to rest, and though the cascade, wreathed in rainbows, appears over the brow of the steep beneath which he rides. He has no awakened or awakening faculties, such as knit soul and sense together, and inform with a two-fold philosophy. He prefers to chew the cud of discontent, to that of thought; to follow the bidding of his blood, in preference to that of his brain; and to take his rule in life from the daughter of the horse-leech, rather than those virgins Nine, who gather about the heights of Parnassus. His Parnassus is the *placer*; his Pegasus, the iron horse; his faith is in good bonds at seven per cent., or as much more as the law will allow; his religion only serves to melt the golden vessels of the sanctuary; and his hope, if he has any that looks beyond his own life, is that he may cut up like John Jacob Astor. What chance has poetry, which never knows the value of money, with such parties? Verily, the inspiration of the American Muse must be found neither in mortal pay or praise. It must be caught, as that of M. Rouquette would seem to be, from the altars of Religion. Such inspiration is self-compensation. Even the applause of the better minded and better educated, in America, is rarely bestowed upon the native poet. The very critic, who is Signor Snob—when he has to welcome the foreign pretender—ductile and dulcet—changes wonderfully, in air and tone, when he has to deal with a poor brother of his own parish. Then, you see him rising rigidly, with half frown, half smile upon his visage, from the character of Signor Snob, into that of Monsieur *Nil admirari*, who cannot

admit the possibility of any excellence, in his own day, at the creation of which he himself has never assisted.

The author of "*Les Savanes*," as we have said, has caught his best inspiration from religion. Not that he discourses of dogmas, and illustrates an ascetic life, by stern and sour moralities in rhyme. He is too genial of nature, and too sensitive of mood, to be included among those who sacrifice the grove wholly for the temple; and who insist, with wonderful tenacity, upon a religion in which humanity seems to be the only element rejected. But his songs are earnest as they are sweet. A pensive vein of contemplation gives them a somewhat melancholy cast, which agrees with autumnal thoughts, and those grave moods upon which faith may insist without ministering any whit to the morbid and ascetic temper. In some of his verses there are proofs of real inspiration; not, we must be understood, of an ambitious character; but genuine flights upward, leaving earth behind; while, upon the wings of the devotee, a light settles, which you then, at that moment, see no where on earth. It is the faith of the author that provides his wings, and which bears him sufficiently upward to share in this better light. It is his religion that ennobles his song, and ensures its purity. His elevation comes from this source only. Imagination, in any very conspicuous degree, we should not assign him. It is his fancy, alone, for which he is indebted to his having gained the springs of Aganippe. If he weeps, sighs, moans, or exults, there is always the evidence that the influence which moves him thus belongs to the oracles of God—waters of Siloah—airs from the brook Kedron—clouds from Gennesareth, and sunshine, which pours out, in a golden flood, over the brow of Mount Zion.

To leave the graver aspects of these verses, we may consider "*Les Savanes*" a work of "*bonne foi*," as old Montaigne hath it. It is one of the literary harvestings of our author. He has gathered up his sheafs without winnowing, and the chaff is found to mingle in with the golden grain upon the threshing floor. We could have wished that our author had winnowed and sifted more closely, before he sent forth his produce. We should then have been better pleas-



ed, and better prepared to rate the quality of his stores. But we care not to linger upon his faults—it is enough, that he is as full of them as the most malignant critic of the tribe might hope to find him ; he has only committed the common error of the young poet, including in his publication those exercises in which the youthful mind rather seeks to exercise language than thought—in which he really seeks only to acquire the proper command of language, which is the necessary instrument of thought.

The frank and simple nature of M. Rouquette's Muse, readily persuades us to keep her company. We know that she will not seek always to overwhelm our souls with astonishment, and that she will always modestly report her discoveries. We travel with him, accordingly, with as little scruple, through the old world as well as the new. He gives us some panoramic glimpses of both. We alternate between the Indian cabin and the saloons of state ; pass from the moored boat of the Choctaw, by the dark lagune, to the more gaudy and ambitious, but not more grand associations, with the active world of civilization and the mart. He succeeds, to a certain degree, in inspiring us with his own emotions, at the objects of his survey. We feel pleasure as he points out to us the broad and cultivated fields, the shores, the glassy lakes, the grassy dales, the swelling hills, the fertile and the wooded vallies. These are his favourite themes. We gaze with him over the wild forests of the Kentuckian, and take up, musingly, the strain in which he describes the picturesque in its ancient empire.

*“C'est la terre de sang, aux Indiens tombeaux,  
Terre aux belles forêts, aux séculaires chênes,  
Aux bois suivis de bois, aux magnifique scènes ;  
Imposant cimetière, où dorment en repos  
Tant de rouges-tribus, et tant de blanches peaux ;  
Où l'ombre du vieux Boon, immobile génie,  
Semble écouter, la nuit, l'éternelle harmonie,  
Le murmure éternel des immenses déserts,  
Ces mille bruit confus, ces mille bruits divers,  
Cet orgue des forêts, cet orchestre sublime.  
O ! Dieu, que seul tu fis, que seul ton souffle anime !  
Quand au vaste clavier pèse un seul de tes doigts,  
Soudain, roulent dans l'air mille flots à la fois ;*

Soudain, au fond de bois, sonores basiliques,  
Bourdonne un océan de sauvages musiques ;  
Et l'homme, à tous ces sons de l'orgue universel,  
L'homme tombe à genoux, en regardant le ciel !  
Il tombe, il croit, il prie, et, chrétien sans étude,  
Il retrouve, étonné, Dieu dans la solitude !"

We have not quoted these verses as the best of our author's specimens, for such they are not ; we design them rather as offering as good an instance as any, showing his vein and the sort of material in which he works. To nature, in her forest and simpler aspects, and through nature up to nature's God, the eye of our Louisiana poet ranges. And there is a propriety in this, apart from the religious temper and profession of the author. It is but an additional proof of the sincerity of a song,—which is not the least merit in poetry—that it illustrates the customary objects in the walks of the minstrel. Among great woods and deep thickets, his eye opened upon the light. His earliest prospects were over vast tracts of the forest wilderness ; over great heights which seemed designed to conduct to heaven ; and in the presence of vast falling waters, which, like the ocean prospect, seem meant to overwhelm the soul with awe and teach reverence to the spirit of the always too presumptuous mortal. It is in subjects such as these,—in the red inhabitants of these wastes of empire—and in the early borderers who grappled with them in the mortal embrace of hate—that our author naturally feels an interest which prompts him to desire to score the record down in song. It is with such a feeling, which we may call the patriotic instinct of every honestly born muse, that places become famous ; haunted of gods and fairy forms, and spelled by words of enchantment, which linger through a thousand generations, with a charm that seems rather to grow than to diminish with the lapse of years. We feel that M. Rouquette talks nature, when he tells us of the manor in which he was born and nurtured. The woods are no wild to him ; they are full of companions. The cataract is no mere torrent. It is a living and a glorious voice. We do not doubt the real interest which he takes and feels in the inferior

notes of birds, and even in the insignificant chirpings of the insect, as it strikes the sense when the forest is sunk to silence. These, too, are voices to our poet, that speak as teachers as well as companions; and that he has been well accustomed to their language from his infancy, ought to be a sufficient reason for the possession of the capacity which he asserts, to interpret its meaning for the less fortunate. But it would be doing an injustice to such of our readers as have not yet conquered the difficulties of French verse, not to endeavour to interpret, also, those portions which we borrow from M. Rouquette. We offer a rough translation, in English blank verse, of the passage already given. "Kentucky," it must be remembered, signifies "the Bloody Land." It was one of the great hunting, and, accordingly, battle ranges of the red men.

"Here, with its Indian tombs, the Bloody Land  
Spreads out:—majestic forests, secular oaks,  
Woods stretching into woods; a witching realm,  
Yet haunted with dread shadows;—a vast grave,  
Where, laid together in the sleep of death,  
Rest myriads of the red men and the pale.  
Here, the stern forest genius, veteran Boon,  
Still harbours: still he hearkens, as of yore,  
To never ceasing harmonies, that blend,  
At night, the murmurs of a thousand sounds,  
That rise and swell capricious, change yet rise,  
Borne from far wastes immense, whose mingling strains—  
The forest organ's tones, the sylvan choir—  
Thy breath alone, O, God! can'st animate,  
Making it fruitful in the matchless space!  
Thy mighty fingers pressing on its keys,  
How suddenly the billowy tones roll up  
From the great temples of the solemn depths,  
Resounding through the immensity of wood  
To the grand gushing harmonies, that speak,  
For thee, alone, O, Father! As we hear  
The unanimous concert of this mighty chaunt,  
We bow before thee; eyes uplift to Heaven,  
We pray thee, and believe. A Christian sense  
Informs us, though untaught in Christian books;  
Awed into worship, as we learn to know  
That thou, O, God! art in the solitude!"

Such is the vein of our author in his forest musings. The

strain is an artificial one, without complexity, and pursues only a familiar mode of poetic meditation. The aspects and varieties of nature conduct to thoughts of the Creator, and prayer and inspiration follow, in degree with the emotion of reverence which the scene inspires. Let us now look to portions of our author's book where he discourses on a theme which he finds in Europe, but which may be found in all regions. He does not so much *describe*, it will be seen; he depicts the emotions of one who sees, and this is the first process by which didactic is lifted into an approach to dramatic writing. Our author is wholly didactic and contemplative. The passage which follows is meant to unfold the agonies of one who dies a stranger in a strange land. The exile is alone, and the last mortal enemy of man has him already in deadly embrace. A desolate chamber finds the victim expiring, with no other companion than the one foe with whom he can no longer contend. He cries aloud, and the cry is one to be felt, spoken in any language, and by almost any poet, however humble:

“ Mourir sans un parent pour soutenir ma tête !  
 Mourir seul exile ! mourir l'âme muette !  
 O, mon Dieu, c'est horrible ; et, pourtant, je le sens,  
 Déjà la mort sur moi pose ses doigts glaçants !  
 Comme un arbre abattu sans sève et sans racine  
 Loin du sol où tu dors, Louise, je m'incline ;  
 Je souffre ! Je suis seul ! Je me meurs à Paris !  
 Je songe que ton cœur ne bat plus pour ton fils !  
 Que celui de ton fils bat toujours pour sa mère !  
 Et je me meurs, hélas ! Mais en mourant j'espère !  
 Dieu, sublime ouvrier, aurait-il en jouant  
 Dans son moule pétri l'homme pour le néant ?  
 Non ; la tombe du corps, c'est le berceau de l'âme !  
 L'homme des jours passés y ressaisit le trame !  
 La tombe, c'est un point entre deux univers ! ”

We paraphrase these lines rather than translate them, and have selected them to exhibit some of the deficiencies as well as characteristics of the author. In our paraphrase, it will be seen that we have made free to introduce a line, or part of a line, in two or three instances, in order to convey more fully the author's purpose. “ *Je me meurs à Paris* ”

would fail of its proper force, and might be regarded, by the too hasty reader, as a mere feebleness or crudity, unless taught to connect the idea of the gay, great, populous city in contrast with the forgotten wretch, deserted of all the world, struggling in the desolate chamber with the mortal terror, in the last, most awful conflict. We see what the writer designs, but the victim would have said more—would have spoken in bitterness of those splendours, that gaiety, that vast world by which he was surrounded and forgotten; and the reader requires that more should have been said. But we leave our paraphrase—begging that it be recognized only as such—to answer for itself. Our author will pardon us the presumption of this proceeding, particularly as we confess to himself as to the public, that we are not among the more fortunate race whom Phœbus has “blasted with poetic fire.” Our corrections are those of the critic, not the poet—

“Dying! no mother to support my head!  
Dying! in exile in a foreign land!  
The heart sealed up! O! God be merciful!  
Spare me this horrible fate! And yet I feel  
Death’s icy hand already on my heart.  
Oh! mother, like a storm-uprooted tree,  
I wither in a soil that gives, in place  
Of nurture, but a grave—and far from thee!  
Oh! misery! thus to die—to die in Paris,  
In this great populous city to perish,  
Alone, and in no desert, yet deserted!  
Oh! mother, mother, in thy silent bosom  
Thy heart no longer beats for him who, dying,  
Feels his own beat for thee to the last moment,  
And only stops in blessing! Yes, I perish,  
But not without a hope, that cheers the darkness,  
And teaches, that the mighty God, whose hand  
Hath cast man in a mould from his own image,  
Will not destroy him, like the toy of childhood,  
Cutting him off forever! In the grave  
Is the soul’s cradle! There the man re-links  
His future with the being in his past;  
No more an exile! Wherefore dread the grave,  
Which is the place of rest between two lives!”

It is, perhaps, natural enough that we should prefer our

author's American to his European subjects—natural, too, that he should write better on the former than the latter themes. The human characteristics of his muse are such as belong rather to the meditative than the passionate nature; and it is more grateful to him to extract a fanciful moral from his forest walks, than to delineate the attractions or the features of conventional life. We are pleased to think that he found pleasure in getting back from Paris to the swamp forests of Louisiana. One loves to roam, but he loves even more to return home after roaming. The roving passion, by the way, though seemingly at variance with a contemplative mood and meditative mind, is yet perfectly consistent with it, when all the facts and relations of the subject are considered. The impressions which one receives from his wanderings, become capital stock and alimment, when he broods at home. The present book of nature serves as a good commentary upon that foreign volume—which may be still a book of nature—which we have read in former days and other regions. The one may be held as a key for the proper opening of the other. It is curious, too, with what resignation the wanderer will subside into the brooder; but Providence has so arranged the distribution of its gifts, that there are constitutions, meant for special uses, in which the soul and thought utterly subject the animal nature; and there will be no loss or forfeiture to the physical man, kept unexercised, while the spiritual and mental are forever busy, toiling, travelling, making discoveries and building temples—doing all sorts of great work and glorious, while scarcely moving a finger.

But we have exhausted our space, and all pretext for lingering over a volume which, without making the author famous, will commend him favourably to many loving readers, who seek for the meditative muse and do not quarrel with contemplation because she never rages. "*Les Savanes*" is a collection which breathes the Christian spirit. This is its most certain charm, and it serves to temper our censure when we detect the author's short-comings in art. The always pious spirit which breathes throughout his lines; the calm and grateful conviction of divine truth which infuses

them; the plaintive melancholy of their tone, in general; the gentleness of their fancies; will unite to gain the ear, which occasional roughnesses might offend, and those severer tastes which other faults might offend. That there are faults, we have not sought to deny, and they are not infrequent. We find, scattered throughout our copy, sundry brief comments, such as "mauvais," alternating with "bon," which sufficiently proves (to ourselves, at least) the perfect impartiality with which we judge. Some lines we have *underscored*—others we have felt greatly moved to *score*. Over some—as "*Le Cimetière Abandonné*," "*Au Capitaine Destebechio*," "*Le Salem*"—we find that we have pencilled: "Among the best in the volume;" others, for example the "*Regrets de Paris*," "*A un jeune voyageur*," are inscribed "*bon !*" and "*assez bon*," while over others, entire pieces as well as detached passages, we have written "mauvais," and other epithets not less expressive of dissatisfaction, to which we shall give no further expression. Enough that the reader of French verse will, in most cases, be quite as able as ourselves to detect the weaknesses and the holes in our author's armour. That he will still continue to read on, will be suggestive of the author's atonement. We trust that M. Rouquette's verses do, and that they will continue to, find gratified readers among the French. As an American creole, writing in French, he ought to find a large audience in our country. They will be pleased to take our word for it, that, in his poems, they will discover much delicate and graceful beauty, many pleasant sketches of domestic life, which are as sweet as they are simple and natural, much pure and elevated thought, many genial and refreshing fancies, and a spirit always void of offence. At parting with our Abbé we beg to commend him to a series of picturesque and religious sketches of the Missionary life among the Indians in the Mississippi valley from the first discovery—not a long poem, contemplating a continuous narrative, but a series of sketches, which may be all, in some degree, strung together by links which the author carries in his own hand, and to be seen only when he chooses to present himself in his *proper person*.

J. H. G.

## ART. VIII.—PASSION FLOWERS OF POETRY.

*Passion Flowers.* Boston : Ticknor, Reed & Fields.

THERE is no more remarkable trait of the present age than the new and increasing activity of the female mind, and the enlargement of its sphere. In literature, wit, science and social economy, woman now exerts a positive influence. This is one of the best evidences of an advancing, and a Christian civilization ; and among its ulterior benefits we deem the improvement in female education the chief. Nearly all that is inadequate or superficial in the written expression of woman's mind, may be ascribed to her inferior mental training and her limited acquirements. When knowledge and discipline have been added to natural gifts, we find the intellectual product as vigorous and individual in the one sex as in the other. The mass of poems written by women are worthy of praise, chiefly for their unexceptionable morality, their musical versification, their gentle tone, or playful fancy. Usually, they are strongly imitative, and do more credit to the taste and refinement than to the poetical genius of the writers. The volume named above is a remarkable exception to this general rule. The art is subordinate to the feeling ; the thought more prominent than the rhyme ; there is far more earnestness of feeling than fastidiousness of taste ;—instead of being the result of a dalliance with fancy, these effusions are instinct with the struggle of life ; they are the offspring of experience more than of imagination. They are written by a woman who knows how to think as well as to feel ; one who has made herself familiar with the higher walks of literature ; who has deeply pondered Hegel, Comte, Swedenborg, Goethe, Dante, and all the masters of song, of philosophy, and of faith. Thus accomplished, she has travelled, enjoyed cultivated society, and gone through the usual phases of womanly development and duty. Her muse, therefore, is no casual impulse of juvenile emotion, no artificial expression, no spasmodic sentiment ; but a creature born of wide and deep reflection ; of study,



of sorrow, yearning, love, care, delight, and all the elements of real, and thoughtful, and earnest life.

There is a singular maturity in her poetry, considered as the utterance of a woman's heart ; it is impassioned, but the dignity of intelligence redeems the fervour, and the solemnity of faith makes musical the wail. A masculine grasp of thought and originality of expression, lift these poems far above the level of common-place rhymes. Their genuineness is self-evident. Her theory of the art may be gathered from this poem :

#### MOTHER MIND.

I never *made* a poem, dear friend—  
I never sat me down, and said,  
This cunning brain and patient hand  
Shall fashion something to be read.

Men often came to me and prayed  
I should indite a fitting verse  
For fast, or festival, or in  
Some stately pageant to rehearse.  
(As if, than Balaam more endowed,  
I of myself could bless or curse.)

Reluctantly I bade them go,  
Ungladdened by my poet-mite ;  
My heart is not so churlish but  
It loves to minister delight.

But not a word I breathe is mine  
To sing in praise of man or God.  
My Master calls, at noon or night,  
I know his whisper and his nod.

Yet all my thoughts to rhythms run,  
To rhyme, my wisdom and my wit !—  
True, I consume my life in verse,  
But wouldst thou know how *that* is writ ?

'Tis thus—through weary length of days,  
I bear a thought within my breast  
That greatens from my growth of soul,  
And waits, and will not be expressed.

It greatens, till its hour has come ;  
Not without pain it sees the light ;  
'Twixt smiles and tears I view it o'er,  
And dare not deem it perfect, quite.

These children of my soul I keep  
 Where scarce a mortal man may see,  
 Yet not unconsecrate, dear friend,  
 Baptismal rites they claim of thee.

And elsewhere she says :

Oh ! tremblingly I sit to sing,  
 And take the lyre upon my knee :  
 Like child divine to mortal maid,  
 My gift is full of awe to me.

To sing for praise, to sing for gold,  
 Or ev'n for mere delight of singing,  
 Were as if empty joy of smell  
 Should prompt the censer's fragrant swinging.

Dear soul of bliss, and bliss of song,  
 Be thou and song insphered with me ;  
 Thus may I hold the sacred gift,  
 Possessing, but possest in thee.

What a depth of sorrow, and an eagerness for peace, are  
 revealed in the following profound lyric :

#### THE DEAD CHRIST.

Take the dead Christ to my chamber,  
 The Christ I have brought from Rome ;  
 Over all the tossing ocean,  
 He has reached his Western home ;  
 Bear him as in procession,  
 And lay him solemnly  
 Where, through weary night and morning,  
 He shall bear me company.

The name I bear is other  
 Than that I bore by birth,  
 And I've given life to children  
 Who'll grow and dwell on earth ;  
 But the time comes swiftly toward me,  
 (Nor do I bid it stay,)  
 When the dead Christ will be more to me  
 Than all I hold to-day.

Lay the dead Christ beside me,  
 Oh press him on my heart ;  
 I would hold him long and painfully  
 Till the weary tears should start ;

Till the divine contagion  
 Heal me of self and sin,  
 And the cold weight press wholly down  
 The pulse that chokes within.

Reproof and frost, they fret me,  
 Toward the free, the sunny lands,  
 From the chaos of existence  
 I stretch these feeble hands ;  
 And, penitential, kneeling,  
 Pray God would not be wroth,  
 Who gave not the strength of feeling,  
 And strength of labour both.

Thou'rt but a wooden carving,  
 Defaced of worms, and old ;  
 Yet more to me thou couldst not be  
 Wert thou all wrapt in gold ;  
 Like the gem-bedizened baby  
 Which, at the Twelfth day noon,  
 They show from the Ara Coeli's steps,  
 To a merry dancing tune.

I ask of thee no wonders,  
 No changing white or red ;  
 I dream not thou art living,  
 I love and prize thee dead.  
 That salutary deadness  
 I seek through want and pain,  
 From which God's own high power can bid  
 Our virtue rise again.

We have seldom read a love poem more alive and touching than that suggested to the author of 'Passion Flowers,' by the Tomb of Abelard and Heloise, in Pere la Chaise. We cannot imagine a more delicate avoidance of the exceptionable, combined with so natural an expression of the human and the real ; in a similar vein are these verses :

#### ENTBEHREN.

Oh ! happy he who never held  
 In trembling arms a form adored,  
 Oh ! happy he who never yet  
 On worshipped lips love's kisses poured !

Though worn in weary ways of thought,  
 Thy lonely soul eat pilgrim-bread ;  
 Though smiling Beauty in thy path  
 Her banquet of delights should spread.

And bare to thee her rosy breast,  
 And pour for thee the golden wine  
 That throngs thy brain with visions blest,  
 Each than the last more inly thine.

'Tis but the phantom of an hour  
 That fades before thy waking glance,  
 And not that high ideal of thought  
 Which forms the bounds of hope and chance.

Bind not the giant of the soul  
 By bootless vows to wear a chain,  
 Whose narrow fetters, pressing close,  
 Its nobler growth shall rend in twain.

The Infinite, that sees us thus  
 Mould its transcendent form in clay,  
 Tramples our idol into dust,  
 And we afresh must seek and pray.

And thou shalt suffer to be free,  
 But most shall suffer to be bound,  
 Pour, then, the cup of thy desire  
 An offering upon holy ground.

But our fair and earnest minstrel is not altogether sad; sometimes she is playful, and at the same time significant, as in "The Mill Stream;" sometimes historically picturesque, as in parts of "Wherefore?" sometimes true to the most natural feeling, in its most simple utterance, as in the beautiful and touching verses occasioned by the death of a faithful servant. She knows, too, the delight of intellectual gifts: witness—

#### THE JOY OF POESY.

Voices of care and pleasure, cease—  
 Harp! thou and I have room at length;  
 Incline thy sweetness to my skill,  
 And give back melody for strength.

Oh! not amiss the Master Bard  
 Is pictured to the vulgar mind  
 Possessed of inner sight alone;  
 The poet at his song is blind.

He sees nor circumstance, nor friend,  
His listeners press not in on him;  
Cloud-wrapt in possibility,  
His thoughts and ways are far and dim.

Led by the wonder of his theme,  
He writes his word in doubt and shade;  
Its glory scarcely shows to him—  
Do stars look bright to God that made?

He leaves, and follows on for more,  
By winged steed or Stygian boat;  
Men see the letters all in light,  
And bless the unconscious hand that wrote.

For sure, among all arts is none  
So far transcending sense as this,  
That follows its own painful way,  
And cannot rest in bane or bliss;

That moulds, to more than face or form,  
That paints, to more than Nature's hue,  
And from th' intense of passion brings  
The deeply, passionlessly true;

That, in unlettered ages, read  
The thoughts that in God's heavens are;  
Divined the Orient speech of Day,  
And told the tale of star to star.

Oh! tremblingly I sit to sing,  
And take the lyre upon my knee;  
Like child divine to mortal maid,  
My gift is full of awe to me.

To sing for praise, to sing for gold,  
Or ev'n for mere delight of singing,  
Were as if empty joy of smell  
Should prompt the censer's fragrant swinging.

Dear soul of bliss, and bliss of song,  
Be thou and song insphered with me;  
Thus may I hold the sacred gift,  
Possessing, but possess in thee.

One of the longest and best poems in the volume, is that entitled "Rome." Here the author has managed blank verse with the exquisite skill of Tennyson in "The Princess;" it

aptly unites the familiar and the rhythmical, and is an affecting memorial of a sojourn in the Eternal City, such as every poetic mind, which has tasted a like experience, will thoroughly appreciate. Hear a passage :

### THE NIGHTINGALE.

A day of fuller joy arose for me  
 When the young spring-tide came, and dark-eyed boys  
 Bound violets and anemones to sell.  
 The later light gave scope to long delight,  
 And I might stray, unhaunted by the fear  
 Of fever, or the chill of evening air,  
 While happiest companionship enriched  
 The ways whose very dust was gold before.  
 Then the enchantment of an orange grove  
 First overcame me, entering thy lone walks  
 Cloistered in twilight, Villa Massimo!  
 Where the stern cypresses stand up to guard  
 A thousand memories of blessedness.  
 There seemed a worship in the concentrate  
 Deep-breathing sweetness of those virgin flowers,  
 Fervid as worship is in passionate souls  
 That have not found their vent in earthly life,  
 And soar too wild untaught, and sink unaided.  
 They filled the air with incense gathered up  
 For the pale vesper of the evening star.  
 Nor failed the rite of meet antiphony—  
 I felt the silence holy, till a note  
 Fell, as a sound of ravishment from heaven—  
 Fell, as a star falls, trailing sound for light;  
 And, ere its thread of melody was broken,  
 From the serene sprang other sounds, its fellows,  
 That fluttered back celestial welcoming.  
 Astonished, penetrate, too past myself  
 To know I sinned in speaking, where a breath  
 Less exquisite was sacrilege, my lips  
 Gave passage to one cry : God! what is that?  
 (Oh! not to know what has no peer on earth!)  
 And one, not distant, stooped to me and said :  
 'If ever thou recall thy friend afar,  
 Let him but be commemorate with this hour,  
 The first in which thou heard'st our Nightingale.'

The author of "Passion Flowers" has a profound sympathy with her race. She has a soul alive to the 'cry of the human,' as her noble sister, Mrs. Browning, would say. It is natural that one who so loved Rome, and entered so deeply

into the associations of the past and natural beauty of the present, so abounding in Italy, should feel deep sympathy in her glorious though abortive struggles for freedom. She was at Newport, in the midst of the gaieties of a fashionable watering-place, when every steamer was bringing tidings of the siege of Rome, in the summer of 1848. With her fond memories, her admiration of the heroic, her sense of the momentous nature of the strife, no wonder she thought more of the distant martyrs of Italy than of the frivolous crowd around her ; and her feelings found eloquent vent in the following glowing verses :

Constrained to learn of you the arts  
Which half dishonour, half deceive,  
I've felt my burning soul flash out  
Against the silken web you weave.

No earnest feeling passes you  
Without dilution infinite ;  
No word with frank abruptness breathed,  
Must vent itself on ears polite.

In your domain, so brilliant all,  
So fitly jewelled, wreathed and hung,  
Vocal with music, faint with sweets  
From living flower-censers swung ;

Thronged by fair women, tireless all  
As ever-moving streams of light,  
Yielding their wild electric strength  
To contact, as their bloom to sight ;

I wandered, while the flow of sound  
Made Reason drunken through the ear,  
Dreaming : " This is soul-paradise,  
The tree of knowledge must be here.

" The tree whose fruitage of delight  
Imparts the wisdom of the Gods,  
Unlike the scanty, seedling growth  
That Learning's ploughshare wins from clods."

" And if that tree be here," said one,  
Who read my meaning in mine eyes,  
" No serpent can so soothingly speak  
As tempt these women to be wise."

A sound of fear came wafted in,  
While these careered in giddy rout.  
None heeded—I alone could hear  
The wailing of the world without.

In dreadful symphony of death  
And hollow echoes from the grave,  
It was a brother's cry that swept,  
Unweakened, o'er the Atlantic wave.

It breathed so deep, it rose so high,  
No other sound seemed there to be;  
"Oh! do you hear that woeful strain?"  
I asked of all the company—

They stared, as at a madman struck  
Beneath the melancholy moon;  
"We hear the sweetest waltz," they said,  
"And not a string is out of tune."

Then, with one angry leap, I sprang  
To where the chief musician stood;  
I seized his rod of rule, I pushed  
The idol from his shrine of wood.

"I've sat among you long enough,  
Or followed where your music led,  
I never marred your pleasure yet,  
But you shall listen now," I said:

"I hear the battle-thunder boom,  
Cannon to cannon answering loud;  
I hear the whizzing shots that fling  
Their handful to the stricken crowd.

"I see the bastions bravely manned,  
The patriots gathered in the breach;  
I see the bended brows of men  
Whom the next dreadful sweep must reach;  
I feel the breath of agony,  
I hear the thick and hurried speech.

"Before those lurid bursts of flame  
Your clustering wax lights flicker pale;  
In that condensed and deadly smoke  
Your blossoms drop, your perfumes fail.

"Brave blood is shed, whose generous flow  
Quickens the pulses of the river;



He, 'neath his arches, muttering low,  
'It shall be so, but not forever.'

"I see the dome, so calm, so high,  
A ghost of Greece, it hangs in air,  
A Pallas, in the heart of war  
It thrones above Life's coward care.

"The walls are stormed, the fort is ta'en.  
The city's heart with fainter throb  
Receives its death stroke—all is lost,  
And matrons curse and children sob.

"Woe when the arm, so stalwart late,  
Tenders the sword-hilt to the foe!  
Woe when the form that late defied,  
Prostrate, invites the captor's blow.

"The rich must own the hidden hoard,  
The brave are butchered where they stand,  
And maidens seek, at altar shrines,  
A refuge from the lawless hand.

"Till Death, grown sordid, hunts no more  
His flying quarry through the street,  
And the grim scaffold, one by one,  
Flings bloody morsels for his meat.

"Were death the worst, the patriot's hymn  
Would ring, triumphant, in mine ears;  
But pangs more exquisite await  
Those who still eat the bread of tears.

"Pale faces, prest to prison-bars,  
Grow sick, and agonize with life:  
And firm lips quiver, when the guard  
Thrusts rudely back some shrieking wife.

"Those women, gathering on the sward,  
I see them, helpful of each other;  
The matron soothes the maiden's heart,  
The girl supports the trembling mother;

"Sad recognitions, frantic prayers,  
Greetings that sobs and spasms smother;  
And 'Oh my son!' the place resounds,  
And 'Oh my father! oh my mother!'

"And souls are wed in nobleness  
That ne'er shall mingle human breath;

Love's seed in holy purpose sown,  
Love's hope in God's and Nature's faith.

"A flag hangs in the Invalides  
That flecks with shame the stately dome ;  
'Ta'en from a Roman whom we slew,  
Keeping the threshold of his home !"

"And ye delight in idle tunes,  
And are content to jig and dance,  
When ev'n the holy Marseillaise  
Sounds for the treachery of France ?

"And not a voice amongst you here  
Calls on the traitor wrath and hate?  
And not a wine-cup that ye raise  
Is darkened by the victim's fate ?

"Nor one with pious drops bewail  
The anguish of the Mother world !'  
'Oh hush ! the waltz is gay,' they said,  
And all their gauzy wings unfurled.

"Nay, hear me for a moment more,  
Restrain so long your heedless haste ;  
Hearken, how pregnant is the time  
Ye tear to shreds and fling to waste.

"Through sluggish centuries of growth  
The thoughtless world might vacant wait ;  
But now the busy hours crowd in,  
And Man is come to man's estate.

"With fuller power, let each avow  
The kinship of his human blood ;  
With fuller pulse, let every heart  
Swell to high pangs of brotherhood.

With fuller light let women's eyes,  
Earnest beneath the Christ-like brow,  
Strike this deep question home to men,  
'Thy brothers perish—idlest thou ?'

"With warmer breath, let mother's lips  
Whisper the boy whom they caress,—  
'Learn from those arms that circle thee  
In love, to succour, shelter, bless.'

"For the brave world is given to us  
For all the brave in heart to keep,

Lest wicked hands should sow the thorns  
That bleeding generations reap!

"Oh world! oh time! oh heart of Christ!  
Oh heart, betrayed and sold anew!  
Dance on, ye slaves! ay, take your sport.  
All times are one to such as you."

Our readers have had sufficient taste of the quality of these "Passion Flowers," to feel that they are the product of no shallow soil; their roots are in a woman's heart, and their bloom is a vital one. We might easily point out artistic inaccuracies; we might philosophize on the expediency of revelations so personal; we might discuss the religious and political sentiments of the writer; but, regarding this volume as the first venture of an American poet, we have been too much impressed with the ability, the earnestness and the intensity of the writer, to speak other than words of cordial recognition. It is much, in these days of dainty sentimentalism and feeble inactiveness, to encounter a new poet so sincere, brave and strong, both in feeling and expression; and, as we hail her advent, we trust "Passion Flowers" are but precursors of strains yet higher and more serene.

H. T. T.

*New-York.*

---

ART. IX.—SOUTH-CAROLINA MILITARY ACADEMIES.

1. *Report of Board of Visitors of State Military Academies.* Gen. JAMES JONES, Chairman. Dec. 1853.
2. *Letter to his Excellency Gov. Manning, on Public Instruction in South-Carolina.* By Rev. JAMES H. THORNWELL, D.D., President South-Carolina College. Dec. 1853.
3. *Regulations of South-Carolina Military Academies, 1854. Official Register of the Officers and Cadets at the South-Carolina Military Academies, 1854.*

ELEVEN years ago this State possessed two Arsenals, guarded by eighty enlisted men and supported at an annual

expense of twenty-four thousand dollars. The present annual appropriation for the Military Academies is three thousand dollars more, and for this sum the arms and munitions are as efficiently guarded as ever. Fifty-four young Carolinians are constantly receiving their maintenance and education, as State beneficiaries, while the institutions are open to a maximum number of one hundred and eighty more at the yearly cost of two hundred dollars each, for board, clothing, instruction, text books and medical attendance. Let citizens of South-Carolina consider this change, and determine whether or not their Legislature did wisely in converting the Arsenal at Columbia and the Citadel at Charleston into Military Schools.

The Act effecting this change was passed in Dec. 1842, and yet President Thornwell, in his Letter on Education, introduces the schools thus : "The Arsenal and Citadel Academies, which have crept into existence by the connivance, without any statute, of the Legislature, defining their end and aim." Such an assertion, in a letter professedly on public instruction in South-Carolina, from a gentleman of so deservedly high a reputation for talent, learning and extent of information, is certainly very remarkable. If it is meant that the very existence of the Military Academies was due to connivance and not to a statute ; that the Legislature directed nobody, but simply permitted somebody, to make so radical a change in the organization of the only military posts in the State—we reply, first, that the South-Carolina Legislature does not usually transact, or, rather, neglect business in this peculiar manner ; and, secondly, that it did not in this case ; in proof of which we have the very conclusive evidence of the statute itself. This statute is printed in every copy of the Regulations issued. Section second ordains—

"That the Governor and Commander-in-Chief is hereby authorized to organize Military Schools at the Arsenal in Columbia and at the Citadel in Charleston, the students and members of which shall be employed in performing such services as may be assigned them ; and he is authorized also to appoint a Board of five persons, who, together with the Adjutant and Inspector General, shall constitute a Board of Visitors for the said Military Schools," &c.

To this Board, the Governor was subsequently, *ex-officio*, added. The same Act provides that "they [the Board] shall have power to appoint one or more Professors qualified to give instruction in military science and other branches of knowledge, which the said Board may deem essential," etc. This certainly settles the point that there is a statute, and that, in defining "the end and aim" of the institutions, it is quite as definite as statutes, in such cases, usually are.

It may be that Dr. Thornwell did not mean that "the Arsenal and Citadel Academies have crept into existence by the connivance, without any statute, of the Legislature, defining their end and aim;" but, that they "have crept into existence by the connivance of the Legislature, without any statute defining their end and aim"—that is, that the statute which created those institutions out of mere military garrisons, did not define the objects and extent of the change; and that the members of the Legislature, in passing the Act, did not well know what they were doing. Dr. Thornwell has probably forgotten that, in the session of 1841, Governor Richardson, in a special message, recommended the conversion of the Arsenal and Citadel into Military Schools, and that a bill was reported by the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, to carry that recommendation into effect. The measure, at first, did not meet with much favour in the House, where it originated, and although it passed, after a full discussion on its merits, it was subsequently lost in the Senate. Notwithstanding the failure to pass the bill, Governor Richardson organized a corps of ten Cadets and placed them at the Arsenal, under the instruction of Capt. Shaffer and Lieut. Matthews (now Captain, and the efficient Superintendent of the Arsenal Academy). The failure of the bill of 1841 did not discourage the friends of the measure, and, early in the session of 1842, the bill to make the proposed change was reported, and subsequently became an Act.

Few measures that ever passed the two Houses of our

\* We have, as it will be perceived, not altered the language of the quotation, but only the punctuation and the position of the words.

Legislature have been subjected to closer or severer scrutiny. No concealment of any of its objects or details was attempted by its advocates. Some of its most active opponents objected to it on the ground that its scope was too wide, that it attempted to accomplish too much; but the Legislature thought otherwise, and it became a law. It may be contended that the Act itself is not sufficiently explicit as to all the details. To that it may be replied, that it was so intended. It was no easy matter to frame a bill which would embrace all the subjects contemplated by it, without confusion, and it probably would have been more difficult to reconcile differences of opinion as to form than as to substance. Besides, it was supposed that much would depend upon the personal interest, the zeal and intelligence of those who were to carry out the scheme, and it was contemplated that to them all necessary details should be left. If Dr. Thornwell had examined the Act which created the institution over which he presides, with so much reputation to himself and satisfaction to the public, he would have discovered that the South-Carolina College owes its origin to a statute not more extended in length nor more definite as to its end and aim, than the "Act to convert the Arsenal at Columbia, and the Citadel and Magazine in and near Charleston, into Military Schools."

So much for President Thornwell's first allusion to the Military Academies; and we regret to state that no part of his letter contains information any more trustworthy concerning their organization, their objects, their course of studies, or their results. The reason of this we do not know, but must presume that the author was so much occupied with two branches of his subject as to have no opportunity left him to ensure accuracy of statement or inference with regard to the third.

By the report of the Chairman of the Board of Visitors, we learn that the number of appointments made to the Academies in 1843, the year of their establishment, was forty-nine. In 1853, there were appointed twenty-eight beneficiaries and seventy-three pay Cadets; the aggregate number admitted has been seven hundred and twenty-five.

At present there are in the Academies—of the fourth class, eighty-one; third class, forty-two; second class, twenty-three; and first or senior class, thirteen. These classes numbered on entering—third, ninety; second, one hundred and three; and first, *sixty-nine*. The reason of the reduced numbers will appear.

There have graduated, in seven annual classes, only eighty-eight, and the remainder, with comparatively few exceptions, have been dismissed for deficiency or misconduct, or have found it necessary to seek, in advance, an honourable discharge in order to forestall the academic decision which would prevent their obtaining it. The exceptions referred to, consist of those who, while maintaining, in every respect, a creditable position in the institution, have, on account of ill health, desire of change, or some other cause, resigned their Cadetship. The reasons why so few complete the course are given in Gen. Jones's report :

"It is owing, in a great measure, to want of care, on the part of parents, guardians and commissioners of free schools, in selecting young men for the Academies, who, from previous imperfect instruction, improper moral training, or natural incapacity, are either rejected on their presentment for admission, discharged at the end of their probationary term of four months, or they break down at some subsequent period of their four years' course. Besides, they are subjected to a rigid system of instruction and a severe course of study, which requires some talent and much diligence to withstand and complete; and the boy who cannot work, or will not work, is discharged, and his place given to another.

"But the difficulty of completing the course of instruction, and the large number of dismissals from the Institutions, so far from being an argument against the system pursued there, are, in the opinion of the Board, not the least causes of its excellence. It is impossible to educate everybody, and it seems to be better, by fixing a high standard of education, to train up those who are subjected to it so as to enable them to accomplish the greatest amount of good, than to educate a large number imperfectly. For, if the standard is low, very many will fall short even of that mark, and the tendency of such a system will be to deteriorate, until it becomes worthless, and in the end contemptible."

In the truth of these sentiments we most decidedly acquiesce; with classes of nearly a hundred\* entering every year,

\*This number could be greatly increased by admitting pay Cadets from other States, but such applications are uniformly rejected.

it would not be difficult, conscience permitting, to graduate fifty or more ; but conscience forbids, good policy forbids, the cause of education forbids. The fourth class at the Military Academy will always be large, and the graduating class will always be small, because a thorough knowledge of the course is exacted. Simple good conduct, and attendance in the section rooms, with an occasional tolerable recitation, do not suffice to merit or receive a diploma. Such is the theory everywhere, but that it is the practice in this case, the statistics given above will amply verify. Besides, those who leave before graduation are always more or less benefited in proportion to the length of their stay. They have learned the drill, and the duties of soldiers and officers ; they have made some, and many of them considerable, progress in one or more branches of the course ; they have acquired habits of study, promptitude and order, and, above all, they have been, for the time, kept aloof from those temptations to dissipation and vice to which almost every youth at college is, in a great measure, exposed.

The fourth class is instructed at the Academy in Columbia, the others at that in Charleston. The course of instruction in everything, except those studies preparing for immediate entrance into the corps of Military Engineers, is identical with that pursued at West Point ; and, with the exception of Latin and Greek, for which are substituted French, Drawing, and Military Art and Science, comprehends all the features of the highest college course. We give it here in full :

#### FOURTH CLASS.

Arithmetic, Algebra, English Grammar, Mythology, Geography, History of the United States, and French.

#### THIRD CLASS.

Geometry and Trigonometry, Descriptive and Analytical Geometry, Surveying, Universal History, "Parker's Aids to English Composition," French and Landscape Drawing.

#### SECOND CLASS.

Shades and Shadows, Church's Calculus, Muller's Physics, Bartlett's Mechanics, Whately's Logic, Blair's Rhetoric,



Shaw's History of English Literature, Chemistry, and Topographical Drawing.

FIRST CLASS.

Civil and Military Engineering and Science of War, (in Mahan's texts, the West Point Lithographic Notes, Scott's Tactics, Kingsbury's Artillery, and Halleck's "Military Art and Science,") Gummere's Astronomy, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Story on the Constitution, (Calhoun is just substituted by special order of the Board,) Chemistry, Geology, and Architectural Drawing.

Exercise in composition and declamation, and practical instruction in Infantry, Light Infantry and Artillery Tactics, are conducted throughout the course. The months of May and December are employed exclusively in military instruction, and an annual encampment of three weeks' duration, forms a feature of the system.

The apparatus connected with the departments of physical science, is complete, and there is every facility for imparting instruction in the most efficient manner. But one want remains to be supplied: that of a good library. By the voluntary contributions of the Cadets, a beginning has been made, but until the number of books increases tenfold, the Institution cannot be said to have even a tolerable library.

Such is the course of studies pursued at the State Military Schools; and, by this, we do not mean only attendance at lectures, but diligent application to text books and daily recitations upon them. In certain departments, lectures are, of course, delivered; but they are illustrative of the text books, and do not supersede their use, nor do they interfere with close daily examinations upon the lessons assigned.

The professors are eight in number, of whom three are beneficiary graduates of the Institution, and one of them was but three years beyond its walls, when he was entrusted with the whole mathematical department of the Citadel Academy. Three of these professors are stationed in Columbia, the five others are at the Academy in Charleston; but, besides the regularly constituted officers of the Institution, four or five cadets of the first class, most distinguished for profi-

ciency in the various departments, are appointed to act as assistant teachers, and aid in the instruction of the third class.

Without entering into a discussion of the comparative merits of mathematical and classical studies for training and developing the mind, we will proceed to show that, apart from actual military instruction, the academic discipline of a military school is, of itself (other circumstances being equal) calculated to insure a far greater degree of application to study, and a proportionately greater amount of knowledge and profit, than a residence of the same length of time under any college system whatever, now in vogue. In establishing this position, President Thornwell's letter affords us valuable aid. He writes (pp. 7, 8):

"In the next place, it is equally important that the whole course of studies be rigidly exacted of every student. Their value as a discipline depends altogether upon their *being* studied, and every college is defective in its arrangements, which fails to secure, as far as legislation can secure it, this indispensable condition of success. Whatever may be the case in Europe, it is found from experience in this country, that nothing will avail without the authority of law. The curriculum must be compulsory, or the majority of students will neglect it. In most men, the love of ease is stronger than ambition, and indolence a greater luxury than thought," &c. "The argument of necessity helps to reconcile the student to the weariness of study." "What he feels that he must do, he will endeavour to do with grace." "There are always causes at work, apart from the repulsiveness of intellectual labour, to seduce the student from his books; and before his habits are yet formed, and the love of study grounded into his nature, it is of the utmost consequence to keep these causes in check. No other motives will be sufficient without the compulsion of law," &c.

To all of which we yield our most hearty assent; but does it not directly follow, that the institution in which that compulsion and that power of authority are most effectively exercised upon the student, short of tyranny and consistently with his manly dignity, must be, in that respect at least, the best?

Now let us allude to a few of the regulations of the Military Academy. On entering, every Cadet signs a *promise on honour, to obey all the legal orders of the constituted authorities of the Academy, and to discharge the duties of a Cadet*

*with regularity and fidelity, while he continues a member thereof.*

No Cadet is allowed to be absent from the Institution for a moment at any time, without a written permission, which is granted, during the week, very seldom, and then not without good reasons first stated to the Superintendent or officer applied to. The watchfulness of the guard and the frequent roll-calls and inspections, preclude the possibility of absence without leave. We ask those who have ever resided in a college town, to contrast this state of affairs with what they know of the degree of restriction to which students, in general, are subject.

The most soldier-like conduct and the strictest attention to duty of all kinds, are enjoined and enforced. All delinquencies for the week are published at parade on Friday. Every offence of commission or omission, has a correspondent number of demerit marks; and failure to excuse, in writing, any delinquency, entails the punishment. Two hundred demerit marks in one year will dismiss a Cadet. Any serious offence, however, such as wilful disobedience of orders, intoxication, or gross disrespect to a superior officer, is immediately followed by suspension until the end of the year: this is generally equivalent to a dismissal, for, even when the Cadet is restored, his class having progressed in the interim, he is compelled to join a lower one, and thus loses a year.

The larger classes are divided into sections, which recite at different hours, to facilitate frequency of examination. All recitations are regularly marked, and each Cadet is questioned or called to demonstrate, as the case may be, at very short intervals—almost daily. We remember once hearing a student of a college complain bitterly of a certain Professor in his Institution, who, he said, had called upon him, notwithstanding his regular attendance, but once during the year, and yet had two “flashes” marked against him. Now we apprehend that the omission for only three days to call upon a Cadet to recite, would lead any class in the Military Academy to conclude that the particular pupil was most strangely neglected by the instructor. Class reports are handed in weekly from every department, to the Superintend-

ent, containing the marks for recitations, the total of each Cadet for the week, and the progress of each class since the last report. These are all recorded and preserved, and are open to the inspection of the students. From these records and the delinquent marks, which count negatively, at the end of every session and year, the merit rolls are made out by the Adjutant. Neither the Superintendent nor the Professors have any thing to do, directly, with assigning positions in the classes : even after the last report of the session has been handed in, no one knows what Cadet will be first or second or twentieth, until the merit roll is presented by the Adjutant. The impulse given to emulation by such a system, may be readily imagined. The fact, also, that the offices of Corporals, Sergeants, Lieutenants, &c., are given to the most soldier-like, diligent and trustworthy Cadets, constitutes an incentive to exertion of which Colleges generally know nothing. In short, every honourable principle is brought to bear upon the student ; rewards attend success, while failure, when culpable, meets censure and disgrace : sense of duty, ambition, patriotism, love of learning, are all inculcated, all felt and all appreciated.

We will here allude to an observation of Cousin, quoted by President Thornwell, which we will show to be entirely inapplicable to the South-Carolina Military Academies. It refers to the sons of mechanics and artisans in those branches of labour which require some ingenuity as well as "a little chemistry, a little engineering or a little natural philosophy," and supposes them forced to attend institutions where more is taught than they require. "In general," says Cousin, writing of his own country, "these boys, who know they are not destined to any very distinguished career, go through their studies in a very negligent manner ; they never get beyond mediocrity : when, at about eighteen, *they go back to the habits and business of their fathers, &c.*" Now it is probable that the French youth who knows he is to follow his father's occupation of making philosophical instruments, executing the designs of architects or superintending a colour factory, may also know that the fact precludes the possibility of any very distinguished career. But the young American,

be his father who or what he may, with the history of the illustrious men of his land before him, cannot know to what position in life time may elevate or degrade him. Nothing will assure him that he cannot reach eminence, except it be his own consciousness that he possesses none of the elements requisite for its attainment. God forbid that the father's occupation should cause the son to know that he is himself excluded from a high career, even though in the outset of life he should adopt the same pursuit.

But suppose, for a moment, that the business and social position of the father did, as a general rule, necessarily determine the destiny of the son, and fetter his exertion by a knowledge of the fact, the Military Academies would not be affected in consequence. Their pupils, beneficiary as well as pay, are from no particular class of society, but, as in most other institutions, from all classes. With the obvious exception, then, that beneficiaries are] never rich, we say generally, that wealthy and indigent, obscure, and distinguished, clergymen and mechanics, lawyers, farmers and physicians, planters, merchants and seamen, all have had sons within their walls, and all have found them benefited in proportion to the time they remained. Many of these have been prompted by necessity; some have tried the system as an experiment, and others have been influenced by the supposed "military spirit" of their sons; but a great number, men too [of enlightened [views and in affluent circumstances, have selected the Military Schools from a firm conviction of the superiority of the system.

One advantage which the State derives from these schools, is "the bringing of indigent merit to the light;" for where, in the present state of affairs, can a youth of promise look for an education at the hands of his State, except to her Military Academies? The annual appropriation for the Free Schools educates no one; it simply teaches a few to read badly and write worse; and we all know the expense attendant upon a course at any of our Colleges. To this expense we do not object, nor do we see how it could well be avoided; still it must be met, or so far as these institutions are concerned, the education cannot be obtained. There is,

then, apart from these Academies, with the exception of a single State Scholarship in the South-Carolina College, absolutely no gratuitous provision for developing the richest resources of a commonwealth—the minds of her citizens.\*

But Sir Wm. Hamilton says:—"The student should be considered as an end to himself, his perfection as a man simply being the aid of his education." President Thornwell quotes him approvingly, and (from a fair consideration of various portions of his letter, we conclude) intends the following inference to be drawn, which inference we give in our own words:—That these youths (Cadets) being educated only for the vulgar purpose of proving useful to their fellow men, and not each as an end to himself, are very imperfectly educated after all; and, indeed, acquire "nothing more than the principles of physical science, on account of their application to various branches of industry." To this, let us with due deference say, that we acknowledge neither the truth of Sir Wm. Hamilton's principle,† as isolated by Dr. Thornwell, nor the correctness of the application and inference. Having no space for our objections to the position quoted, we pass to the supposed limited range of inferior rank of employments, for which graduates of the Military Academies are qualified. We are aware that this

\* In this connection we may mention the case of Allen H. Lytle. This youth, of the most humble circumstances, returned from the Mexican War when scarcely seventeen, leaving his right arm as an evidence of his gallantry, at the Belen Gate. Although not complying with the requisitions of the Military Academy in various particulars, he was specially admitted as a beneficiary Cadet. Not knowing a letter or a figure, one year was devoted to his instruction in reading and writing with facility; at the end of which period, he entered the Institution regularly as a member of the Fourth Class. Five years from the time of beginning to learn his letters, he graduated with the first honour, not given to him by courtesy, but won over able and diligent rivals by persevering application to every department of study. Unfortunately, his constitution was weak, and eight months after graduating he died of consumption.

Does not one case like this speak volumes for any institution? And yet though this is the most brilliant instance, there are others differing from it, not in kind, but only in degree.

† Sir W. H. does not, by any means, exclude other ends in his view of education, but simply gives self-perfection a prominence, in the justice of which we are not inclined to acquiesce.

impression has, to some extent, been entertained; but, until lately, we presumed it to exist among those only who were ignorant of the course of studies there pursued, and of the system of instruction; who had never attended an examination, to all of which the public are invited; and who had, lastly, never given to the subject anything like that attention which a very moderate degree of interest, in every feature of the educational policy of the State, would have demanded and ensured.

We know but a single graduate who is engaged in any mechanical occupation; not because they are above such—if they were, the fact would alone overthrow the position that they were educated for nothing else—but for the simple reason that they have readily found employment in those “branches of industry” which the most exalted notions of a republican will not permit him to contemn.

Perhaps some light may be thrown upon this branch of the subject, by a detailed statement of the present employments of the eighty-seven graduates:—Civil Engineers, 18; Teachers, 18; Planters, 9; Professors, 7; Physicians, 7; Medical Students, 5; Clergymen, 5; Lawyers, 4; Clerks, 4; Merchants, 3; Law Students, 2; Editors, 2; Treasurer R. R. Company, 1; Rail-Road Agent, 1; Machinist, 1.

The degree of success attending these young men in their various occupations, we must leave to be estimated by those who have had fair opportunities of doing so. That some of them may not have realized the anticipations of their friends and the friends of the Academies, we are not inclined to deny; but we are pleased to know that of these the number is small, and equally well pleased to believe that its increase will bear a very slight proportion to that of the intelligent, correct and useful members of society, whom the institution claims as her intellectual offspring.

Our task is now nearly performed; the object of this article was not to review directly any work, discuss any principle, or contest the merit of any plan, but solely to correct certain false impressions, and to give some general, and, at the same time, certain information concerning that system of education which the enlightened policy of our Legisla-

ture called, a few years ago, into action. That system was not intended to take any particular place in any general plan ; it is subordinate to nothing ; superior to nothing, it interferes with nothing and is connected with nothing. Its friends have been ever modest in their pretensions, untiring in their efforts, and solicitous that it should at least merit, if not obtain, public confidence in every respect. They have had much to contend against ; and, not the least obstacle has been that ignorant and contemptuous prejudice, which, knowing little, but dreading much and doubting much, has always invested the Institution with just the dignity of a charity school, and its instruction as calculated to make little more than respectable apprentices. It has not, certainly, produced ready-made Galileos, Newtons or Keplers, but it has sent a cheering ray into many a home, where no literary sun had ever yet penetrated : it has relieved the solicitude of many an anxious parent, on account of the intelligent, thoughtful boy, who looked to him in vain to nourish his intellectual growth : it has taken many a youth to its bosom, and, fostering him there for a time, has sent him forth with the proud consciousness that, after four years of arduous and responsible service, with a clear head, a well-stocked mind, and habits of correct moral deportment, he was prepared to take position among the educated young men of his State ; prepared to be, in all respects, a useful member of society ; and prepared to aid, to cherish, and to reflect honour upon the advancing years of that parent, who, of all parents, can best appreciate the wisdom of the policy which induces a commonwealth to educate her citizens.

C. C. T.

---



## ART. X.—BUTLER'S ANALOGY.

*The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and the Course of Nature.* By JOSEPH BUTLER, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. New edition, with analytical introductions, &c. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1854.

A REVIEW of Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, at this late day, would certainly be lacking in every suggestion of freshness; and we forbear, accordingly, every offer of the sort, lest we test too severely the patience of our readers. But the publication of a new edition of this work, in the very useful and well selected series of Mr. Henry G. Bohn, reminds us of an issue which we have with the venerable author, on his leading illustration, which may fitly follow, in this place, the brief acknowledgment which we had designed, of the claims of the new edition to public favour. This edition contains, besides the original work, the author's dissertation on "Personal Identity," and "on the Nature of Virtue," and *fifteen* of his sermons. These are edited, with a preface, by Dr. Halifax: while a member of the University of Oxford supplies the analytical introductions, explanatory notes, and an index. The edition is, consequently, the most complete of any yet published. But we shall expend no words upon the labours of the editors, and turn, at once, to our author's metaphysics.

Any theory respecting the metaphysics of the soul and its connection with the body, is, of necessity, but vague speculation which can neither be dispelled or confirmed on this side of the grave. Therefore, no man's opinion on the subject, is entitled to any more weight in the mind of another man, than what such other man's congeniality of taste and sentiment may award to it. It cannot, then, be called impertinent for the most obscure to attack, in this field, the doctrines of the most renowned, inasmuch as he would not deserve either praise if he should succeed, or censure if he should fail, to form or to alter the visionary ideas of any. These brief remarks seem to the writer peculiarly pertinent,

prefacing an emanation from any quarter, opposed to the views of so great a man as Bishop Butler, and so great a book as the Analogy.

In the year 1718, Joseph Butler, then twenty-six years old, was appointed preacher at the Rolls, by Sir Joseph Jekyll. So considerable were Mr. Butler's talents, that the office was more honoured by the appointment, than he on whom it was conferred. From childhood, he had exhibited genius, and a desire and capability for the acquisition of learning. Pleased with his unusual promise, his father, a reputable tradesman, destined him to be a clergyman of the Presbyterian school of Dissenters. To this end no pains were spared to his education. While he must yet have been a very young man, he made a signal display of ability by his letters to Dr. Clark, in which he ventured to controvert the conclusiveness of the Doctor's argument in his demonstration of the being and attributes of God. Much to the dissatisfaction of his devoted and admiring family, before he had finished his course at the Dissenting Academy, he determined to conform to the established church of England. His father endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, and in aid of his own arguments, called in the assistance of eminent Presbyterian divines. But finding every effort in vain, he at length suffered his son to pursue his own course, and, accordingly, in 1714, he was entered a commoner at Oxford, and took orders shortly after his admission into the University. His after life was a singular instance of the world continuing to smile on a good man. His more than conscientious discharge of every duty, the exceeding goodness of his disposition, and the fine character of his talents, seem to have been always fully appreciated. He was only removed from one rich benefice to fill another—always, in fact, holding two at a time—until, in 1738, at the early age of forty-six, he was raised to the Bishopric of Bristol. Favours did not cease with his elevation to the Episcopal See, for, shortly after, we find him made Dean of St. Paul's, next Clerk of the Closet to the King, and in 1750, his biographer tells us, he received another distinguished mark of his Majesty's favour, by being translated to the See of Durham. He lived a pillar in the church, and an

ornament to his country. When he died, many were left as wise as he, and some few as good, who were neither made Bishops or installed into rich parsonages. Let us be sorry that such was the case, and glad that fortune dealt better with him.

Neither the great sanctity of Mr. Butler's life, his scholastic habits, or the peculiar turn of his mind for abstruse reasoning, can account for his celebrated book, just such as it is, unless taken into consideration with the evil days in which his lot was cast. For he certainly lived in a wicked and adulterous generation. Lived at a time when much of the good seed cast in the world fell by the wayside and on stony places, where was not much earth. For more than half a century prior to his birth, England had been the seat of the bitterest religious discord and civil war; and there was some, but not a great deal, of change for the better in the sixty years he lived to see. In that time, the people had seen every party hold the reins of government, both with limited and absolute control. This is the history of that hundred and twenty years in merry England. They had a king who, good man, has come down to us as half king—half saint. In him was no fault save this, if it be a fault, to wit: that, whereas he was religiously watchful of all rights pertaining to the Lord's anointed, he conscientiously ignored any that had ever belonged to the people. They, in their affliction, seemed determined to do their duty as loyal commons. They swore they loved him, and piteously begged their liege not to scourge them with so heavy a rod. Nay, before they would raise the arm of the flesh against him, they were ready to leave the land of their fathers, and journey thousands of miles across the trackless ocean, unto an howling wilderness, where they and their posterity might worship God in peace, far from the golden calf and the whore of Babylon. A few went indeed, and the rest would have followed, but the voice of the king forbade it. Then, in their sore emergency, these sterling men said there is a point at which submission ceases to be a virtue—in the name of the God of Israel, let us rise and strike for his elect's sake.

"Pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,  
Was beat with fist instead of a stick."

The war that followed was characterized by the sanguinary and unsparing hatred known only to a war of religions. The Presbyterians fought with cruel fierceness, having the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other. When one of them slew his enemy he called it smiting Agag under the fifth rib, or suffering not Ammon to live. The Episcopalians, with equal courage and firmness, did battle for their king and all the saints. They were equally matched as gladiators, and the fight was as long and hard as a Roman assembly of spectators could have desired. It was predestined, however, that, in the end, the commons should triumph, and the wicked king be utterly destroyed. Then was true religion blissfully to reign. Then was to be seen that religious freedom for which they had battled so hard, and in whose behalf they had nobly cast life and all into the scale. Alack, alack! when the Presbyterians came into power, so far from religion being set free, she was only carried from her old prison to a new one. The old irons were knocked from her limbs, and thereon were fastened some new and stronger. They smote off the head of the king, and in his stead established one Oliver, a man of valour, and loved of the people, who shut the Bible, (except at some odd chapter,) but kept the sword drawn. Soon, a rueful opinion began to obtain, to the effect that they had been as well off under Agag and Ammon. Men looked wofully across the water to see how it fared with their brethren, who had been so fortunate as to gain their freedom without first passing through a bloody war. There they were, sure enough, praising God with all their lungs, and persecuting Quakers and Anabaptists. At home, Oliver held the reins with a hand of iron. He asked advice of no man, but drove like Jehu, whipping the dogs, right and left, out of his way. So much of the lion had the scoundrel in his nature, that when he died they were almost afraid to bury him. The people stood agape, as it were, and with their senses obtunded; which, in fact, had been the case with them for many a long day before.

On the morrow they arose, wiser indeed, but not sadder men. They were delighted to recall the son of their old king—take him at hap-hazard, and trust to chance for what might be his persuasion. They had had enough of religious

dissensions. They had tried both parties, and, Peachum or Lockit, there was not a fico to choose between them. On the advent of the new king, who was to put a stop to it all, they went wild with joy. They made huge bonfires, and tossed their caps to the sky. Being certain that Oliver was dead, they took him up and hanged him. The new king was certainly not a model in the eyes of any party, (his best friends never said it of him,) but, nevertheless, from the beginning to the end of his long reign, his subjects were more than content; they were thankful. Hurrah for Nell Gwin! The presence of living Nelly was sweeter to them than the memory of dead Hampden. Like old Grimaldi, during the riots, they were willing not only to chalk up No Popery, but no religion at all. Their next king was one who hanged and burned them, but they took it mute as sheep. When he got out of his throne, it was because another king came over and got into it. The people spake not.

About this time was born Joseph Butler, late L. L. D., and Lord Bishop of Durham: or, as the English have it, L. L. D., and late Lord Bishop of Durham. No wonder that we find, in the writers of his day, much complaint of the spirit of infidelity and atheism, then so fashionable. The whole fabric of English society was like the whited sepulchre—fair enough without. The generation to which Joseph Butler belonged, was not answerable for the rottenness it endured. That rottenness had been begotten with it by the generation which it succeeded, as a debauched father transmits his diseases. During all the time we speak of, namely, the lifetime of Bishop Butler, the kings and queens of England were openly and notoriously usurpers. Their divine right was reverently prayed over every Sunday, and to every proclamation was signed King, by the grace of God; when it could not be concealed, from the meanest peasant, that the rightful heirs to the throne were then in France. Corrupt peers, and a venal House of Commons, was that of which Parliament was composed. It is very true, that the people, properly speaking, do not get their religion from either king or parliament, but the Church, which all know to be the Tabernacle; neither more nor less. The Tabernacle, however, had

suffered even more than its share in the earthquakes. The wise, who wisely held their peace, thought that never was more needed the presence of one, as having authority, to overturn the tables of the money changers, and especially to expel them that sold doves. The union of church and state was even more abominable then than now, because it better answered the purpose of a bushel under which to hide the light. To do them justice, we believe that the makers of it did not, in the first instance, intend it to act as a bushel, but as a splendid lantern, which was to let the light shine in—but one direction. Why not so? Is the stately pride of an ancient kingdom to be sacrificed altogether to religion? No, no; a proper and judicious compromise must always be expected and desired by reasonable men. It was enough that this religion should have emanated from a stable; and, doubtless, so thought the wise and great men who, in the beginning, sired the holy, catholic, apostolic Church of England. True, the people, in all directions, had a vulgar desire to see the light; to divert them from which idea, they made the lantern a very fine sight, surely. They continued to plaster it over with so much silver and gold and precious stones, that, at last, there was hardly left a crevice for the light to shine through. As Joseph Butler grew towards man's estate, he heard different accounts of the after history of this light and lantern. The Dissenters thought, for want of a better explanation, that when the Roundheads, led on by Oliver, smote to pieces king and lantern, the light dazzled them, (they being unprepared for aught so brilliant,) and that therefore, they continued to strike out like one in the dark, who is not altogether, though in some measure, responsible for the damage he doeth. The Dissenters, however, were not many; moreover, they were sadly under the weather, and were bullied accordingly. Their lame account of things was always received with such derision as made it appear very mean. All good subjects swore, with loud oaths, that, in Oliver's time, it was established and made manifest, that if the lantern is taken away, the light goes with it. And the writer avers that, in his opinion, it is better for men to think so, than to show, by their works, as the Roundheads

did, that they secretly disapprove of Christ having only said to the woman, "Go, and sin no more."

Mr. Butler, as we have seen, while yet very young, became dissatisfied with the tenets of the dissenters, in whose doctrines he had been educated, and determined to conform to the established church. It is no injustice to his memory to say that such would most probably have been his determination had the established church been the Roman Catholic, the Greek, or the Arminian. At the same time, it is but justice to his memory to say, that, if ever there shall be a church, of which all the members will be such Christian men as Joseph Butler, then that church, whatever may be its creed, will be not like a bushel that covers the light, but like a hill, from whose top the light shall shine and cannot be hid.

When he took orders in the church, we fear that he stood there "like a good deed in a naughty world." The church was, as much as the parliament, but a part of the political economy of the English government, and every whit as corrupt as any other part. Men were preferred in it for political services, just as they were preferred for the same in the corps diplomatique. And so, with less justice, for the church dignitary, who could spare fifteen pounds a year to a curate, was in the possession of a sinecure; although, in the army, a colonel is not allowed to put the business of his office in the hands of a sergeant. Had Mr. Butler turned the weight of his talents against these enormous abuses in the church, he would have done far more good; albeit, it is more than probable that he would never have been elevated to the high places it was his destiny to fill. It is of record, that, in the year 1764, which was twelve years after the death of Bishop Butler, the Rev. Mr. Bate fought two duels, and was subsequently made a Baronet and a Dean, after fighting another; that the Rev. Mr. Allen killed a Mr. Delany in a duel in Hyde Park, and received no ecclesiastical censure therefor, though Mr. Justice Buller strongly charged his guilt to the jury. The writer of this was born, educated, and still lives in a community in which the law of honour, properly so called, has always been in force and observance. A heathenish

layman, he has always held himself amenable to it; but when he thinks of these reverend men, he wants to climb to some high place and spit down his contempt on such a church. A church married and made one with a corrupt earthly government. A church, the livings in which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, are owned by families, and by them given, like any other property, to portionless younger sons. But, *chaque a son gout*; in the eyes of Joseph Butler, this church was the fold, of which Christ was the shepherd.

He looked out upon the world and saw it filled with erring wanderers. The nobles and leaders of society were fine gentlemen, too well bred to make a blowing horn of heterodox opinions, but many of them were notoriously deists and atheists. Ever since the Restoration, religion had been at a discount. On the stage it was treated as a bagatelle. In short, the reputation of it was to be avoided by any who aspired to the character of wit and fine gentleman. The first thing that strikes us, even in the introduction to the Analogy, is the erroneous idea its author entertained of that atheism on which he was about to make war. Guileless and full of simplicity, he had himself been a Christian from childhood. He had become a believer, as the sparks fly upward, without a struggle or thought to the contrary. Retired and studious, a man of books and not of the world, he seems strangely to have thought that the wits and fops about the court and the coffee-houses, owed to reason what was generally, of course, the effect of ignorance, of fashion, and the desire to make a cheap display of spirit. Full of zeal for the side on which he was enlisted, Mr. Butler determined it should be a battle of reason alone. Of necessity, then, his first chapter is devoted to the earthly proof in favour of a future life. It is only this chapter we propose now to discuss. In it he says nothing of Faith, or divine interposition to help us see; but boldly declares that, from facts known to all, he will make it manifest, by logical deduction, that, after our bodies are buried, our souls continue to exist. In any other man this would seem the sublimity of arrogance. With infinite simplicity he proposed to himself a task, to attempt the accomplishment of which would have



made the capacity of Shakspeare or Lord Bacon seem futile and meagre to the last degree. And yet our author not only attempts it, but seems to have little patience with any who may be inclined to doubt that success has crowned his undertaking.

To do him justice, one is at a loss whether most to admire his talents, or to regret the unwise service in which he consumed them. As for the course and constitution of that small part of nature seen by mortal eyes, there is no phase or feature in it that is not a hackneyed emblem of mortality. The drop that sinks into the earth, the brook hastening to the river, and the river swallowed in the sea, have told but one story since the beginning of time. The ocean itself, dread, trackless, unfathomable, seems forever sadly murmuring of that other ocean in which every thing earthly is buried at last. The breeze that smells of sweetest hay, smells also of the mould. The stateliest tree and the humblest flower, are monuments of trees and flowers which are gone, and the place thereof shall know them no more. The Eternal City is choked with the ruins of that eternal Rome which has passed away; and Carthage, that should laugh at its desolation, is herself desolate. As for Egypt and the East, their temples and palaces shelter the hooting owl, and at their altars the hated jackall finds safety. In the densest forests of this, which poor man has called the New World, they who hew down trees see the sunlight fall through on mighty ruins of cities that have no name; whose marble walls are sculptured over with a history, told in letters none can read. In God's name, let us not, with every thing crumbling around us, look to aught that we see, for proof of our immortality. If we take for granted no promise made to us, then, so far as we know, the story is already told and proven. In this fair climate, little flowers smile on the grave of him who has been buried a week. It is a sad lesson, easily learned; and if from it the great man could gather comfort, then so much the more was his luck than ours.

His first argument, in favour of the separate and independent existence of soul and body, is the very conclusive evidence we have that that part of us which is conscious, is

capable of living in a body different from the one it now inhabits, as that we were alive in the womb, and the many and complete changes our bodies experience between infancy and old age. The same law, as he justly observes, holds good with respect to other creatures ; as, for instance, worms become beautiful flies, and birds and insects burst the shell, finding (which none can deny) their powers of locomotion much enlarged by the change. Such arguments as these should be divested of the hard and uncouth shell in which the Bishop confined them ; and, like butterflies, make their appearance in a new form. They should be told in soft and delightful verses, purporting to be sung under pomegranate trees by lovers in Persia. An inhabitant of another planet would imagine, from Mr. Butler's language, that our powers of consciousness were the same in the womb as in the meridian of life, so little does he say of the changes the mind undergoes. This much is certain ; that, as helpless as is an infant, for any conceivable purpose his mind is no less feeble than his body. How it is in the womb, no probe or chloroform, yet discovered, has been able to tell ; but, if we reason from analogy, there the mind and body are alike in their incipient existence. As for the life after birth, we know that the two grow with each other's growth and strengthen with each other's strength ; that they are most vigorous in manhood, and that, in extreme old age, they, together, return to the imbecility of childhood. And yet, from all this, or rather in spite of all this, our author argues not that they die together, but that when the one dies the other lives on. With almost as good a show of reason, he might undertake to demonstrate that the rattle, on the end of a snake's tail, has a separate existence from that of the serpent to which it is attached. For, according to Mr. Butler's idea of such things, it has served at the end of various reptiles of different sizes and capacity.

After leaving this, his chrysalis argument, Mr. Butler proceeds with his subject, after a fashion which a decent respect for the opinion of the world forbids us to call floundering. We would present a few extracts, but from a sincere apprehension that, to do so, would cause the reader to lose

the thread of our remarks. Apart, however, from the obscure and ill-chosen language in which the earnest, but not worldly-wise scholar, expresses himself, candour compels the acknowledgment that he shows abundant evidence of a mind well fitted, when not under undue influence, for the closest logical investigation. In fact, this whole chapter is to us, even when familiarized to the author's style, a source rather of pain than pleasure; like the desperate, the hopeless struggle of genius with poverty. He displays not only great ability, but, which is exceedingly strange, much seeming prudence and circumspection. However much we may differ with him as to the justness of his argument, we are compelled to award him the admiration and respect due to an advocate who defends with genius and talent a cause obviously weak. If he flounders, it is in a road where few, except himself, could keep from falling. He is careful to impress on the reader's mind, that his endeavour is of the most metaphysical nature; and declares that he claims the victory only because the weight of probability is on his side. A declaration which is certainly at war with his unjustifiable and almost intolerant confidence in the conclusiveness of his demonstration. Here is his own lucid statement of his view of this matter:—In questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen, if the result of examination be, that there appears, upon the whole, any, the lowest, presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation; and, in matters of practice, will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and of interest, to act upon that presumption, or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in a very great doubt which is the truth.

As to the manner of this statement, the reader hath it. As to the matter, we propose these objections. 1st. When a question of abstract and metaphysical character cannot be solved except by unsatisfactory presumption, it is right and proper that rational man should not force his mind to a con-

clusion. It is useless to argue this point. Enough, that if such a doctrine had once been established, the world would, in the beginning, have been fixed in a Stygian darkness of ignorance and delusion. 2nd. That the existence of a soul, and the connection of that soul with animal life, certainly furnishes the grandest field for thought known to the enlarged and liberal mind. It is, therefore, equally useless and mean to expect that man should come to a conclusion on this lofty subject, more easily than on any matter of doubt occurring in the ordinary affairs of life.

After leaving what we call his chrysalis argument, the author proceeds to demonstrate, from *the reason of the thing*, that there is no need to infer that the soul or power of consciousness, dies upon the happening of the dissolution of the body. To this demonstration he devotes the rest of the chapter, saying, among other things, that the mind is as little dependent on the body it happens to inhabit, as on any other matter. The thought is striking, and to us it was novel. He reasons on it with surpassing ingenuity. We believe that this is, in effect, his argument: That the soul or power of consciousness, being enclosed in a prison-house of flesh, is compelled, in the acquisition of knowledge, to make use of all the fleshly senses through which alone it can have perception of and communication with the outer world. This power of consciousness is not part of these senses, but an intelligent actor who makes use of these mechanical instruments. As, for instance, the eye is but a beautiful instrument formed of lenses and crystalline humours, by the use of which the intellect perceives the presence of matter, and the forms, dimensions and relative positions of material things. This eye is only an instrument of limited power, and, such being the case, the intellect of man, when it desires to see farther than the eye can reach, makes use of other instruments which, like the eye, are formed of exquisite lenses. These telescopic and magnifying glasses, many thousand fold, are themselves the creatures of the mind of man. The intellect is independent of all optical instruments, for it is but lately they have been invented, and now it uses them and lays them aside at pleasure. But the intellect,

also, uses the eye or closes it at pleasure, without death or injury to itself, for we can think as well or better with the eyes shut. The mind, then, is as independent of the eye as of an optical instrument, and it is certainly as independent of an optical instrument as of a plough or any other utensil. Now, therefore, if the mind or soul, or power of consciousness, (by which ever name it be called,) have a separate existence from the eye, it has also a separate existence from the ear, and, in short, from all the senses. Again, suppose a man sitting in a chair, has need of an object a few feet from him on the floor. He takes a stick with which he draws it nearer, and then, stretching out his arm, gains possession of it. Both the arm and the stick are, plainly, but mechanical instruments used by the mind to effect a purpose. The mind is independent of both, for the stick is presently thrown aside, and we have abundant evidence that the mind would not be injured if the owner's arm were amputated, as was the case with Lord Nelson's, and perhaps also with the great Cervantes. Neither would this power of consciousness suffer at all, should both arms and both legs be cut off. Therefore, it is not reasonable to suppose that it has one and the same existence with the body; but rather, that when so much of the body is gone as that the rest dies, then the power of consciousness is released from a condition in which, being confined in matter, it was compelled to make use of material things: and that the spirit cannot then be seen and known, because previously it could only be seen and known by its use of material things. We fear that the reader, in his admiration of this beautiful theory, will forget to acknowledge his indebtedness to us for having translated it out of the original.

On this die all is cast. The first and palpable objection to it the author meets himself, and in a lofty strain of sentiment, worthy of its elevated source. That it is equally applicable to brutes as men, he says, in effect, is certainly true; but the enlarged and liberal mind must allow that the inferior animals may as well have immortal souls as we, for both they and we are now in so low a state, that, to the eyes of angels, there can be little to choose between us. Good

man! If this were the only objection to his argument, we should accept it with grateful thanks. But, whether or not we receive the teacher's doctrine, it is a pleasure to us again to declare our belief that a church, whose members were such men as he, would be acceptable in the sight of heaven, whatever might be its creed.

The objections to the Bishop's reasoning are few and simple, not turning on any slight, and perhaps imaginary, weight of probability. They seem to us plain and conclusive, and directly fatal to every idea the author advances. In the first place, we have never known the mind, soul or intellect, by which ever name the power of consciousness be called, except as one, and not the greatest one, of the phenomena of our existence. And, therefore, when we know that death certainly terminates this existence, reason, with an iron law, proclaims that all perishes at once, and that death is, as it appears, a perfect privation of life to mind and body. When we look on the body of a slain beast or reptile, the mind, which has no option but to reason from analogy, cannot view it except carelessly as a thing that has perished. Like a Venice glass broken, it cannot be mended. This single fact, then, viz: that except as with the body we know nothing of the mind—is, in itself, when left to bare reason, a mountain of an argument on the side of mortality, compared to which the Bishop's subtle and air-drawn theories are but the down of a thistle.

If it were necessary to say more, which is not the case, we might add that, on a nearer view, the whole fabric of his reasoning becomes not only flimsy but shadowy in the extreme. As for the mind, it is known to be seated in the brain—a fact that is proven in many ways. Among others, that an injury to the brain deprives us of reason, exactly as an injury to the heart deranges the circulation of the blood, or an injury to the eye or ear deprives us of sight or hearing. When the brain is heated by fever, the mind wanders from its throne. The combatant who is struck on the head is stunned for the time, though the wound prove trifling. So well, indeed, is this now understood, that, in ordinary conversation, the terms brain and mind are used without distino-

tion. It is, therefore, absolutely nothing to say that the mind remains after any organ of sense has lost its action. For, that it does so, no more proves a separate existence of the mind, than the fact of the other senses remaining, should prove a separate existence of those senses. When a limb is taken off in battle, or otherwise, that limb is lost, but the owner retains the use of the remainder of his body. Why, then, should Mr. Butler have singled out the mind as being unhurt by such a loss, when the senses of sight, of hearing, of taste, and of touch, all remain in their pristine vigour? Every organ has been made, by the Great Machinist, of such exquisite construction, that any, the slightest, derangement of its parts will generally deprive it of its action, i. e. will deprive the owner of one of his senses. Now, if a proposition be true, the converse of that proposition is also true. Therefore, it is true that so long as the healthy and natural action of any organ continues, the sense of that organ remains to the owner of it. From which it follows that a man's retaining his mind after the loss of his hand, no more proves a separate existence of the mind from the body, than the fact of a man retaining the use of his hand after the loss of sight, proves a separate existence of the hand from the body. In short, if the successful amputation of a limb proves the immortality of the soul, so also is the same proven by paring the nails, and by the barber's operations on the hair and beard—a view of the subject which begins to border on the ridiculous, which is also the unseemly. We will only express our regret that the Bishop did not treat of this question, arising upon his theory, to wit: when one, from water on the brain, or a blow received on the skull, becomes an idiot for life, then is the soul still in the idiot's body or not?

Men differ in size and complexion, in law and custom, but there has never been discovered either main land, or little island in the farthest ocean, whose inhabitants held not the belief that, after this life, man goes to another world where life is eternal. It is a matter of surprise that Mr. Butler should have undertaken his futile task, since he, of all men, did not come by his belief through any nice chain of argument, but, as his life shows, was satisfied of the truth, while

yet so young he knew not a term in the art of logic. There is no such general mark of the human race as this belief in a future existence. Therefore, this belief is an instinct, which is not a thing of human creation, but a gift of Providence. In this instance, a gift which, in its very nature, is a promise.

In his first chapter, then, the author erred in that he dived to a great depth in search of what floats on the surface. Like any other diver, he grasped whatever came to his hand in the vast illimitable void, and when he rose, he brought with him only coral and pretty sea-weed. Whatever may be the dictum of fashion, it is the part of candour to praise the diver's courage and strength, but not his success.

Nashville, Tenn.

J. C. T.

---

ART. XI.—BANKS AND BANKING.

*The objections of our present Banking system considered, together with a plan for a new one.*

THERE have been many systems of banking proposed and adopted in this country, since the formation of its government, yet we have entirely failed to produce one possessing, in all its ramifications, those great principles of uniform benefit, which are so essential for such institutions. Something connected with their practical application, has always existed to neutralize their better parts, and to defeat the aims of their adoption. Banks, as now established, are a great source of power to those conducting them; and, if they happen to be unprincipled, can very easily be made instruments of oppression, instead of being a source of profit and assistance to the commercial and manufacturing portions of the community. They have too frequently proven to be arbitrary or self-willed, in their intercourse with the public; or are so loosely constructed in their organization, as to permit their managing powers to be made use of for the purpose of de-



frauding the public, without leaving them the means of redress or restitution.

In some of our States, banks are required to deposit, in the hands of a State officer, dividend-paying stocks, to be used, if necessary, for the redemption of their issues. This plan is a good one, so far as it is applicable ; but its object being to reform only one of the abuses of banking, it fails to meet the radical difficulty, and to satisfy the entire wants of the community. If we desire a safe and profitable banking system, we must make such restrictions as will govern the whole of their departments. They should be less complicated in their ramifications, so as to be more easily understood by those having an interest in their existence. It has been found expedient to establish them in all commercial countries, for the purpose of assisting and augmenting trade and commerce, facilitating exchanges, meeting emergencies, making operations facile and inexpensive. The most desirable and valuable of their advantages, claimed to proceed from their existence, may be thus enumerated :

*First.*—That they have a tendency to facilitate the commercial intercourse of States and individuals, by means of their paper issues being made use of as the circulating medium of the country, instead of gold and silver ; thus making the transmission of large sums of money more easy and safe, and increasing the real value of the precious metals, by making them a *basis* of circulation, instead of requiring them to serve in that capacity themselves ; a necessity which would subject them to risk and loss, to waste, wear and abuse, to say nothing of the burdensomeness of carriage and transmission ; and that they (the banks) have the means of increasing the active capital of a country, to the great advantage of its resources and industry. It is claimed, as a well-established fact, that those banks which possess good credit, can circulate a greater sum of their own issues, than the quantum of their actual capital in gold and silver. The real extent of this capacity has not been fully arrived at, but it has been generally conceded to be in the proportion of three to one. This faculty, it is claimed, is produced in various ways. *First*, because a great amount of notes are con-

tinued in circulation for an indefinite period, just in proportion to the confidence which each holder has that he can obtain for them, at any moment, gold and silver. *Secondly*, because every loan which a bank makes, is a credit to the borrower on its books, which amount it is ready to pay on demand, either in its own notes, or in gold and silver, as it may be required. But, generally, no actual payment is made in either; the borrower having, by his check or order, transferred his credit to another person, who, in his turn, may do the same, and thus continue the amount still in the hands of the bank, without there having been a dollar removed from its first repository; where the sum still remains, until it is removed or extinguished by a discount to some person who may wish to send it away by draft, or who owes the bank to an equal or larger amount. *Thirdly*.—There is always a large amount of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, exclusive of its own stock, which has been placed there by persons who are awaiting an opportunity to use it, either in their own business, or some other in which they can make a profit. These deposits are a great benefit to the operations of a bank, although they are liable to be redrawn at a moment's notice; because, experience has shown that money much oftener changes *owners* than *place*, and that what is drawn out is generally so speedily replaced; as to authorize the counting of such deposits as an efficient fund, to be used in connection with the capital of the bank, to extend its loans far beyond its capital in gold and silver; and to answer all demands for coin, whether drawn out in consequence of its own loans, or from the occasional return of its notes. But all these advantages must rest entirely on the confidence which the community entertains in the resources and good management of the bank.

Again:—That banks have a tendency to impart stability to monetary affairs, and to produce a more correct standard of promptness in all business transactions, and thus make the credit system more of a benefit to trade and commerce. *First*.—Because they possess the power of concentrating the productive capital of the country, with a view to its being re-distributed throughout the community in the

most speedy and safe manner ; or, in other words, they are the receiving and disbursing agents, through whose hands the capital which has been drawn from its usual channels of trade, is returned to it sooner than by any other means. It is also claimed, that banks are capable of acting in money matters as the man of capital does, who, by reason of his great wealth, is enabled to buy and import large quantities of merchandise, and distribute it in smaller ones, to suit his less wealthy customers, either for cash or credit ; and thus extend the great benefit of trade to all. Banks are also made use of as a repository, by men of large means, for the sake keeping of their unemployed funds, which can be, and are, disposed of by the bank, to the benefit of those in want of money in their business, without incommoding any one.

*Secondly.*—Because banks are capable of influencing a promptness in all business transactions, and thus justify the uses of the credit system to all departments of trade, by rendering it equally safe and easy. Their own great credit, it is claimed, being the result of the promptness with which they fulfil their own obligations, makes it necessary for them to reject all customers who show a want of promptitude with them. The result of such regularity in dealing, has the effect of making one dollar serve in the payment of twenty different claims of the same amount, when, if such were not the case, it would only be able to be used in the payment of one or two in the same length of time. But it must be recollected that this one thing is a source of great power to the banks, and which they often make use of after inducing men to increase their business by throwing out to them hopes of assistance, or success, which are not always realized. It should be borne in mind, that bank officers do not always throw aside their prejudices against individuals, when assuming their new powers and responsibilities. It has been frequently the case that the ill-feeling of a single person connected with a bank, has been the cause of that bank suspending, to the injury of the whole community in which it was situated, by his making use of its capital for the furtherance of his own evil designs. But, if the powers of issue and redemption were taken from all banks, they

could not affect the interests of others, any more than an individual. As they are now conducted, their capabilities of evil are very large; so much so, as to make it a source of continual anxiety to every business man. It required, as we remember, all the power that President Jackson was possessed of, to crush the great United States Bank, which had at its head a man well worthy to represent and enforce the immense power, for evil or good, belonging to an insufficiently restricted banking institution such as that. Jackson soon saw, with a just apprehension, the powers belonging to one man, possessing so much capital, centred in one institution, and over which he alone had the control. It was to prevent this ever being the case again, that he recommended the establishment of small banks throughout the country; assuming that they would be kept in check by the general opposition and competition which would exist amongst them; and that, working thus as competitors, they would not be likely to employ their concentrated powers to deprive the community of those rights and privileges so essential to the common interest and safety. He also entertained the opinion that, whilst we are increasing the number of banks, we are also increasing the mutual interest existing between them and the people. We believe his judgment to be correct in every particular, however its application may have been marred by inadequate application to details.

We will now consider those objections to the establishments of banks, which we think of most importance and to be most worthy of public attention. They consist of the following serious charges, as popularly made, viz :

*That, they have a tendency to increase usury.*

*That, they retard or prevent other kinds of loaning.*

*That, they induce over trading.*

*That, they increase the number of ignorant adventurers in speculation, bolster up their fictitious credit, and thus enable them to practice and continue their impositions upon the public; and*

*That, they directly, or indirectly, influence the exportation of gold and silver.*

Now, if such charges can be made out against banking insti-

tutions, their benefits must be of a very superior nature to induce us to countenance them, or to reconcile us to the evils which they generate. But, it is our opinion that these charges cannot be maintained against banking institutions, which are properly restricted in their powers. It is not the principles of banking that we condemn, but the false systems on which they are now too frequently carried on. Let us look, however, to these charges in general, and see by what sort of evidence they are sustained.

*First.*—That they have a tendency to increase usury.

We have said, elsewhere, that banks have the power of enforcing punctuality in the payments of sums due them from others. This, necessarily, in certain cases, must compel the debtor to resort to usurious borrowing, or else lose his credit with the bank. The bank is not chargeable with this evil, unless it has, by its excessive discounts, instigated the debtor to extend his own business wildly, and far beyond his available resources. It is also contended, that, inasmuch as bank stocks pay a much better dividend than the same amount of money would, if made use of in the ordinary way of loaning, men are better satisfied to invest their surplus capital in banks than to loan it out themselves to the community generally; and that, when it gets into the hands of the banks, it is only loaned to a particular few, to the exclusion of the many; having the effect to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. The feebler naturally goes to the wall, and is driven, by the necessity of his situation, to apply to the usurer to obtain such money as he may need, let it cost him what it may. The bank that creates the appetite which it refuses to pacify, is a moral mischief; but even where chargeable with this offence, the mischief is of but small consequence, in comparison to the effects of a money pressure which has been produced by its over-issues. The prostration following the artificial stimulus, is an evil of more mischievous magnitude, when it operates upon a whole community, as, in such cases, it always must.

Now, in this connection, we admit that banks are placed in the same position with individuals, during a pressure in the money market, or while it is approaching one. Their

own liabilities are equally subject to the rule of promptness in business with those of individuals. We yield the point cheerfully ; but we claim that, at least one half the panics which visit us, from time to time, originate through causes arising from improper management on the part of the banks ; and, sometimes, when the management thereof has been, with a view, on the part of the officers, to increase the profits of their stockholders. This is done, *first*—by making use of their funds to oppress other institutions, so that they may run their issues out of the market, and place their own in it. This awakens a feeling of resentment on the part of those oppressed, and they all engage in the warfare with their means, instead of using them for the benefit of the public. Before this contention arises, money may be easy enough. Many are induced to extend their business, in consequence of great bank facilities ; and the crisis resulting from this private struggle among the banks takes them unawares. There is no reason for a crisis of a public or social nature, that they can see—there is no lack of resources in the community—no lack of credit among themselves ; but they are the victims, and suffer from the greedy competition of the banks. Unprepared for the unexpected crisis, they are forced into the clutches of the usurer, and must pay exorbitantly to uphold a credit which no act of their own has shaken.

*Secondly.*—The banks operate hurtfully by making use of their funds at remote districts, where they pay them a better interest, instead of distributing them among their own citizens. They thus serve as agents to drain the local capital from the very people for whose use it was designed in their establishment, and send it away for the benefit of others. This is a practice common to almost every bank in the Union ; because it has proven a source of profit to them, both by the increase of their issues and the amount of their rates of interest. For this we cannot blame them, no more than we can individuals, unless it be for a want of patriotism in behalf of their own business community. Trade is naturally selfish, and it would be absurd to ask them to pay no regard to their own interest, and to sacrifice it entirely to

ours. Such liberality is not to be expected from any class of business men. If we wish to remedy this evil, we must apply proper restrictions to them, when we invest them with the powers of banking. If, then, they accept our conditions, we can exercise a power of restraint, and can coerce their obedience in various ways—by penalties, by forfeiture of charter, and the repeal or modification of the usury laws.

*Thirdly.*—Banks, by an over-issue of their notes during a season of plenty, and by increasing their discounts because they are overstocked with money received from their depositors, suffer with the rest, and are equally enfeebled, when a reaction takes place. Their shortsightedness brings its penalties upon their own shoulders. To relieve themselves in such periods, they contract suddenly both their issues and discounts, and thus compel their customers to seek a new market, which extends the pressure still farther, until it becomes universal. Therefore, we claim that, as banks are now established and managed, they are directly or indirectly chargeable with the panic, the crisis, and their fruits, the increase of usury.

Again:—That they retard or prevent other kinds of loaning.

We have, we think, sufficiently shown elsewhere, that they have the power of drawing and concentrating the capital of the country away from those channels in which it might lie idle and non-productive; but we claim that, although this is the case, yet, by reason of their anxiety to increase their own issues, they are induced to make use of both their capital and deposits in other ways than those which would be of benefit to their own community; and that they are thus made instruments to take from us those means which would be otherwise distributed among us by private loans. Their immensely concentrated capital, also, enables them to enter into large enterprises through their agents, whether in the districts where they are situated, or in remote places; and thus do they frequently divert from us the money, which, if in the hands of the stockholders individually, would necessarily seek investment entirely among our own people. It has been claimed, as an argument in their

favour, that banks, in their formation, draw capital from foreign sources. Such is, no doubt, the case ; but are not those who thus furnish it, always drawing a profit from our labour, which constitutes a large amount periodically drawn from the capital and circulation of the community ? There is, no doubt, a use in the money thus borrowed from abroad, but it is not without its corresponding injuries.

There is no doubt that banks, as now established, can, and are made, materially to affect the money market of almost every community to a greater or less extent, and change the ordinary channels of loaning.

Again :—That they induce over-trading

This charge has been treated of in part, already, in a former paragraph. All experience has taught us, that, when the supply of money exceeds our legitimate demand, such a state of affairs is produced by every over-issue of bank paper. When our products are excessive, the banks are better able to extend their issues ; because, the greater the supply of products, the more money is required to effect its transfers. The banks, having an eye to business, perceive the opportunity of increasing their issues, and are not long in taking advantage of it. They enlarge their facilities by increasing their discounts, which induces eager crowds to enter into the field of speculation. This increases correspondingly the demand for, and, as a consequence, the price of commodities, and still further the fictitious demand for money. The banks, stimulating others, are themselves stimulated, and continue to supply the funds, until they begin to fear for themselves the inevitable consequences of over-issuing, and are thus induced to check, suddenly, their further advances. The panic is thus begun, and the recoil is proportioned strictly to the previous excitement. This causes a reactionary movement in the produce market ; the advancing strides of speculation are stayed in their full career, and trade, after going through an ordeal of terror, slowly commences its return back to its proper level, but not without leaving ruin and desolation everywhere along the path of its eccentric progress. Thousands are suddenly made bankrupt, who were before in affluent circumstances.



Again:—That banks increase the number of ignorant and fraudulent traders, and, having done so, bolster up their fictitious credit, and thus enable them to continue their impositions at the expense of prudent traders and the community at large.

This charge only applies to the officers of those banks who make use of its funds to press purely personal and selfish objects, and to advance the fortunes of some of their relatives and friends; and, by these means, foist upon the community persons who are really unworthy of confidence, and enable them to defraud the public, by reason of the countenance given them by the bank. Sometimes, banks will extend their credit to persons, who, if their affairs were wound up, would not be able to pay fifty cents upon the dollar. By their aid, these bankrupts maintain their credit, to the great injury of confiding creditors. Their policy is of the most basely selfish character, since it is designed only to increase the resources in the hands of the secret bankrupt, in order to the increase of their own securities. They sustain him until he can defraud other citizens, and, taking care to obtain a lien upon his new acquisitions, as soon as they feel themselves made secure, they cast the worthless debtor aside, having used him only long enough to delude other creditors, whom their seeming confidence has persuaded to believe in his good faith and soundness. This is a frequent practice, and is regarded as quite a meritorious operation. We have known merchants to recommend a customer to brother merchants, knowing all the while that he was totally unworthy of truth. Their object was that of the bank. It was simply to realize out of the goods that he may buy from them the claim which they hold against him, and which, otherwise, they know must be lost. This criminal practice, applying as well to individuals as to banks, cannot be used against them especially, only so far as that their greater operations, by reason of their concentrated capital, enables them to operate more extensively in such dishonest transactions, resulting in a consequently increased evil to the innocent community.

Again :—That banks indirectly influence the exportation of gold and silver.

Banks, having been established for the express purpose of increasing the amount of the productive capital of the country, are authorized to make issues of their own paper, upon gold and silver as its basis. It is, therefore, their interest to retain within their vaults the precious metals. It cannot well be their interest to send it away. But there are causes arising from their excessive issues, which will give us the right to accuse them of being the cause, indirectly at all events, of doing so. It is always the case, when there is an excessive issue of paper money, that people increase their domestic expenses and business expectations. New foreign luxuries are introduced. The importing merchant increases his foreign purchases, because he expects an increase of sales ; for all of which he must pay in gold and silver, or in material wealth of some kind. But the increase of paper money will also increase the prices of our products to such an extent as to preclude their shipment to foreign ports, when the difference in price will not allow a sufficient margin for a profit over the expenses of shipment ; and thus we still farther increase the balance against us, to be only lessened or liquidated by the shipment of gold and silver.

The banks, so long as they do business at all, cannot resist this necessity, which strictly results from their eagerness, in the first instance, to enlarge their business beyond the strict need of the community, and beyond the real measure of their strength and their resources. Governed by the same appetites which sway the desires of individuals, they reach the same results, and suffer from the same causes ; but, to them is chiefly chargeable the fault of excess on the part of individuals, and the vastly greater evils to the people, flowing from their sudden stoppage of those issues which they had made too excessive for their own and the public good.

We have thus briefly, and, perhaps, superficially, indicated, in a simple and inartificial way—that we may be the more easily understood—the leading causes of those monetary difficulties—those caprices of banks and bankers—to which the

mercantile community is so periodically subject in this country; caprices which, seemingly, help trade for a season, only to hurt it more seriously in the end. To enter into illustrative details of the subject would require volumes. We propose now to throw out, for the consideration of citizens and lawgivers, a few suggestions in respect to the banking system, by the adoption of which, we are of opinion that we may obviate much of the objectionable features in their present organization. Our plan shall be submitted without argument. We propose, then—

1st. The establishment, by the State governments, of a banking department, to be under the control of a board, consisting of three persons, whose duties shall be equal in the general management, but who shall each have allotted to him a particular department of the same, which he shall directly superintend.

2d. That all banks of issue, within the State, may be conducted or owned by one or more persons, as they may elect.

3d. That all banks of issue shall, before commencing business in the State, deposit with the banking department, twenty-five dollars in specie, and seventy-five dollars in sound United States' or State stocks, for every one hundred dollars of notes which they propose to issue. But, if the amount already issued shall be at the rate of ten dollars to each man, woman and child, in the State, as compared with the last returns of population, they must deposit a greater proportion of gold and silver, and less of stock.

4th. That all institutions, not already authorized to do so, shall be prohibited from issuing any notes or bills, which it may be intended to circulate as money, unless they have been issued from the banking department, with the endorsement of the registrar thereon, as an evidence of their being so issued and secured.

5th. That all notes, so issued, must be presented for redemption at the banking department of the State only; which requisition must appear on the face of the note.

6th. That all plates made use of for taking the impressions of bank notes, must be obtained by, and remain in the hands of, the State banking department.

7th. That all interest received on the stocks deposited with the department, shall be at all times subject to the order of the parties having placed them there.

8th. That when all the notes which any bank may have issued, in accordance with these regulations, shall have been returned to the department, or five years having elapsed after the closing of such bank, it shall be entitled to all stocks and moneys still remaining in their hands.

9th. That in the case of any stocks deposited being paid by the party issuing them, it shall be the duty of the board to reinvest them as soon as possible, in like securities, provided they can obtain the same at a par value; but, if not, it shall be the duty of the depositors to supply them with a sufficient amount of funds for that purpose, and if they shall decline to receive them, the department will retain the same in gold and silver, without allowing them interest thereon.

We claim that this system will increase the productive capital as much as it is safe and expedient to do; because it takes out of the hands of banks the right to issue notes to an indefinite amount, without any regard to the amount of their specie; and it also secures the redemption of their notes beyond any contingency, and deprives them of those chances of affecting the monetary interest of the community, which they may and do make use of, under the present system.

It also gives the public a *certain* place of redemption for all notes issued, without being subject to the standing of the institution which issues them; and saves, in case of the bank becoming involved, the appointment of a receiver, and, consequently, the extra expenses of such appointment. These advantages will have a tendency to prolong the circulation of the notes greatly beyond the time now enjoyed under the present system.

In fact, when we take from the banks their powers of issue and redemption, we reduce them to the same standing as that of individuals. Their power for evil is shorn, while their power for doing good, according to their legitimate uses, still remains. They cease to be the *only* monied influencing power, and become as one of the community, identified with its interests, and equally subject to the changes which affect its general fortunes.

M.

## ART. XII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

*History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our own days.* By M. CHARLES WEISS, Professor of History in the Lycée Bonaparte. Translated from the French by HENRY WILLIAM HERBERT. With an American Appendix by a descendant of the Huguenots. In two volumes. New-York: Stringer & Townsend. 1854.—These two very well printed and interesting volumes will prove grateful memorials to a large portion of the very best people of this country. M. Weiss has summed up the whole history of the Huguenot persecution, of the wanderings of that people when dispersed after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, of their fortunes when scattered abroad over other nations, and of the fortunate career of certain families which rose to well merited distinction in the strange lands to which they fled for refuge. Of course, as a summary only, the details will be comparatively meagre in a thousand respects, where we could have wished to find them more copious. Unfortunately, the materials for a more elaborate performance are not now to be found, or they would require, in the search, an amount of labour and expense, to which the results, of value and interest, would probably be quite inadequate. Enough, however, is preserved, and to be found in these volumes, to awaken the most lively interest in the history, and to justify fully the propriety of making the publication. The author, or, more properly, the compiler, has shown great industry and research in the accumulation of his materials. He has sought, no doubt, all accessible means of information. His chief deficiencies are probably in the case of those who sought refuge in America. Still, even here, he has shown a tolerably general and correct knowledge of the various progresses of the scattered flock. Some errors, mostly trivial, have crept into his narrative, but not of a sort to impair its general integrity or its value as an authority. We turn naturally to such portions of the volumes as relate more particularly to the Huguenots of Carolina—a region in which they especially flourished, and where they put forth the most vigorous shoots of greatness—producing many of the first men, warriors and statesmen of the nation, in the most trying periods. We have reason to be proud of the infusion into our family of the good blood of these despised, but honourable, wandering, but worthy people, who fled to the wilderness for conscience' sake, and amidst all the fluctuations of life and society, have always steadily maintained the virtues which sustained them when they first went forth as exiles. M. Weiss

shows himself well acquainted with the main facts in their fortunes in our section. He pursues the attempts of Coligni to establish settlements at first in the Brazils, and afterwards in Carolina and Florida. He gives correct summaries of their adventures in both regions—of the expeditions of Villegagnon to the former, and of Ribault and Laudonniere to the latter province. Subsequently, the narrative unfolds the progress of other colonies, no longer independent, but established within the limits and under the rule of the British settlements. To these details the American Editor provides brief notes, correcting the errors of the text and supplying deficiencies. In regard to this portion of the history, our own local chronicles are more full, correct, and in every way more valuable; but this was to be expected. This portion of the present work is only important, as it constitutes a necessary part of the main history. In this connection let us express the hope that Mr. Thomas Gaillard, formerly of our own State, now, we believe, of Alabama, will be persuaded to give to the public, as soon as possible, the more complete history upon which he is known to have been engaged. We have noted several errors in this portion of M. Weiss's book, relating to the South, but of a sort which do not materially affect its value—and some omissions, which a little more pains-taking, on the part of the American Editor, might have supplied. For example, when naming the persons upon whom, in 1663, the English charter of Charles the Second was conferred, the Frenchman tells us of a "Lord John;"—the American Editor remarks, "it is almost useless to state this is a French blunder. There never was such a title as 'Lord John;' and who is meant does not appear." Had the Editor turned to any of our histories of South-Carolina, he could have made it appear. The name to be supplied was John, Lord Berkeley. M. Weiss says, somewhat loosely, that the Huguenots created, among other settlements in Carolina, that of Charleston. This, we need not say, is a great error. That settlement was originally English, and the refugees of France formed but a small portion of the population. Our author shows a disposition to exaggerate, in his details of occurrences in this region, which was not necessary to his purpose. Thus, the little infant settlement of "James-town," is called a city. He adds, repeating a former error—"But the richest and the most populous of all the settlements formed by the refugees in that province, was that of Charleston." We need not repeat our correction of this error, which is due to the natural tendency of all authors to exaggerate the claims of a favourite subject. His mistakes, or those of the American printer, in the spelling of proper names, make many of those, of well known Southern families, exceedingly doubtful

to the eye and ear. "Mazyck," as we write it now, is written "Mazicq" by our Frenchman. "Dubose," in his hands, is "Dubosc," which, by the way, better accords with our ordinary pronunciation of the word; for "Sarrazin," the printer gives us "Larrazin;" "Horry" appears in one instance as "Hony," and so of many others, scattered through the volumes, which should have been more carefully revised. Our author could have found, in many instances, much better sources of information than those upon which he has relied. He has looked to second and third hands for authorities, when the records of the first were still to be had. The American Editor might have amended this, and has probably forborne doing so, only because of the minor importance of the points in question, and because it would have swollen the work to unsaleable dimensions. As it is, it will prove useful and instructive, and of great help to the student in the field of history.

*The Works of Apuleius.* London: H. G. Bohn. 1853.—The writings of Apuleius, complete, are here collected in a compact volume; a new and well prepared translation, comprising the *Metamorphosis*, or *Golden Ass*, the *God of Socrates*, the *Florida*, the defence of Apuleius on a charge of magical practice, in which he discourses of magic, and gives us its history to the period in which he writes and in the region in which he lived. The work is one of those helps equally to history and philosophy, which he must necessarily study who would be thoroughly informed of the faith, the social practice and the height to which the popular mind and cultivation had reached in his time and country. It is rich in other respects, as a development of the highly imaginative genius of the author. "The *Golden Ass*" is the work by which Apuleius is best known to fame. This tale, which is quite too free for the use of the sex, is, at the same time, distinguished by its poetic beauties and the brilliant episodes in which the author exhibits his grace, his fancy and his invention. Among these, the *Allegory of the Soul*, or *Cupid and Psyche*, is the most remarkable. It has furnished a theme for succeeding poets and artists, through whom, rather than its original author, it is chiefly known to the moderns. The volume contains the poetical version of this story as made by Gurney and Mrs. Tighe. The latter poem is a somewhat cold, tame, diffuse paraphrase, which is commended to us only by its delicacy and correctness. The version of Gurney is more loose and less finished; but more free, and, in modest quatrains, unfolding the fable with more spirit and simplicity than the more elaborate effort of Mrs. Tighe. Gurney's poem, however, omits many portions of the original; the versifier seeming to be gov-

erned in this omission by a desire rather to tell the story itself, than to display its poetical beauties, and the mere sentiments of the author, as they rose naturally out of its situations. Something, therefore, was lost to the reader of the original—some passages of fancy and description which readers of taste would not care to lose. These passages ought to have been supplied by the present translator or editor, and we could have wished that he had known of the version made by the Hon. John L. Wilson, formerly one of the Governors of this State, who published an edition in Charleston several years ago. Mr. Wilson's volume may be found in our libraries by the curious. He was a man of taste, talent and education, a lawyer and politician, who relieved his public labours by an occasional indulgence with the Muse, and who, in supplying the gaps in Gurney's version, showed himself fully equal to an original translation, which would have been quite as worthy as Gurney's of the public eye. But Bohn's volume will supply all that the reader desires. It is undoubtedly the best and most complete edition of Apuleius that has yet been given to the English tongue.

*Poems.* By JAMES T. FIELDS. Cambridge: Metcalfe & Co. University Press. 1854.—The author of these poems is one of our most amiable and accomplished publishers. He unites the intellectual with the material manufacture of books, and in both respects reminds us of one of the very best of the living Sonnetters of England—Edward Moxon. Like Moxon, the publishing house to which Mr. Fields belongs puts forth its publications in a style singularly neat and appropriate, and is something *recherche*, also, in the authors whom it honours by selection. Individually, the genius of Mr. Fields resembles that of Moxon. They are both of the contemplative class of poets—with a delicate ear and fancy; never startling, never audacious, never attempting eagle flights; but, in brief circles, darting gracefully about their objects, and making song moralize in sympathy with nature. Mr. Fields does not frame his sentiments in sonnets, but his short poems resemble them, and, saving the form, might well be ranked in this category. Take a sample in the following graceful tribute, addressed, we take for granted, to Sam. Rogers:

“On a Book of Sea Mosses, sent to an Eminent English Poet.”

“To him who sang of Venice, and revealed  
How wealth and glory clustered in her streets,  
And poised her marble domes with wondrous skill,  
We send these tributes, plundered from the sea.  
These many-coloured, variegated forms



Sail to our rougher shores, and rise and fall,  
 To the deep music of the Atlantic wave.  
 Such spoils we capture where the rainbows drop,  
 Melting in ocean. Here are broideries strange,  
 Wrought by the sea nymphs from their golden hair,  
 And wove by moonlight. Gently turn the leaf.  
 From narrow cells, scooped in the rocks, we take  
 These fairy textures, lightly moored at morn.  
 Down sunny slopes, outstretching to the deep,  
 We roam at noon, and gather shapes like these.  
 Note now the painted webs from verdurous isles,  
 Festooned and spangled in sea-caves, and say  
 What hues of land can rival tints like these—  
 Torn from the scarfs and gonfalons of kings  
 Who dwell beneath the waters. Such our gift,  
 Culled from a margin of the Western world,  
 And offered unto genius in the old."

To seize upon some well known anecdote, something illustrating innocence and faith, and weave it into fanciful and gentle verse, is, with Mr. Fields, a frequent exercise, in which he is as frequently very successful. Here, for example, is an old thought of an innocent child, whose faith finds her security against all forms of terror, woven into very pleasing stanzas :

#### BALLAD OF THE TEMPEST.

We were crowded in the cabin,  
 Not a soul could dare to sleep—  
 It was midnight on the waters,  
 And a storm was on the deep.

'Tis a fearful thing in winter,  
 To be shatter'd in the blast,  
 And to hear the rattling trumpet  
 Thunder, "Cut away the mast."

So we shudder'd there in silence—  
 For the stoutest held his breath,  
 While the hungry sea was roaring  
 And the breakers talked with death.

As thus we sate in darkness,  
 Each one busy at his prayers,  
 "We are lost !" the captain shouted,  
 As he stagger'd down the stairs.

But his little daughter whispered,  
 As she took his icy hand,

"Isn't God upon the ocean,  
Just the same as on the land?"

Then we kissed the little maiden  
And we spoke in better cheer,  
And we anchor'd in the harbour  
When the moon was shining clear.

These are simple verses, appealing only to familiar sentiments, and seeking for them no ambitious ornaments. They commend themselves purely by their simplicity. The subjects chosen by our young poet are always of a class with which the social and human sentiment is familiar; and, to lift this simple and ordinary sentiment, by the wings of a pleasant fancy, so as to wing its moral, is all that he seems to design or to desire. These specimens will suffice, though not entirely, to show the characteristics of the poet. He has a quiet vein of humour in his composition, which sometimes prompts him to mask his fancy, and relieve his sad with sportive humours.

*Congressional Publications.*—We owe to our attentive friends and correspondents in Washington, Messrs. Orr and Keitt, of our congressional delegation, copies of sundry government publications of singular value and interest. Among these, the copious volume from the Census department—the *Statistics of the United States*—(Census of 1850)—a stupendous effort of human industry and accumulation—has already received due acknowledgment in our pages. To this we must add the following, of which our limits permit the mention only of their several titles, viz:

I. Report of Israel O. Andrews, Consul of the United States for Canada and New-Brunswick, on the trade and commerce of the British North American Colonies, and upon the trade of the great lakes and rivers; also, notices of the Internal Improvements in each state of the Gulf of Mexico and Straits of Florida, and a paper on the cotton crop of the United States.

II. Maps illustrating Andrews's Report—a supplementary volume, the maps on a large scale and well engraved.

III. Exploration and Survey of the great Salt Lake of Utah, including a reconnoissance of a new route through the Rocky Mountains. By HOWARD STANBURY, Capt. Corps Top. Eng. U. S. Army.—This is a singularly interesting narrative; illustrated throughout with correct drawings of scenery and people, costume and modes of habitation—giving detailed aspects of the country everywhere, at every point in the

progress. To this volume is also appended another, solely accorded to maps and charts, by which the reader is enabled to follow step by step the course of the survey.

IV. The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the state of the Public Finances, affords matter for a thick volume, and is much more satisfactory than any we can make on the subject of our own. The contents of this volume are not wholly financial or statistical. The incidental historical matter is very valuable and interesting, particularly that which relates to the discovery, colonization and colonial progress, and our relations with Europe during these several periods. This matter is accumulated in consequence of researches into the Fishery Question. While we indicate this historical survey, as affording materials of great interest and value, we are far from preparing to endorse it as quite correct in fact and conclusion, in advance of very searching examination. It issues from the pen of Mr. Lorenzo Sabine, who has, on previous occasions, shown himself superficial in his judgments of our history, and an exceedingly bigoted and prejudiced Yankee, of the worst complexion, *i. e.*, when he turns his face southwards. His opinions are to be received *cum grano*, and his statistics must be weighed equally with regard to his omissions and his utterances. Not that we are prepared to cast discredit on his present report, for we have not examined it, except passingly. Our doubts are rather of himself—of what seems to us his ingrained defects of judgment, and of a narrow sectional temper. We regret to find a number of pages wanting, in our copy of this report; a deficiency, however, from which its substance shows the public treasury to be free.

V. VI. Annual Reports of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the progress of that work during the year ending November, 1851 and 1852. Two volumes.

VII. To these is added a supplementary quarto, embodying all the pages illustrative of the several surveys made up to 1852. No work which the Government of the United States has ever undertaken, was more necessary, or more important, than that of a general Coast Survey of our extended empire. We may add that no superintendent could have been found, quite so capable as Professor Bache, for taking charge of this interesting duty. We believe that up to the present date, we have been compelled to rely for our coast charts entirely upon the meagre outlines given us by the early Spanish voyagers, imperfectly improved by subsequent British navigators, and none of them being the result of any strict, scientific, or even searching examination. The present survey, when completed, will leave us nothing to desire. It is

in the best of hands. Our young naval officers, under their accomplished chief, in this department, are destined to render incalculable service to the maritime securities and the commercial enterprise of the country.

VIII. In this connection, we may accord a single sentence to the quarto pamphlet, issued from the French press, entitled "Maritime Conference held at Brussels," for devising an uniform system of meteorological observations at sea. August and September. 1853.—The contents of this publication are given in French and English. The commission, solicited by our Government, was honourably entertained by the several maritime powers of Europe, all of whom sent delegates. Our country was amply represented by Lieut. Maury, with whom the conference originated. The result will, no doubt, be productive of very general benefit to the progress of society. It is pleasant to perceive that Lieut. Maury's claims as a man of science, and a discoverer, are duly appreciated by his associates. We take pride in the career of this gentleman, and congratulate our people on the possession of a character of so much private worth and public usefulness, and upon the official position which he enjoys, and in which he is calculated to effect such large and valuable results for humanity and science. .

*Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*: being an exposition of the "*Cours de Philosophie Positive*" of Auguste Comte. By G. H. LEWES, author of "The Biographical History of Philosophy," &c. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1853.—Mr. Lewes is quite a suitable person to give us, in English, a popular version of one whom he considers "the greatest thinker of modern times." We are not prepared to concur with him in this estimate, which appears to us rather superlative; but no one will deny to Comte the merits of searching thought, and a very high rank as a philosopher of modern times. He should be read and studied by all who desire a just knowledge of the preliminary sciences, of social science and the philosophy of history. Even where we do not concur—and we confess frankly that in many things we are not satisfied with M. Comte's conclusion:—yet he will provoke the thought which he does not satisfy, and stimulate that inquiry which he does not meet. This volume is well designed for popular use.

*The Three Presidencies of India*: a History of the Rise and Progress of the British India Possessions, from the earliest records to the present time, with an account of their government, religion, manners, customs, education, &c. By JOHN CAPPER, F.R.A.S., &c.

London : Ingrams, Cooke & Co. 1853.—There is a native interest in the subject of India, and of the British progress in that country, which is of considerable attraction to all the civilized world, and of rather more interest to us, as Americans, than we at present suspect. As a mere subject of curiosity, and for the general cravings of the historical reader, the theme is sufficiently attractive. The very handsome octavo before us, with its numerous and spirited illustrations, written in good style and with warmth, by one who has resided in India, and is well versed equally in the histories, the politics and the traditions of the country, will beguile the reader willingly along, and satisfy his curiosity, and awaken his interest, in topics which he has hitherto dismissed from his thought with little consideration. The work opens with a sketch of the natural history of British India; its resources, its characteristics, its statistics, and the degree in which these may be brought to profitable results. This is followed by an historical survey—first, of the Hindoos, and next, of the Mohammedan period, down to the fall of the Tartar dynasty. To these succeeds the European period, covering the progress of the British arms, down to the second Burmese war, and the annexation of Pegu, in 1852. The history of events is thus complete, almost to the present moment. The narrative seems ample, and the details are at once succinct and comprehensive. A second part of the work is devoted to a political review of the local governments of India, from the Hindoo to the present period, and of the fiscal systems of the same country, ancient and modern, with a consideration of their effects on the industry of the people. In respect to the evil influence of these systems upon the moral and physical powers of the country, our author insists that the British has been far more ruinous than any of the preceding native powers, contrasting very unfavourably with that of the ancient Hindoo. Nor does he indicate any hope that experience has taught the ruling power any useful lessons. A third part of his work is devoted to the physical aspects of India; under which head he classes Hindoo art and science, manufactures, agriculture, “cotton industry,” roads, rivers, rail-roads, and the commercial history of the three presidencies. The portion of this section which will most interest us in the South, is that which relates to the cotton culture of India. The author shows that the exports of India cotton have been decreasing, and that the quality of the article has undergone no improvement for fifty years. He ridicules the experiments and efforts which have been made by the British Government to vary these results, and indicates as preferable the purifying the courts of law and opening railways. We need not discuss the problem, and prefer

that something shall be left to excite the anxieties of posterity. The fourth and closing section of this interesting volume, under the head of "moral," gives us a survey of the language of literature, religion and caste, manners and customs, education, Christianity, justice, and the morality of the people. The work is unique; full of interest, abounding in information, well written and beautifully illustrated.

*Notes on the State of Virginia*, by THOMAS JEFFERSON; illustrated with a map, including the States of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. A new edition, prepared by the author, containing notes and plates never before published. Richmond: J. W. Randolph. 1853.—A new edition of Jefferson's Notes was very much wanted. The original work, as first published, has been long since out of print. The public owes its acknowledgments to Mr. Randolph, for supplying a general need. These Notes will never suffer loss of value. Their facts may be incomplete,—may be enlarged still very profitably by subsequent editorship,—as, indeed, they have been enlarged by the author himself in this volume;—but the value of the work does not depend simply upon its facts. Jefferson was a good writer, and a very extensive and subtle thinker. His mind has here concentrated itself upon his materials *con amore*, as it were, and though he may occasionally err in conclusion and conjecture, yet it is surprising to note how correctly, in general, he grasps the result, and opens the way to future discovery and speculation. This edition comes to us particularly commended, as it possesses the last revisions made by his own hands, down nearly to the close of his life. These he left in manuscript. They are all embodied here. His corrections of original errors, his amplifications and explanations, his appendices, correctional and dilative, render the volume now complete as it concerns himself, and of greatly increased value to the reader. The publisher has done his work in good style and taste, giving us a neat octavo for the library.

*Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe*. By GRACE GREENWOOD. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854.—The mishaps of Miss Greenwood, *née* Sarah Clark, now Madame Lippincott, while in Europe, seem to have been few, amounting to no more, we believe, than the rumpling of kerchief, and the rending of skirt. She seems to have been well treated, and has sketched her progresses in good temper, having seen all things abroad pretty much through a rose-coloured medium. Her book is slight and full of superlatives. In this respect she is thoroughly American. Her raptures are sometimes ludicrous enough. Looking at

the Apollo Belvidere, she implores his succour almost as warmly as that damsel (Semele) who, more ambitious, made her prayer to Jupiter, and was burnt up in his embraces. If Apollo listen not to such pleadings, he has not warmth enough for any purpose.

*The Young Voyageurs, or the Boy Hunters of the North.* By Capt. MAYNE REID, author of "The Boy Hunters," "The Desert Home," &c. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854.—The previous volumes of our author, devoted to the equal illustration of natural history and of human adventure in strange situations and under unusual exigencies, were very attractive to the youthful reader. The volume before us is of the same character, and will be found quite as pleasing and instructive. Capt. Reid has quite a persuasive manner as a writer, and knows how to bring out his incidents in the most impressive style. He is singularly happy in such narratives as the present.

*Essays on Philosophical Writers and other Men of Letters.* By THOMAS DEQUINCEY. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor Reed & Fields. 1854.—The subjects of these additional volumes of the works of the Opium Eater, are Sir Wm. Hamilton, Sir James Mackintosh, Kant, Herder, John Paul, Frederick Richter, Lessing, Bentley, and old Parr—a sufficient variety, surely; each of whom DeQuincey treats after his own wayward fashion—always with thought and keenness, but always with desultory temper, which provokes quite as often as it diverts. Of course, all who are possessed of the previous volumes of this series and edition, will procure these. To those to whom our author is unknown, we urge his acquaintance. They will find him mingling the reminiscent, the poet and philosopher in an odd manner; but they will never find him a dull companion, though sometimes a capricious one.

*Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, made under the direction of the Navy Department.* By WM. LEWIS HERNDON, and LARDNER GIBBON, Lieutenants U. S. Navy. Part I. Maps in a supplementary volume. Washington: Rob't Armstrong. 1854.—For a copy of this interesting report, we are indebted to the attention of Senator Butler, of this State. It is a compact volume, put forth in the usual slovenly style of Congressional publications, but upon rather better paper than usual. The trifle additional of cost, which is necessary to give us good library volumes, in these issues of government, ought surely not to be spared when we have a treasury so full that Congress is at a loss to know what to do with the money. Our pages have contained so much

material in relation to the Valley of the Amazon, and are destined to contain so much more from the hands of the most able contributors, that we need not touch the subject with our Editorial fingers. Enough to say that this volume does credit to the exploring officers, and is full of interest and information to the general reader. It is filled with lithographic sketches, which appeal to the eye in illustration of the text; and the maps accompanying enable us to read understandingly, and to trace out our progress at every step.

*The Public and Domestic Life of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke.* By PETER BURKE, Esq., of the Inner Temple. London: Ingrams, Cooke & Co. 1853.—We had occasion, recently, to commend the *Life of Burke*, by Prior, to the favour of our readers. The volume before us supplies the substance of the same material, but in different costume. This is designed for more popular use. It does not cover so much ground, nor compass so many details; in short, is far less elaborate; but is not less readable, and the narrative, interspersed as it is with wood cuts, will be found quite pleasant, and sufficiently full for all necessary purposes.

*Cicero's Writings.*—The Bohn Library has received some recent additions of great interest and value, none of which are more meritorious than the very neat and well translated treatises of the great master of Roman oratory. Cicero's essays on the nature of the gods; on divination; on fate; on the republic; on the laws; and on standing for the consulship; constitute a body of literature which will always be found precious to the philosophical student, to the metaphysician, to the public man, and to the professional. In these, also, do you find the moral ideal to which the Roman intellect had reached at the culminating period in the history of that mighty empire. And, in this ideal, you find the data for a just estimate of the acquisitions of that race, and its claims to authority over the studies of all preceding races. Perhaps, in no similar body of literature can you find so much material for a just examination and knowledge of these acquisitions of the Romans. Regarded in this point of view, and without any reference to the intrinsic merits of these treatises as philosophical and literary essays, the value of this collection is sufficiently shown. But, in addition, no one need be told of the merits of Cicero as a philosopher, a statesman, and an essayist. The translation before us is a new and literal one, mostly from the pen of C. D. Yonge, B. A.



*Poems and Parodies.* By PHŒBE CAREY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854.—We had the pleasure, some months ago, of meeting, in society at the North, with the two poetic sisters, Alice and Phœbe Carey—one, sad apparently, and in somewhat delicate health—Alice, we believe—the other buoyant, and looking as buxom as if she had never suffered once from the blasts of Apollo. Certainly, she did not wear that sad, sighing, sentimental expression which the vulgar world is very apt to anticipate always in the aspect of the damsel who lisps in song. These young ladies have acquired much American celebrity in a very short time. The value of this sudden American celebrity we are not called upon to decide; but, valueless or not, the very possession of it by our fair sisters imposes upon them the necessity of elaborating well before they publish. Poetry is an art which, beyond all others, perhaps, demands the *labor limæ*; unless, indeed, the genius be of a character so audacious and grand as to legitimate its own outlawries. This is not the case with either of our sisters, who must establish their claims by assiduous art, and dutiful study, and the exercise of a fancy carefully regulated and counselled to wing the thought—not fly away with it. Whatever the merits of Miss Phœbe Carey, as shown by the verses in this volume, we must, *in limine*, take occasion to say that she has *not* been sufficiently heedful of the pruning of her rose-tree. She has not done quite enough of clipping and filing, polishing and perfecting. Here, for example, in the very opening verse of the volume, there is a grammatical error:

“Softly part away the tresses  
From her forehead of white clay,  
And across her quiet bosom  
Let her pale hands lightly *lay*,” etc.

Now we are prepared to subscribe fully to the opinion which insists upon the imperative character of rhyme; but, unless the necessity is shown to be absolute, we cannot, for the life of us, consent to the sacrifice of the grammar to it. We are really of the notion that our author has no just right, and quite as little reason, to use her stylus with such mangling ferocity upon the mazard of poor old Lindley Murray. Had she simply taken his proboscis between her taper fingers, and wrung it gently by way of giving emphasis to a sense of dove-coloured agony, we might have suffered the case to go by default. But the proceeding here is quite too public, too audacious, too extreme—on the very first page—at the porch of the volume! Really, our poet betrays a shade too much of poetic outlawry; and we dread lest she brings upon her-

self some harsh judgments hereafter. It is to spare her this danger that we look grave, and lift a solemn finger before her eyes. "Phoebe," we say, "take heed to thy grammar, look to thy verses, see that thy rhymes do not trespass upon thy rhetoric, to the utter confounding of thy fame!" As for devouring the damsel, after any savage critical fashion, Heaven forefend that we should be guilty of such gracelessness. Is thy servant, gentle reader, a dog that he should do this thing? No. We prefer rather to encourage where there is merit, and to show to our young beginners how to tread firmly along the unaccustomed way. And Phoebe Carey has a good deal of merit; and with hard working, and constant devotion, fasting, prayer and study, she may take rank with the best of the sweet singers in this our Israel, and make songs which shall serve for the singing of less gifted damsels for a hundred years to come; but there must be much work done first, and the study of much better models than those to which our author seems accustomed. Fugitive verses are dangerous exercises to those who deliberately undertake them as *works*. It scarcely seems proper that they should be works; and yet, if they lack the finish that can be supplied by work alone, we are apt to be more severe upon the poet than if he had failed at an epic. In great works, one is often forgiven for failure. In small works seldom. He who undertakes humbly betrays a very humble sort of talents when he fails in his effort. Hence, fugitive poetry involves a superior danger. We, at least, require the fugitive to make his toilet before he takes the highway. Better that our young authors should propose to themselves *works*—subjects and forms of composition which demand design, and exercise *all* the faculties—invention, thought, grouping, as well as fancy and good taste—than content themselves with small endeavours to illustrate by new fancies and rhymes an ancient common-place. In the one case, even failure commands our respect, if we see that there has been painstaking, with a certain amount of talents and knowledge. In the other case, grant that all has been won that has been aimed at, and how small is the result? To sing, in tolerable verses, what has been sung a thousand times before, will hardly avail for amaranthine triumphs. Now, Miss Phoebe Carey is a very clever woman. This volume sufficiently proves it. But it proves more—that she has nowhere *tasked* her cleverness;—unless, indeed, in the parodies of popular poets, which constitute one half of her volume; and which, at best, are very clever *parodies*! Of the first—the original half of her volume—the first *thirteen* pieces relate to *death*, the *dying* and the *dead*! Now, if anything could disarm the hostility of criticism in respect to fugitive poetry, it must be its various and capricious

changes—the beauty of its caprices—its rapid transitions from grace to grace—and the joyous impulse, and airy brightness, of that fancy, which hovers about the realms of feeling and sentiment, and crowns them with hues of the rainbow, dipt in the freshness of dew and morning. To give us *thirteen* fugitives, consecutively, all draped in black, and sprinkled with ashes, is a little too sombrous for the season of rabbits and pairing doves. In plain terms, Miss Carey, if she will sit down to depict fugitive emotions and sentiments, must take care to group them after such a fashion as will render the procession picturesque and attractive. To array all her folks in funereal guise, is to make us weary of the monotonous spectacle. But we must not dwell upon these dreary difficulties. Our purpose is not to censure so much as to improve, and, contenting ourselves with the objections already urged, we give a single sample from the little volume—one of the best in it—which will sufficiently prove that the mind of Miss Phoebe Carey is worth quarrelling with—and this is no small compliment from a Reviewer. The piece which follows is simple and pretty, and the rhyme is neat and elastic.

#### DRAWING WATER.

I had drunk with life unsated,  
Where the founts of pleasure burst;  
I had hewn out broken cisterns,  
And they mocked my spirit's thirst:

And I said, "life is a desert,  
Hot, and measureless, and dry;  
And God will *not* give me water,  
Though I pray, and faint, and die."

Spake there then a friend and brother,  
"Rise, and roll the stone away;  
There are founts of life upspringing  
In thy pathway every day."

Then I said,—“My heart is sinful,  
Very sinful was my speech;  
All the wells of God's salvation  
Are too deep for me to reach.”

And he answer'd—“Rise and labour—  
Doubt and idleness is [are] death;  
Shape the one, a goodly vessel,  
With the strong hands of thy faith.”

So I wrought and shaped the vessel,  
Then knelt lowly, humbly there,  
And I drew up living water,  
With the golden chain of prayer.

*The Working Man's Way in the World ; being the Autobiography of a Journeyman Printer.* Redfield : New-York. 1854.—We have no doubt that this is a veracious autobiography. It possesses all the characteristics of truth. Its details are unexaggerated, and the development of character is made to advance so simply, naturally, and with such perpetual regard to the proprieties, that we have no doubts as we read; and listen accordingly, as to the revelations of a witness at the bar; and the witness, in the present case, is one whose testimony is essential to very mighty interests. The morals of the working man, their support, training, just direction, encouragement and recognition with honour, constitute the one vital subject upon which the safety of modern nations must depend. In proportion as the interests of the world call for peace, so do the claims of industry, labour, and popular virtue, rise in importance. Upon their wholesome exercise, satisfactorily to the working men themselves, do nations depend for their equal prosperity and safety. In regard to this particular, the volume before us is full of information and instruction. As personal to the writer, the book supplies a very interesting narrative, showing what excellent results of happiness and fortune may be ascribed to the simple virtues of sobriety, honesty, industry, and proper aims; how admirable is the education they afford, how grateful are the peace of mind, security and honour, which accrue from their exercise. A printer's life is, indeed, one of rare facilities for education, and when he fails to gain from it in morals and intelligence, the fault is entirely his own. He reads, perforce, and on a variety of subjects—on all subjects. He cannot help but read. He may memorize as he reads. He must think. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many printers, having no advantages of fortune or education at first, have come to be learned and highly distinguished men. Could their industry be properly systematized—were it not subject to the caprices of employers and of society in singular degree, their occupation would be found one of peculiar advantages to the student. This volume will show how and why. We commend it warmly to the general reader. It is well written, and gives us, with the personal history of the author, which is sufficiently varied, a series of interesting descriptions of life in London and Paris, and of the working classes in both of these great cities.

*The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope.* Edited by ROBERT CARUTHERS. Illustrated by portraits and original designs. In four volumes. London: Nat. Cooke. 1853.—The writings of Pope will be among the last to stale in the estimation of the readers and students of English literature. His wit, taste, propriety and humour, the general excellence of his moral, the beauty of his versification, his strong common sense, constitute essentials of authority in art and literature which no generation will venture wholly to depreciate. With little of the spiritual or the intense in his poetry, he rarely allows us, while we read, to feel their deficiency; and he appeals to us from so many strong points, that we readily forgive and forego, and, while in his hand, rarely feel the want of other essentials of the great poet. An edition of his works, such as the present, is a desideratum. Three out of the four volumes promised are now before us, in very beautiful style for the library, on the finest paper, in excellent print, and teeming with such illustrations from the hands of the engraver, as tend greatly to the satisfaction of our curiosity with respect to the distinguished persons, his contemporaries, the friends he loved and honoured, and the enemies and subjects whom he victimized. We have here, among other heads, those of the heroes of the Dunciad. But the chief value of this edition consists (apart from its mechanical beauty and cheapness of cost) in its completeness. It contains the latest biographical intelligence; in providing which, the editor possesses, at this day, a vast deal more of material than could be found fifty or even twenty-five years ago. The text has been carefully revised, and the variations distinguished; and the emendations of different editions, at different periods of time, so compared and contrasted, as to show us the varying moods of the author, and the growth and decline of his friendships and antipathies. Altogether, the present is probably one of the most acceptable of all the editions of Pope, leaving little to be supplied by future editors, and giving us all that is valuable in the labours of preceding ones.

*Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk, and vicinity, including Portsmouth, and the adjacent counties, during a period of two hundred years.* Also, Sketches of Williamsburg, Hampton, Suffolk, Smithfield, and other places, with descriptions of some of the principal objects of interest in Eastern Virginia. By WILLIAM S. FOREST. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1853.—Local chronicles and collections, like the one before us, are the best sources of authentic history. They provide the details which the historian condenses into symmetrical narrative, and which he weighs separately, and groups together with

judicial circumspection. They are, accordingly, in very high degree, valuable to the student. They constitute, apart from this, a very interesting study for those who like to dwell upon the birth and growth of places, whose small beginnings are particularly grateful, as remembrances, when one beholds the great city, with its towers and its temples, spreading and stretching away on every hand, in search of continued resources for life, and in proof of still advancing prosperity. Norfolk, in our American chronology, may be considered an old city. It is the fault of its own people, that it has not become a more imposing one. Its natural advantages are rivalled by few. Its connection with the sea is immediate. Its access is easy. Its harbour is magnificent. It occupies a central position, between North and South, on the Atlantic, and might have drawn boundless tribute from both sections. It has slept above its treasures. But the sleep, we are told, is broken, and this volume shows us that her citizens are bestirring themselves. Mr. Forest has done his work with industry and a praiseworthy patriotism. His book is full of interesting details, showing the gradual progress of the city and surrounding country, from infancy to strength and power. In this progress, he gives us many curious and instructive narratives. He does not confine himself to the physical history of the region, but includes the personal and intellectual in his researches. We have, accordingly, a sketch of the literature of Norfolk in these pages, and brief biographies of its great men. The volume is a valuable contribution to our historical annals, which will make its way into our libraries. It deserves to do so. It is a well printed and handsome octavo.

*The Life of Martin Luther, in fifty pictures.* From designs by GUSTAV KÖNIG. London: Nathaniel Cooke. 1854.—A very beautifully printed and illustrated volume, imperial octavo. The life of the great German reformer, *in pictures*, is something of a novelty. The life—the text—was written to illustrate the pictures. The history of the work is briefly this: It appears that a few years ago the leading events in the career of Luther, were sketched in regular order by an artist named König. So spirited and beautiful were the designs, that they occasioned a lively sensation in the city of Munich where they were produced. It was resolved to publish them, and the letter press was undertaken by M. Gelzer, who seems to have aimed at little more than to illustrate the designs of König, by brief, but correct statements of the particulars which elicited them. These follow each other accordingly, in proper order; and, in the text, the writer properly attempts nothing beyond the mere fact. The book is thus unique, and, with the

pictures, affords us a striking summary, step by step, of Luther's progress from the cradle to the grave. At the close, there is a more copious history of the "rise and progress of the reformation in Germany." Of the merits of this, which we have not read, we can say nothing. For the rest, regarding the book rather as the medium for the publication of the pictures, we have only to repeat that it is very beautiful. The designs are at once free, spirited and graceful; the engravings, though on wood, exceedingly soft and of nice finish.

*Mrs. Mowatt's Autobiography of an Actress.* Ticknor, Reed & Fields.—An artless and genial volume, unfolding the life of a fair and talented woman, through scenes of fluctuating interest, much trial and an honourable and somewhat distinguished career. The details will be found instructive to many, and the narrative may be read with pleasure by all. Mrs. Mowatt, naturally enough, mistakes her position, and errs somewhat, we think, in the estimate which she tacitly makes of her own claims. But a certain degree of egotism is absolutely the life of an autobiography, and a too indulgent estimate of self is inseparable from its plan. Mrs. Mowatt is neither a great author nor a great actress. She is simply a woman of delicate and graceful mind, with a lively fancy, good taste and correct principles. Her experience constitutes the chief attraction of her volumes, and this experience, in the case of an actress, virtuous and lovely, must necessarily possess considerable interest. Beyond this, nothing can be said. Her writings, though genial and pleasant, are of moderate merit only.

*Brillat Savarin's Physiology of Taste*, has long been a favourite study with those who had a relish for transcendental Gastronomy; and what person of taste was ever without it. We have, in the handsomely printed volume before us (from the press of Lindsay & Blakiston), a good translation from the last Paris edition. It is not improbable that we shall return to this volume, in order to do justice to the subject and its author; meanwhile, we commend it to all philosophers who understand how completely the cabinet depends upon the kitchen; and who appreciate the vital truth that the bowels are really very necessary to the brains, if not the affections.

*The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus; or the Advocate, comprising a History of the Church.* London: H. G. BOHN. 1853.—Mr. Bohn, in his library, classical, historical and miscellaneous, is opening to popular use an immense body of the most

interesting literature, hitherto locked up in almost inaccessible obscurity. The history of the Church, by Socrates, is a work of this description. Socrates, our author, was a native of Constantinople, born somewhere about 380. His history of the Church opens with the conversion of Constantine, and closes with the elevation of Thalassius, as Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, A. D. 439—covering a period of 140 years. The narrative includes necessarily a most curious and instructive history, various and important in event, and of a character highly attractive to the Christian reader. In this edition the translator is not mentioned. There is a sketch of the author's life, which is also anonymous. Copious notes, from Valesius, illustrate the text, and render the volume complete for the uses of the student.

*Classic and Historic Portraits.* By JAMES BRUCE. New-York : Redfield. 1854.—A collection of biographical sketches, male and female, beginning with Sappho and Æsop, and ending with Madame de Stael. The sketches are usually short, but contain pretty much all that is important and interesting in the lives of their subjects.

*Corinne, or Italy.* (H. C. Baird.)—This beautiful and powerful romance, the *chef d'œuvre* of Madame de Stael, the author, is here given to us in a style of mechanical beauty which is worthy of the merits of the volume. The reader need not be told that Corinne is the personification of the Italian, *Improvvisatrice*, with the full genius of the poet and all the intense passions of her people. As a portrait of Italy—the glow, the beauty, the picturesque; the women, the genius of the country—the picture is incomparably exquisite; truthful, with all the colouring of romance; romantic, with all the simplicity of truth.

*Beckford's Vathek.* (Henry C. Baird.)—This wild, but fantastic tale, is renowned as an inimitable imitation of the most gorgeous of the Arabian fictions; showing a genius as creative and commanding, a fancy as rich, an imagination as vigorous, and a knowledge of Eastern customs and superstitions, which leaves the author never at fault for the requisite materials for his invention. Lord Byron, whose knowledge of the East is not to be questioned, asserts its correctness of costume and beauty of description to far surpass all European imitations. He is, no doubt, quite right when he gives it a preference to the *Rasselas* of Dr. Johnson. The author had certain qualities, absolutely essential to Arabian fiction—which Johnson scarcely possessed at all—in the warmth of his art and the rich colouring of his fancies. His conception of the



"Hall of Eblis" possesses a grandeur worthy of Milton. That such a word as "Vathek" should be written by a youth of twenty, is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of invention.

*Heroic Women of the West.* By JOHN FROST, LL.D. Philadelphia: A. Hart. 1854.—Mrs. Ellet, by her interesting narratives of the "Women of the Revolution," has opened the way for a host of inferior followers. Among these is the compiler of the volume before us, who has done nothing more for his work, than simply compile from scattered sources the material which it contains. It is, perhaps, well that he has been content to attempt nothing farther. He is fit for nothing better. In a collection of this sort, indeed, we desire nothing more than the facts themselves. These are necessarily interesting. They form a body of interesting anecdotes of those strong-minded pioneer women of the country, with brave souls and hardy sinews—the result of training in a perilous time and region—who could pick up the rifle when their husbands had fallen, and revenge their fate with an aim as unerring as their own. The volume is illustrated with engravings.

*Ranke's Servia.*—A history of Servia and the Servian revolution, with a sketch of the insurrection in Bosnia, from the pen of Leopold Ranke, promises large, if not thorough information, in respect to a region and events of great interest. Its author, known as one of the most searching and able of modern historians, affords the reader the best of guaranties in behalf of his sagacity and truthfulness. The translation is made by Mrs. Alexander Kerr. The volume constitutes one of the neatly designed and compact volumes of the standard library of Henry G. Bohn. An account of the slave Provinces of Turkey, from the French of Cyprian Robert, forms a supplementary narrative in the same volume, and greatly increases its interest and value.

*The Barclays of Boston.* By Mrs. HARRISON GRAY OTIS. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854.—A story of society in Boston scarcely implies any peculiarities in the materials. Society, in all the large American cities, varies very little. There are always so many classes, or orders, of it, each of which possesses certain recommendations for certain people. There are the tip-tops—"our set;"—and the "middles," or good people's set; and the "slip-slops," your set, perhaps; but one which you will not readily acknowledge. Our fair author introduces us to representatives of each of these sets, which are delineated in colours more or less attractive or disparaging. The persons of the drama are

all ordinary people enough ; none of them being very decidedly marked, and all passable as representatives of some one or other of the several orders. There is no drama, in fact—no action—and, consequently, no display, or bringing out the stronger, more passionate and concentrative of the moral or animal characteristics. The book is made up of descriptions of, and conversations among, all these sorts of people. The dialogue is not distinguished by force or brilliancy.

*Saunterings in and about London.* By MAX SCHLESINGER. The English edition by OTTO WENCKSTERN. London: Nat. Cooke. 1853.—We owe a copy of this very prettily printed and illustrated volume to the attention of Messrs. Bangs & Bro., the American agents of the publishers. The book, curiously enough, is by a German, who has prepared such a guide to the morals and mysteries of London as satisfies the Cockneys much better than any of their own writers could have done. Life in London, out of doors and in doors ; among rich and poor ; the princes and the people ; street life ; the squares ; the Thames ; the police ; Newgate ; the post office ; sun-light, moon-light, gas-light ; Hyde Park ; the fashionable quarters ; gentlemen and foreigners ; locomotion ; royalty and government ; Westminster ; Parliament ; the Abbey ; the press ; the Bank ; the “miners ;” the Frenchman in London ; the theatres :—these, and a hundred other topics furnish the bill of fare in this very comprehensive manual, which, illustrated with plates, is about as good a hand-book of the modern Babylon as could be had for love—or money.

*Gibbon's Rome.*—A very neat and portable edition of the “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire” has been begun by Bohn, the publisher, and the first volume now appears in his collection of the British classics. Apart from the equal cheapness and beauty of this edition, it is farther commended to us through the variorum notes, which include those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter and Hugo, and others. The editorship, which helps the work with further illustrations from the most recent sources, is done by “an English Churchman,” whose name is not confided to us. We take for granted that this edition will commend itself before all others to the American reader, in consequence of its superior cheapness and the excellence of its manufacture.

*Memoirs of Moore.*—The American publishers (Appletons) of Lord John Russell's *Memoirs of Moore*, including journals and correspondence, have favoured us with the Parts VI. and VII., bringing the Di-

ary down to 1828, inclusive. We shall reserve all notice of this work, so attractive, yet so unsatisfactory, until it is fairly completed. In the meantime, we note some decidedly rich passages between the Editor and Mr. Croker, in which neither Moore nor Russell carry off the honours of the game. It is highly probable that the work will prove sufficiently provocative to commentators. They will bury it in cartloads of criticism. We shall wait events.

*A Lecture on the Atmosphere.* By BENNET PURYEAR, A. M. Richmond: H. K. Ellyson.—A subject of great importance to popular study, and which can best be taught through a medium like the present. As yet, but little has been done to render men familiar with this most familiar and vital of all the elements. Professor Puryear's contribution will have its uses.

*The Planter's Northern Bride* (Hart), by Mrs. CAROLINE LEE HENTZ, is a pleasantly written story, picturesque, and with much dramatic force, designed as a foil to the work of Mrs. Stowe. It has not the passionate power of *Uncle Tom*; in other words, Mrs. Hentz has not the power of Mrs. Stowe; but she is more truthful, more pure, and imbued with a more becoming Christian spirit. She has no hobby to ride, no crusade to promote, and she does not promise herself any particular pleasure in maintaining an argument by the destruction of a nation. She is a better witness, in all respects, than Mrs. Stowe; is a Northern woman by birth, and has seen with her own eyes, without green shades of any sort, the society which she describes. She has lived in close communion with the institution, which she has accordingly learned to love and honour, and desires to sustain. She has veneration, one of the most precious of moral virtues, in which the feminine *Uncle Tommys* are marvellously deficient. Her book will be found of grateful reading in the South, and may become of great Christian utility in the North.

*The Attic Philosopher in Paris.* (Appletons).—A slender brochure from the French of Emile Souvestre, a light sketchy writer, who thus gives us the benefit of his "peeps at the world," from the garret of an author. As the "*Journal of a Happy Man*," which is its further designation, it may be read by others, of the same order, with sympathy; the unhappy, too, may read it without being soured. It treads on no one's toes. It does not seek the sources of individual happiness at the expense of its neighbours. It trespasses upon no one's philosophy; it advocates no new theories or systems. In fact, it is nothing more than a series of light

sketches of common life, and common people, in Paris, inartificially written, not profound in any degree, not startling, and by no means remarkable for originality. Its moral is to teach content with one's condition, and the just appreciation of the natural sources of human satisfaction;—a lesson more easily taught than acquired, and one which our author will scarcely teach *directly*, but only through the medium of pleasant impressions, which induce temporary forgetfulness of present cares.

*Natural History of Selborne.* (Bangs & Bro.)—The work of Gilbert White is too well known to naturalists, and readers in general, as a favourite contribution to natural history, to render any eulogies necessary. Scientific, descriptive, practical and essayical, the reverend author has brought to bear upon his theme, and the locality which he has made famous, a variety of the most attractive of mental and educational attributes. The publishers of the beautiful edition before us have served up to us his labours in a style of adequate neatness and excellence, and a more appropriate hand-book for either sex, pursuing their grateful walks through the natural world, can hardly be conceived. The illustrations, finely engraved, are numerous, and accurate in high degree. In all respects, this is a most charming volume for the genial, the loving and the contemplative nature.

• *Maurice's Theological Essays.* (Redfield.)—These essays have attracted attention in England, where they were originally published. The author, Frederick Denison Maurice, M. A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, is a writer of ability, and a thinker of penetration and discretion. But his themes are forbidden to our consideration, even were we altogether prepared for their discussion. It is enough, then, in addition to what we have said touching the writer himself, to mention that, though urged to the task, with the view to the condition of the Unitarian sects of Christians, he has not addressed himself particularly to this sect, and believes that what he has written will be applicable to all other religionists. We can only hope that, if applicable, his essays may be useful also. We may add that the author writes earnestly, and in good style, and that just now he is causing some sensation in England, where he has been put under the ban of church and state for alleged heresies. It is possible that this book may be full of them. The innocent reader will be cautious, therefore, how he meddles with it, remembering the old caution to young children, of the danger that may follow the handling of edged tools.

*Too Clever by Half*, is the title of a lively story of military life, from an English pen, and in an English cheap edition, which comes to us from Messrs. Bangs, Brothers & Co., with various other publications of more value. It is a *shilling* book, illustrated with numerous really good engravings, and sent forth in a style superior to most of the fifty cent volumes of the American press.

*Chemistry of Common Life*, (Appleton & Co.) from the able pen of JAMES F. W. JOHNSON, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c.—a compendious and instructive little volume, the first of a series designed for popular education in science, and discussing “the air we breathe,” “the water we drink,” the “soil we cultivate,” and the “plants we rear,” in a style at once highly pleasant and instructive.

*Maury's Sailing Directions*, a sixth edition, enlarged and improved, sufficiently establishes the equal usefulness and excellence of this contribution to our nautical knowledge.

*Handbook of German Literature*. (Appleton & Co.)—This excellent manual for students in German, is well edited by G. M. ADLER, A.M., Professor of the Literature of that language in the University of New-York; a writer whose educational publications have already proved variously useful in this country. It will be only necessary to mention the contents of this volume to satisfy the student of the useful and charming materials here collected, which the editor has chosen with the view to facilitate and beguile the learner on his progress. Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*, Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Tieck's *Puss in Boots*, and the *Xenia* by Goethe and Schiller. Of none of these works have we ever before had an American edition. The editor accompanies these works with his own critical and explanatory notes, and, in an appendix, gives us specimens of German prose of the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

*Books for Boys*.—The publishers, Appleton & Co., are providing for the intellectual wants of boys and girls, with a just reference equally to their minds, hearts and physical habits. Nothing of this sort could be better conceived than the stories of juvenile life, meant to train the youthful moral, than their occasional publications. Edgar Clifton, by C. Adams, was an excellent book of this sort. The same author now gives us “*Boys at Home*,” a volume of like description. The story of “*The Sunshine of Greystone*,” is designed for girls. The

latter is by E. J. May, a writer who, in "Louis's School-boy Days," made friends for life of a thousand happy urchins of both sexes. Certainly, the boys and girls of the present day possessed a thousand secrets and sources of enjoyment, such as their grand-mothers and grand-fathers never conceived possible to their condition. One almost longs to live back, and renew the past, if only (not to be Bullish) to enjoy the peculiar fruits of the present. These very pretty volumes are all illustrated with pretty engravings.

*Les Aventures de Télémaque.* (Appleton & Co.)—Nobody needs to be counselled as to the world-renowned Telemachus, whether as a beautiful moral story, or as a medium of instruction for the young. It is designed for this purpose especially, in the neat little edition of which a copy is before us, in the language of the original; carefully revised by M. Surenne, well known for his French Dictionary, and for other works of education.

*Grammar of the Spanish Language.* (Appleton & Co.)—The compiler of the present volume is Professor M. Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia, a gentleman of whose literary and professional labours, we have already spoken in terms of compliment. In this work he gives us a history of the Spanish language and practical exercises. The volume is designed to afford the student a more thorough and scientific knowledge than could be acquired from the popularly useful books of Ollendorff.

In a second volume, Mr. Dickens concludes his pleasantly written "*Child's History of England*," (Harper & Brothers,) bringing the narrative down to the time of Victoria and Albert.

Alexander Dumas, who has been unusually silent since the ascent of Napoleon III. to the throne of France, has lately shown his hand in a new story, entitled "The Foresters." The tale is of a somewhat different character from those of the author's usual manufacture—is more simple, more domestic, and, we may add, less exceptionable. But it is, at the same time, of less various interest. It is not without its monster, however, and in this creation M. Dumas shows that he has not wholly given up his old tastes. The volume before us issues from the press of Appleton & Co., and is translated from the author's original MS. We have it, accordingly, as soon as the French people—a fact which must always be grateful to our provincials.

*Marie Louise* (Appletons), by EMILIE CARLÉN, the Swedish author—a domestic story in the usual fashion of that author, pleasant but not remarkable in any way.

*European Reviews.*—The reprints of the British Reviews and Blackwood's Magazine, come to us with proper punctuality—their contents always rich in interest, and, for the American reader, usually full of provocation. But, as we all know John Bull, through every medium, he need not ruffle our temper any longer, and we may study his through its various exhibitions in these pages. It is on the authority of holy writ that we are taught to be grateful when our enemy gives himself up to book-making. Listen to him, and we shall be quite as much taught by the confession of his faults, as by his denunciation of ours.

*Linny Lockwood* is from the pen of Mrs. CATHERINE CROWE, the author of several very clever volumes. The story is a dark one, gloomy throughout, and bearing rather heavily upon the masculine gender, of whom it is very certain that our author entertains no very indulgent opinions. Her hero is a very pretty specimen of a rascal—with all the qualities of a fine gentleman, except manhood. Her women, with one exception, (unfortunately for her notions in regard to the other sex) are scarcely seen to better advantage than her men. In other words, her opinions do not square precisely with her facts, or justify her conclusion against the tough, in favour of the tender gender.

*Merrimack, or Life at the Loom.* (Redfield.)—A series of sketches of factory and common life in New-England, by DAY KELLOGG LEE, the writer of several other works of like character. A wholesome volume, but not very attractive or instructive.

*Law School.*—The plan of a Law School in Columbia, South-Carolina, as prepared by Mr. EDMUND BELLINGER, Jr., strikes us as promising to supply a want, of serious importance, in our system of home education. Why should our young men any longer go to the North, to acquire a proper knowledge of the law, when the South furnishes, and has long furnished, an equal proportion of the great lawyers, politicians and statesmen to the Union? Why should the South pay any more educational tribute to other regions, when we are fully competent to teach the future generations for ourselves? At all events here is a proper experiment which demands our hearty encouragement. Mr.

Bellinger proposes to prepare students for admission to the Bar, instructing them in all the essentials of practice, forms as well as principles; the grounds of Law and Equity, no less than the arbitrary dicta and decisions; and, in brief, thoroughly to imbue them with jurisprudence, taught, as it should be, as a science. For this we believe him fully capable by equal study, exercise and natural endowment. He has had the benefit of a long and extensive practice in our courts, is a man of great research and erudition, and has long been esteemed one of the best lawyers in the State. He will bring to his task a rare industry, as well as a competent mastery of his subjects.

*The Speech of Mr. Hunter*, of Virginia, in the United States Senate, on the Nebraska and Kansas Bill of Mr. Douglas, was one of the best efforts of the session; argued without anger, and after a calm and searching consideration of all the points which have been involved in the controversy upon this question. But the subject is one that it is scarcely worth while to discuss. Either the time for it has past, or it has not yet come. The important feature of this bill to the South, is simply the revocation of a disqualifying act—one which degraded, rather than wronged her of any very valuable material possession—and which, if revoked, would probably be of no great practical use. The mode by which the South is to be put *rectus in curia*, must be something more direct than this. The issue must be made with the North on some point which shall involve directly the question of our equality in all things. The question must be one upon which it will not be possible for any politician to sophisticate.

*The Minority Report* from the Committee on Banks, of the House of Delegates of Virginia (1853-4), submitted by Mr. John C. Rutherford, of Goochland, embodies a history of banking in that State from 1841—the details of which may interest a large class of persons. The question upon which this report was submitted, was upon an inquiry into the expediency of a general law to authorize banking. It will, perhaps, be quite sufficient to indicate the sources of information to those legislators who may hereafter be called upon to encounter a similar question. It is one upon which we are not disposed to enter. Mr. Rutherford appears to have entered into the discussion with zeal and industry, to have looked carefully into the usages and conclusions of other States, and to have conducted the investigation with thoroughness and candour.



*The Speech of the Hon. L. M. Keitt, of South-Carolina, on the Nebraska and Kansas Bill, delivered in the House of Representatives, March 30th, 1854, is one highly creditable to his research and industry, and honourable to his intellect. It covers all the points of the subject, is fully comprehensive upon all, and ought to be conclusive with every just and appreciative mind. Portions of it are urged with singular force, and it is marked with an eloquent warmth, which at no moment transcends propriety. Our young representative shows himself ambitious of improvement, and we rejoice at the superior cultivation and study, which, in every successive effort, he has shown. Let him but persevere in this course of application to business, and in this constant effort to procure, and store his intellect with, the proper materials for thought and argument, and he bids fair to become such a representative as his people will confidently rely upon to urge their claims and assert their rights and liberties.*

*Romantic Incidents in the Lives of the Queens of England.* By J. P. SMITH, Esq. New-York: Garrett & Co. 1854.—We notice that the author of this volume has recently acquired reputation in London as a new novelist, having written some score of romances, modeled upon those of Scott, Bulwer, etc. We are in receipt of several of these, upon which, as he is a new claimant for the honours of literary inspection, we may hereafter report. One of these only have we read. This—under the aristocratic title of *Ellen de Vere*—may be supposed to afford a fair sample of the writer's qualities. We do not hold it to exhibit any remarkable proofs of original resource. It is animated enough; full of action, strife, crime, intrigue, and terrible passions; but these are brought into play after an old fashion, and, save for the interest of the story, the volume shows us nothing very striking, whether of design, sentiment or philosophy. It may be that we shall find proof of higher qualities in the other writings of the author. These, as they lie before us, are "Stanfield Hall," "Gus Howard," "Minnie Grey," "Harvey Ashton," "Amy Lawrence," etc., all from the same publishing house with the *Queens of England*. This last mentioned book does not propose to give us simple biographies of "the Queens." The excellent ladies are all in the masquerade costume of romantic fiction. Their stories are dressed up sparklingly, pearled and jewelled for the court yard and the assembly, and where the historian has drowsed over his records, the romancer steps in and fills the hiatus in his own more glowing manner. In other words, these are romantic sketches grafted upon real life—

bits of biography draped in fiction. They form a volume of pleasant reading enough, but must be read as legends rather than records.

*Scenes from the Life of an Actor, Compiled from the Journals, Letters and Memoranda of the late Isaac Hill.* Garrett & Co: New-York. *Dr. Valentine and Yankee Hill's Metamorphoses.*—Geo. Handel Hill, the Yankee, must not be confounded with little Isaac Hill, the politician. They were both very clever in their way, though on different theatres. George Hill was, probably, one of the best personators of the low Yankee that ever went before the footlights, while Isaac Hill honoured New-Hampshire as a politician, playing a part at Washington which procured for him the political nickname of Cunning Little Isaac. But we dare not run a parallel between the politician and the actor. *Sub rosa*, however, the actor was the better performer of the two. He was on the stage what Sam Slick is in the closet—a good sitter for Haliburton. His life is sketchy, and not unamusing; but it fails to show him—to the life. As for the book called “*Metamorphoses*,” it is—dealing tenderly with it—to be described only as unmitigated trash.

*Mrs. Partington's Carpet Bag of Fun.* (Garrett & Co.)—A new jest book, of recent manufacture, with numerous comic illustrations;—a companion to Joe Miller. Recalling Joe, and comparing his good things with those of the venerable woman, whose name promises to become quite as frequent as his own “in mouths of wisest censure,” we shall be able to see what advances we have made, if any, on the humorous of a hundred years ago. The good things in the volume before us are all really picked up from the columns of the current news—and other papers—of the day. Here are all our Yankeeisms; and Southronisms; the ludicrous and the ridiculous of our queer and impudent; our hyperbole, and the vulgar *concelli* of city and border life; slang, flash and folly in general.

*Pamphlets.*—*MEEK's Report of the Committee of Education* (Alabama Legislature) on the system of public schools, in that State, insists properly on the importance of these schools, but shows their condition to be of as doubtful, or partial advantage, in Alabama as with us. The subject is one of vital interest, yet few of those who discuss it appear to us to begin rightly at the beginning. That, perhaps, is the true reason why we can get no legislation upon it. It is so easy, among democratic philosophers, to confound the tail with the head of a sub-

ject. Mr. Meek's report may be taken up hereafter, in connection with the scheme of education contained in the bill which follows it. He is a well known and able gentleman, whom we are glad to see once more in position in the councils of his country. . . . . "*The Scholar and the Gentleman*" is the title of an Address, by W. C. Moragne, Esq., delivered before the young men at Greenwood, Abbeville District. Mr. Moragne, whom we already know as a thoughtful and spirited writer, adopts the right standard from which to indicate the true aims to his youthful auditory. He shows himself well read, and very able to bring his reading to bear upon the practical demands of society. . . . . "*The Mercantile Library Association*," of New-York, shows by its last report a highly prosperous progress. A large and daily growing library, and frequent courses of lectures, which yield regular increase to the funds, afford proofs of social advancement in taste and education, which are of the most encouraging complexion. The library of this institution, which is a new one, already contains over forty thousand volumes. . . . . "*Female Medical Education*," is the text of a Lecture by Jos. S. Longshore, M. D., of Philadelphia, in which he urges the practical importance of training women in medical knowledge; but the theme is one scarcely within our province. No doubt woman may be made eminently useful in the arts of healing. She is the natural nurse, and there are some departments in which she would seem to be the natural physician;—but whether there does not need a good physical and social training first, of a masculine sort, to precede the mere education of the medical schools, is a subject which none of the writers seem to consider. To make a woman a surgeon, you must not merely teach surgery and anatomy—you must give her a preliminary physical and moral training—so that her nerve, on trying occasions, may not be wanting—her strength—her calm of mood, the admirably based and balanced judgment.

*A Year with the Turks*; sketches of travel in the European and Asiatic dominions of the Sultan. By WARRINGTON W. SMYTH, M. A. Redfield: New-York. 1854.—The social character, condition and resources of the Turks, all more or less illustrated in this little volume, are matters of present interest and inquiry, in view of the great struggle pending between that people and the power of the Czar. The reader will find much in the narrative of Mr. Smyth, which is unaffected and seems quite truthful, to help him in the formation of a judgment. Life in Turkey, as all readers sufficiently well know already, is not a rose-coloured prospect. The civilization of the Turks will not be a power in

the contest for their independence. But civilization is not necessary for the defence of a people, though it might contribute wonderfully towards it. The worst feature in the affairs of the Turks, is their ill-compacted government, and the want of homogeneousness among the people.

*The Russian Shores of the Black Sea, in the Autumn of 1852*; with a voyage down the Volga, and a tour through the country of the Cossacks. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT. Redfield: New-York. 1854.—The author writes with the evident prejudices of an Englishman; but, making due allowances for his Bullism, the reader will find his volume full of the most interesting information, in respect to the habits, manners, customs and condition of the Russian people and the vast country which they inhabit; and which their several races sufficiently diversify. The volume is one of details. The writer is a close observer, if not a profound thinker; and his facts are valuable, even if his philosophies are wanting. At this juncture his work will be found highly useful and instructive. The present American edition is from the third English.

*Melbourne, and the Chincha Islands*; with sketches of Lima, and a voyage round the world. By GEORGE W. PECK. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1854.—To those tired of home, who desire to escape to the antipodes, Mr. Peck will prove a pleasant companion. He is lively and communicative, has no reserves, and will tell you as freely what he thinks, as of what he sees. Under his escort, you will be able to appreciate the condition and prospects of the new and growing capital city of Melbourne; and learn something of a region where the gold grows as plentifully as in California. At Melbourne, too, Mr. Peck had the good fortune to meet with Mr. Micawber—or a person very much like him—whom he found editing a newspaper. He reports Mr. Micawber as quite unchanged in character, and precisely the person described by Dickens. After showing up Melbourne, our traveller conducts you to the coast of Peru, and makes you familiar with sights of Coolies, and smells of Guano. You will return with him home, rounding Cape Horn, and will arrive in good health, and cheery condition, with an adequate knowledge of ship and sea in all weathers. Mr. Peck is a lively narrator and describer, and you will say, “if we go to Melbourne and the Chincha Islands again—which Heaven forbid—let Peck gather up his traps and go along with us.”

*An Art Student in Munich.* By ANNA MARY HOWITT. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854.—The book of an enthusiast in art, a

lady well educated and of excellent natural powers, whose descriptions of the chief works of art in Germany, if high wrought, and seemingly extravagant, are yet, in all other respects, in good taste; marked by delicacy, feeling, and a just appreciation of essentials. The volume presents a series of studies in art; while the descriptions of ordinary life, manners and customs of the people, sports, recreations, tastes, enliven and vary the sketches, so as to prevent all monotony. The reader may here obtain a knowledge of some of the best works of leading German artists—word pictures supplying the places of originals, and, if not compensating for their absence, at least affording some idea of what they are. To persons of taste and education, this volume of Miss Howitt, whom we take to be a daughter of William and Mary, the well-known authors, will be found grateful and instructive reading.

*Hosmer's Poems.*—Two very prettily printed volumes of poetry, by W. C. HOSMER, from the press of Redfield, illustrated with a finely engraved portrait of the author. Mr. Hosmer has been known to us as a poetical contributor to the magazines for many a year. His verse is smooth, spirited and fanciful. He loves to reanimate the old traditions of the North and West, and to weave bright fancies with the wild flowers of his native forests. These constitute his chief materials. In his longer poem, he is chiefly imitative of Scott, in his border romances; not servilely so, but sometimes a little too much so for his independence; at other times, he goes forward singing fearlessly his own notes, and they are such as lead us to wish that he had suffered his muse to take her own road more freely in all respects. We might find good cause for sharp criticism, here and there, in these pages, but we prefer to let the reader criticize for himself. We give him, accordingly, a couple of fair samples, from among the shorter pieces of these volumes, which are commended to us equally by their spirit, and the Southern character of their subjects:

#### THE ROYAL PINE.

Three cheers for the Pine, the Royal Pine,  
Throned high on the hill's green brow;  
While ranks of trees, in the rushing breeze,  
Below like vassals bow;  
When the hue of wine, at day's decline  
Bepaints the solemn west,  
A golden crown on his brow falls down,  
Though the vale in gloom is drest.

With a heated brow, beneath his bough  
The red man oft hath lain,  
Worn out with toil, while his antler'd spoil  
On the velvet moss lay slain ;  
And beneath his shade the Seneca maid  
Hath warbled her wood-land lay,  
While braiding flowers, and counting the hours  
That kept her chief away.

When winter reigns, and the river chains  
With fetters chill and white,  
In the cold thin air, with branches bare,  
The tall oak pains the sight ;  
But, on the hill thy banner still  
Flings out defiance high,  
Though no tint of green in the glen is seen,  
And the blast comes growling by.

Long life to the Pine, the voiceful Pine,  
Who mourneth for the past,  
When the morning breeze sweeps his emerald keys,  
Or the fitful midnight blast ;  
My thoughts, when I hear, in moonlight clear,  
His surge-like anthem rise,  
Are of seers of eld who, on hill-tops, held  
Communion with the skies.

Three cheers for the Pine, the Royal Pine !  
Though lord of a region grim,  
The tempest loud, and the eagle proud,  
Are friends who talk with him.  
May he lift his head, by well-springs fed,  
In sunshine and in shower,  
And his plumage green by the bard be seen  
While the gray old hills up-tower.

--

## LAY OF A WANDERER.

## A FLORIDIAN SCENE.

Where Pablo to the broad St. John  
His dark and briny tribute pays,  
The wild deer leads her dappled fawn  
Of graceful limb and timid gaze ;  
Rich sunshine falls on wave and land,  
The gull is screaming overhead,  
And on a beach of whitened sand  
Lie wreathy shells with lips of red.

The jessamine hangs golden flowers  
On ancient oaks in moss arrayed,  
And proudly the palmetto towers,  
While mock-birds warble in the shade ;  
Mounds, built by mortal hand, are near,  
Green from the summit to the base,  
Where, buried with the bow and spear,  
Rest tribes forgetful of the chase.

Cassada, nigh the ocean shore,  
Is now a ruin wild and lone,  
And on her battlements no more  
Is banner waved or trumpet blown ;  
Those doughty cavaliers are gone  
Who hurled defiance there to France,  
While the bright waters of St. John  
Reflected flash of sword and lance.

But when the light of dying day  
Falls on the crumbling wrecks of time,  
And the wan features of decay  
Wear softened beauty like the clime,  
My fancy summons from the shroud  
The knights of old Castile again,  
And charging thousands shout aloud—  
“ St. Jago strikes to-day for Spain !”

When mystic voices, on the breeze  
That fans the ruling deep, sweep by,  
The spirits of the Yemassees,  
Who ruled this land of yore, seem nigh ;  
For mournful marks, around where stood  
Their palm-roofed lodges, yet are seen,  
And in the shadows of the wood  
Their monumental mounds are green.

*Tempest and Sunshine.* (Appleton's.)—A domestic history of Kentucky, showing the sort of life in that region, from the pen of Mrs. Mary J. Holmes, a new candidate for the favour of novel readers. No great deal can be said for this story. It is a rough performance, showing some talent, but little art. The heroine of the book is a beauty in person, but with a beast's soul. She is the fiend of the story ; and, with neither genius, nor dexterity, nor plausibility, imposes upon every body—all other parties, very accommodatigly, showing themselves simpletons, only, it would seem, to facilitate her scheming—her schemes being of the shallowest character, though, of course, she lies without scruple, and is a forger ; but, being in high life, her offences must not be allowed

to hurt her reputation as a heroine. The picture is a deformity—an exaggeration—since no one can manufacture a fiend out of a fool, and the Miss Julia of this book is very much of a fool. The wonder is how such a creation could occupy the mind of a female writer. Verily, we should hold the sex at but small count, if we relied on the portraits of women, as drawn by women. Why is this? What is the secret of that passion for dark portraitures of one another, which is so decided a feature in works of fiction by female hands? Does it begin with the little scandal-mongering of society? Is it generated by that most pernicious of all evil influences to the sex, which tells them, while yet in pantaleta, that marriage is the paramount consideration.

*The Address of the Hon. Willoughby Newton, of Virginia, before the Rappahannock River Agricultural and Mechanical Society, of that State, is one of those performances which illustrate the growing stir and exercise of the public mind in the South. It also shows that this mind is possessed of adequate resources, if properly exercised, for the encounter with all the emergencies which belong to our condition. The discourse is well written, and well calculated to awaken the young ambition of Virginians. Not the least attractive portions of it, to us, are the brief sketches of local biography which it affords. We regret that the author had not extended his reseaches and developments, and shown us more of those noble gentlemen of his precincts, whom he so properly reports for Honourable and grateful remembrance.*

*Russia As It Is.* By COUNT A. DE GUROWSKI. New York: Appleton & Co. 1854.—This book possesses considerable interest in the present complicated condition of European and Asiatic affairs. Without being much impressed with the author's politico-philosophical matters,—his facts—assuming them to be such—are full of interest and value. He seems to be thoroughly and minutely acquainted with Russian history, past and present—with the resources of that mammoth kingdom—with the characteristics equally of government and governed—with the condition of society every where, and with the personal abilities and qualities of the Czar himself, and all the leading personages of the empire. Sketches of persons and of events, contribute greatly to the illustration of his general descriptions, and impart life to his narrative. Altogether, we do not know of any book, devoted to the current history of Russia, which will so thoroughly inform the reader, and enable him to come to conclusions of value in respect to the condition of Russian affairs. We say this, always supposing the writer's *facts* to be



depended upon. These, we are not able to verify. He is a bitter assailant of the Czar and the country, and ranks among the insurgent nobles of the kingdom.

*History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell.* By M. GUIZOT. Translated by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. Two volumes. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1854.—It will be interesting to read Guizot's Cromwell alongside of those of Carlyle and Macaulay. It will be instructive to read it with reference to any, or all, of the British historians of Cromwell. A Frenchman writing of English history, is not now a subject to surprise, since we really owe some of our best English histories to Frenchmen; as in the case of Rapin and Thierry. But Guizot, or any Frenchman, writing of *Cromwell*, is something more of a task. By this time, however, Guizot has become cosmopolitan. His genius was always one of the most free from national trammels, and we shall take up his book with the conviction, that he will rise to as full and thorough an appreciation of his topic, and to the exercise of a judgment as severe and discriminating, as any of his predecessors have shown. Thus far, we have not read a syllable of these volumes; and we shall take our time about it: since writer and theme alike require due consideration, and frequent pauses, for judgment. Meanwhile, our readers will be at work, no doubt, and will, possibly, find a malignant pleasure in anticipating our criticism with their own. The work is one to provoke appetite.

*Kennedy's Rob of the Bowl* (Putnam and Co.) is not so successful a story as *Horseshoe Robinson*, but it is not unworthy of the accomplished author, and exhibits some of his most agreeable characteristics of taste and manner. There are several scenes of great force and vivacity, and much picturesque portraiture. The romance is founded upon events in the colonial history of Maryland.

*Addison's Writings.*—The fourth volume of the fine library edition of Addison—issued by Putnam & Co., and edited with skill and industry, by Professor Greene—is wholly occupied with the "Spectator." With another volume, the collection is complete.

*Warren on Health*, (Ticknor, Reed & Fields,) a tiny hand book, by a well known and highly distinguished physician of New England.

*Types of Mankind ; or Ethnological Researches*, based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures and Crania of races, and upon their natural Geographical, Philological and Biblical History: illustrated by selections from the inedited papers of Samuel George Morton, M. D., &c., and by additional contributions from Professor L. Agassiz, W. Usher, M. D., and Professor H. S. Patterson, M. D.; by J. C. Nott, M. D. (of Mobile) and GEO. R. GLIDDON, formerly Consul at Cairo. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1854.—We give the title page of this copious volume at full length, which is all that we can do at present. Its contents are of a character to arouse prejudices, startle curiosity, provoke inquiry, and set hosts of disputants at work in conflict. Some of its materials have found their way into our pages, at various periods, through the contributions of Dr. Nott, one of its editors. To those who remember his contributions, it will be easy to conceive his share in the work. Of course, it is full of heresies: but for our own part, we really like heresies, and encourage them on all occasions. They serve as thunderstorms to stir up the atmosphere, and keep us from stagnation. Perhaps, some over grown steeple is struck by the lightning; but, what then? The city is purified. We are promised a review of this work from a competent hand, for which our readers will be pleased to wait.

*Campbell's Poetical Works.* (Philips, Sampson & Co.)—A new edition of Campbell, with original biography and notes, by EPES SARGENT, holds forth some promise. Mr. Sargent is himself a poet, well read in English literature, of excellent taste, and just the person to do his spiriting as efficiently as gently, with such a grateful task before him as that which the American publishers have confided to his hands. He has condensed the voluminous biography of Dr. Beattie into a hundred pages—and the loss here is a decided gain. He has employed the reminiscences of Mr. Redding—a work unknown to the American public—in a similar manner, giving us the substance, and throwing off the husk and fodder. But the great gain is in the inclusion, in this edition, of no less than fifty poems of Campbell, hitherto unincorporated in most editions. When, to these praises of the edition, we add that the publishers have done their part handsomely, in the preparation of this handsome volume, we have said all that we need to say for its commendation.

*The Divine Character Vindicated.* A review of some of the principal features of Rev. Dr. E. Beecher's recent work, entitled "The Conflict of Ages; or the great debate on the moral relations of God and

man." By Rev. Moses Ballou. Redfield : New-York. 1854.—We must content ourselves with giving the simple title page of this volume, the subject of controversy not falling properly within our province. But we need not say to the reader that the topic is one of enduring interest. We may add that the Rev. Mr. Ballou ranks among the most intelligent of American divines.

*The Oration of Hon. W. D. Porter on the Birth-Day of Calhoun*, delivered before the Calhoun Monument Association, and other bodies, in Charleston, on the 18th of March last, is, like all the speeches of this gentleman, a temperate unambitious essay, sensible, ample, appropriate to the purpose, written in good style, simple, graceful and without pretence. Mr. Porter gives a rapid sketch of Mr. Calhoun's public life, a good portrait of his private character, and judiciously sums up the amount of his national and local services, and his claims to the affectionate remembrance of posterity in his native State, and the country at large, for which he so long strove.

*Allston on Sea-Coast Crops*.—A good practical essay, by the Hon. R. F. W. Allston, read before the Agricultural Association of the Planting States. Mr. Allston loves his profession, and does it justice. He not only urges the proper claims of agriculture to our study, but furnishes in this essay a body of instruction in the details of planting—rice, corn, cotton, all being under consideration—which the young planter will find a useful hand-book, giving him detailed advice at every step he takes.

*Petersburg Library Association*.—The annual report of the Directors of this Association, closing with March last, shows the Institution to be in a very flourishing condition. We can speak of the Library from personal observation, and bear grateful testimony to the courtesy, intelligence, enterprise and honourable ambition of the officers and members of the Institution. A large, growing and well selected library, constantly in use by eager citizens desiring knowledge and curious in study;—crowded lecture-rooms, silently watchful of all that falls from the lips of the speaker;—the old and young, male and female, all zealously uniting in the common cause;—all seeking to combine the elegant and the useful in knowledge;—the truthful and the beautiful;—these are the proofs which the people of Petersburg daily give of the utility of their Library Association, and of the wise use which they are making of it.

*Professor Brumby's Essay on Agricultural Chemistry*, delivered before the Agricultural Association of the slaveholding States, is a word in season. There can be no just grounds for a quarrel between Christianity and Science, no more than between Christianity and any form of truth, unless through the stupidity and bigotry of one faction, and the equal stupidity and imprudence of the other. All God's truths harmonize, and must harmonize with God's laws; and if we will be at the pains to find out what his truths are, and have a little patience with our neighbours while doing so, there can be no doubt that we shall find ourselves all safely landed together on a common platform, eternal as the truth itself. The great trouble of men lies in that miserable vanity, and insolent presumption, which are perpetually shaping the truths of nature and revelation after some ridiculous little model in their own hearts. Professor Brumby's discourse will be read with interest, equally because of its moral and its science.

*The Charleston College Magazine* is full of promise on behalf of our young friends. It shows talent and study. These, working honestly together, will be sure to produce the fruits of wisdom. We welcome our young cousin to the field, and gladly report the grace and vigour with which he strips for the wrestle. Let him only go into good training now, and he will grow into the strong man, prepared for all comers, the buckler of his country in times of danger, its pride and grace at all other periods.

*Kossuth's Select Speeches.* (C. J. Francis & Co.)—A neat, well arranged and compact volume of the best speeches of this remarkable man, with finely engraved portrait, and explanatory preface. We hope, in future pages, to be able to review Kossuth as an orator and writer. For the present, it will suffice to commend this edition to all those who desire curiously to look up, in its pages, the secret of that wonderful charm of speech which made him so fascinate the hearer.

*White's Historical Collections of Georgia.*—A second volume, chiefly statistical, by an industrious labourer, in a region abundant in material, and distinguished by a political and social progress second to that of no State in this country. We shall recur to this volume in our next issue.

*Emilie Carlen's "Whimsical Woman"* is a story at once slight and dull—all meagreness and insipidity.

Oct 10

## TO THE FRIENDS AND PATRONS OF THE REVIEW.

---

We have been compelled to publish the present number of the Review in Columbia, in consequence of the prevailing Epidemic in Charleston. In the confusion incident to the removal of the office, several Articles of superior interest, intended for the October number, were unfortunately misplaced, and we are therefore under the necessity of giving to our readers, others, that were more immediately within reach. Indeed, our transition state has so thoroughly deranged the business matters of the office, that it will require much time and more patience, to restore it again to something like order. From these and other causes, our issue will be rather later than usual. We trust, however, that our friends and patrons will see sufficient in our explanation to grant us their indulgence without further apology.

This number completes the 10th volume, (new series) of the SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW. Within the last nine months we have greatly increased our subscription list, extended the circulation of the Review, and by no means diminished its popularity. Our Periodical has its readers not only in every State of the Union, but also in London, Paris, and Berlin; and although we have had a "Lion in our path" in the shape of great pecuniary embarrassments,\* and have encountered *unlooked for impediments*, where

\* We have appealed to those of our Subscribers that are indebted to us so often, and with such poor results that we are really determined to say no more upon the subject. To our *paying* subscribers we beg to say, that if they will remit to us \$10, we will give them the "REVIEW" for three years. Three hundred of our subscribers doing this at once would place us in a position that will enable us to prosecute the work with renewed energy, and bid defiance to failure.

none should exist, yet we have never relaxed in our exertions, nor for a moment doubted of the ultimate success of our work. Much, however, remains to be accomplished before we can give to the world, the SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW in all its pristine vigor and excellence; such as it was in its most palmy days. Such as it was when the talented Elliot and the lamented Legare occupied its editorial chair, and charmed the South with the force and brilliancy of their energetic views. Those were the days when the most clever and the most intellectual men of the South were to be found ranged beneath a banner, that disputed inch by inch the approaches of an unscrupulous, as well as an insidious foe. The most profound thinkers and writers of the South did not *then* disdain to give "aid and comfort" in support of a work, having for its object, the advocacy of constitutional opinions and the doctrine of State Rights. Is our cause less sacred at present, than, at an earlier period, that the South should thus abandon their vantage ground without a struggle? or has the literary taste of our people become so perverted by a too frequent use of the spurious and depraved (so called) literature of our neighbors, as to unfit them to cope successfully with their more wiley antagonists? We answer *no!*—again and again *no!!!* Our cause is, if possible, a more righteous one *now*, than ever. Attacked, villified and traduced, our Rights impugned and our institutions assailed: with firebrands thrust into our very midst in the form of *incendiary publications*, can there be an argument shown that our cause is not just and sacred? But that it might seem invidious in us, we could name a score of writers, whose ability to give expression to the feelings, the interests and intelligence of the South is indisputable.

It is to these gentlemen that we now make our appeal for aid in support of a Periodical, which is the only one of its class in the entire region of the South. As evidence of its worth, we refer to its pages. It aims to maintain the truth, as we understand it, and asserts that intellectual equality, which should free the mind of our people from that state of literary thralldom and dependency under which they have *too long labored*. It is in furtherance of these ends and aims that we invoke aid and as-

sistance, in contributions, from our intellectual minds—from those that are *of us*—from the master-spirits of the South. Let it no longer be said that our Section is unequal to the task of sustaining its own literature. Let not pecuniary considerations deter our zealous friends from coming to the rescue.

If our ability to compensate but kept pace with our wishes, contributors would soon ascertain that the Publisher of the SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW is actuated in his course by motives of an infinitely higher order than those of a merely pecuniary character. There are those of our present contributors, however, to whom offers of recompense would be an insult; these truly Southern gentlemen have been to us unwavering in their kindness in the times of our greatest need. Time will determine if we are grateful or not.

C. MORTIMER, *Publisher.*









# SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW. •

No. XX.

---

OCTOBER, 1854.

---

## ART. I.—ON THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

1. *Types of Mankind: or, Ethnological Researches, based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological and Biblical History: illustrated by Selections from the Inedited Papers of Samuel George Morton, M. D., and by additional Contributions from Prof. L. Agassiz, LL.D., W. Usher, M. D., and Prof. H. S. Patterson, M. D.* By J. C. NOTT, M. D., and GEORGE R. GLIDDON. Philadelphia, 1854.
2. *The Ethnological Journal.* Edited by LUKE BURKE. First Series, London, 1848. Second Series, London, 1854.
3. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Äthiopien nach der Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich William IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren, 1842–1845, ausgefahrten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl seiner Majestät von R. Lepsius.* 5 Vols., plates, (elephant folio). Berlin, 1849 to 1854.
4. *A Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German and Slavonic Languages.* By Prof. F. BOPP. Translated by Lient. EASTWICK, M. R. A. S. 8 Vols. London, 1845 to 1850.

VOL. XX—NO. XX.

1

5. *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion.* Delivered in Rome, by NICHOLAS WISMAN, D.D. 2 Vols. London, 1836.

A STORY is told in one of Marryatt's novels of a clerical abolitionist who handed round his hat to a ship's company just paid off, at the same time presenting each of the sailors with a little print representing a negro kneeling in chains with uplifted hands and saying, "Am I not a man and a brother?" One of the tars, having spelled out the inscription, came up to the philanthropist and demanded, "Do you mean to insinuate that this black rascal is really my brother?" "Undoubtedly," replied the friend of humanity. "Then take that, and that," retorted the sailor, as he cut short a further appeal to his fraternal feelings by knocking down the hatchway the man who had so grossly insulted him.

The slight difference of opinion here exhibited illustrates in a homely manner a more important controversy which, for many years carried on in the scientific world and handled, as well in this as in other periodicals, is now, by the publication of the great work at the head of our list, fairly before the American public—the question of the *Unity of the Human Race*. This phrase has gradually become a conventional term to express the idea that all mankind are descended from a single pair, once for all created in a single spot.

That there should be any doubt upon a point so plain may surprise some persons; for, although the ancients with one voice (unless the Jews are an exception—a question to be considered presently,) assigned diverse origins to different nations, the belief that all mankind are descended from Adam and Eve is so general throughout Christendom, that it may be called universal. To it we are indebted for one of the sallies of Beatrice, in "Muck ado about nothing."

"Leonardo. Well, niece, I hope to see you fitted one day with a husband.

"Beatrice. No, uncle, I'll none; Adam's sons are my brethren and truly, I hold it a sin to match in my kindred."

The very word *mankind* or man-kinned, meaning the whole human family, testifies to the popular notion.

Of late years, however, the unity of the human race has begun to be questioned, and Morton, Agassiz, Van Amringe, Hamilton, Smith, Burke, Knox, Caldwell, Jacquinet, Hombrou, Giebel, Vivey, Bory de St. Vincent, Desmoulins, Broc, Klemm and Zeune on the one hand, and Pritchard, Latham, Wiseman, Badiman, Smyth, Johnes, Bunsen, Serres, De Salles, Klee, Buchez, &c., on the other, have discussed the matter with the greatest learning and acuteness. The quarrel is a very pretty quarrel as it stands, and, as Sir Roger De Coverly and Lord Eldon used prudently to observe, "a great deal may be said on both sides." So complicated indeed is the problem, and so dependent for its solution upon a due consideration of Biblical hermenutics, comparative philology, history, comparative anatomy, archæology and other (mostly modern) sciences having little connection one with another, that writers on ethnology have usually confined themselves to one branch of the subject. This remark (with the exception that the comparison of languages is, to a great extent, omitted) does not apply to Nott and Gliddon's "Types of Mankind," an elaborate work, which, as will be seen, takes up the different branches in turn.

Stimulated by the appearance of this remarkable book, we have thought it might not be unwelcome to such of the readers of the *Southern Quarterly Review* as have not kept pace with the inquiries which have recently thrown light on this interesting subject, to be presented with a *résumé* (necessarily brief) of the chief arguments for and against the Unity of the Human Race. As the advocates of the unity doctrine were in possession of the ground before the battle was delivered, it will, perhaps, be the most regular to hear them first, and while it will not be conceded on which side the balance of evidence appears to lie, an endeavor will be made to state the case of both plaintiff and defendant with perfect fairness.

The principal arguments in favor of a descent of all men from a single pair may be reduced to three, viz: those drawn from

Scripture, from philology, and from the phenomena of hybridity. And

*First*, The argument drawn from the BIBLE.

The strongest texts are the following, being the only ones cited by Dr. Bachman in his controversy with Morton : \*

"And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she is the mother of all living." Gen. iii, 20.

"And the sons of Noah that went out of the Ark were Shem, Ham and Japhet : and Ham is the father of Canaan ; these are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread. Gen. ix., 18, 19.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation." Acts xvii, 26.

To these may be added the following :

"For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv, 22.

"The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." 1 Cor. xv, 45.

The bare enunciation of these passages, especially taken in connection with the wide spread belief that certain vital doctrines of orthodox theology are based upon the descent of all mankind from a single "federal head" is sufficient with many to settle the question without further inquiry. The lesson of the primer that

"In Adam's fall  
We sinned all,"

confirmed by the deliberate judgment of after years that this doctrine is implied throughout the sacred volume is not to be lightly shaken by the vague reasonings of (it may be) an infidel philosophy. "All the races of men who are interested in Christ and his gospel are, and must be of Adamic origin, seed and blood. All to whom that gospel is to be sent must, of necessity, be of the same stock. And hence, as it is expressly commanded to preach this gospel to every creature in all the world, all must be of the same original Adamic family and origin."†

\* Charleston Medical Journal, vol. 5, p. 508.

† Smyth's Unity of the Human Races, p. xix.

To this it is replied to by those who advocate a plurality of origin,

1. That they have no wish to attack either religion or the Bible, but, on the contrary, have a profound reverence for both. That in the same way that geologists, as long as possible, ascribed all fossil remains to Noah's flood; so out of deference to existing prejudices, their conclusions were at first forced into harmony with the general *interpretations* of the Bible on this subject by supposing a miracle wrought either on Shem, Ham and Japhet; or at the tower of Babel to produce the existing diversities of color and speech among men; that this theory, and all others \* framed to reconcile science and popular theology were abandoned only in obedience to a logical necessity; and that on the other hand, it is intolerable that the *odium theologicum* should embarrass the calm investigation of a question strictly scientific.

2. That the genius of Oriental phraseology forbids that universal terms should always be understood literally; e. g., "And *all the earth* sought the face of Solomon to hear his wisdom," (Kings, x. 24;) and that if there are texts in the Bible which seem to prove that all mankind are descended from Adam and Eve, there are others again which clearly indicate the contrary. Whence, it is asked, did Cain get his wife in the land of Nod, after he became a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth? Abel is murdered, and Adam, Eve, and Cain only, as the sacred narrative clearly informs us, remain.

"And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face I shall be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a

\* A known deceased naturalist has held the wondrous opinion that Ham, after his father had cursed him, became *black from grief*, and was the lineal progenitor (*stammvater*) of the negroes. Which of the three sons of Noah became Kalmucks? Genesis indicates three races (*Menschenschöpfungen*) at a much earlier day in the children of Adam, of the Elohim, and of the Nephilim, &c.; so that Adam appears merely as the *stem-father* of the Iranian [Indo-European] race, because Paradise also points to Armenia." Prof. Dr August Zune (*Über Schädelbildung zur festern Begründung der Menschenvas- sen*, Berlin, 1846, p. 2) quoting "S. Schiller 'über die erste Menschengesellschaft nach der Mosaichen Urkunde.'"

vagabond on the earth, and it shall come to pass that *every one that findeth me* shall slay me. And the Lord said unto him, Therefore, whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold. And the Lord set a mark on Cain, lest any finding him should kill him. And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden. And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived and bare Enoch; and he builded a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch." *Gen. iv—13-17.*

By whom was Cain afraid of being slain? Was it by any one of Adam's household, his own kindred? No, certainly; had he dreaded them, his most promising scheme of escape and safety would have been to fly to a remote region, to which his own kindred (if, indeed, he had any besides his parents) had not yet spread and peopled it. His fear, therefore, did not fasten on any of them, among whom he was resident, but on strangers, into the midst of whom he was about to be driven.

A part of the difficulty is obviated by following Michaelis' version of the words in *Italics*: "*Alles was mich antrift,*" everything, i. e., every wild beast which meets me, &c. But this translation is unsupported by any other authority. It is, besides, one which makes the answer of Jehovah incomprehensible; for by what mark could brute beasts be taught not to attack Cain? And what sevenfold vengeance could God take on them?

But, although the sacred writings here seem pretty clearly to intimate the existence of other families besides that of Adam, yet the one with which Cain allied himself must have been located comparatively near, "in the land of Nod\* on the east of Eden." The book of Genesis nowhere concerns itself with the outlying varieties of man; it makes no mention of Negroes, Chinese, American Indians, nor, in fact, after the deluge (a catastrophe confined, according to the admission of orthodox geologists, to a limited region) of any race save the descendants of Shem, Ham and Japhet. But these descendants, as given at length in the *tenth chapter of Genesis*, have often, and nowhere in a more luminous and convincing manner than in "*Types of Mankind*," been shown to consist only of the inhabitants of a circumscribed

\* Supposed to be the land of the Hindus, or Hindoo as they are still called by the Arabs. See "*Types of Mankind*," p. 637.



tract of country around Chaldea. The seventy-nine names in that valuable chart, with the exception of Noah, Shem, Ham, Japhet and Nimrod, are clearly personifications of countries, nations, tribes or cities, all of which can be located on the map. Mr. Gliddon's paraphrase is as follows: "Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah (Cessation), Shem (yellow races), Ham (swarthy races), and Japhet (white races); unto them were sons born after the deluge. The affiliations of Japhet (white races), Crimea and Caucasus and Media and Ionia and Pontus and Moschia and Thrace. \* \* \* \* \* And the affiliations of Ham (swarthy races), Dark Arabia and Egyptians and Barbary and Canaan. \* \* \* \* \* And to Shem (yellow races) also there was issue: he is the father of all the affiliation of the Yonderes; brother of Japhet, the elder. Affiliations of Shem (yellow races), Elymais and Chaldean Orfa and Lydia and Aramœa." \* To these three races, the Egyptians, as they came to extend their conquests up the Nile, added a fourth, the Negroes, who appear on the monuments in their appropriate color, side by side with the other three. But to the writer of tenth Genesis they were certainly unknown.

3. That other sciences besides Ethnology were, in their infancy, fiercely attacked on theological grounds, which are now not only received without dispute, but are admitted to be in perfect accordance with the Scriptures.

When Galileo proclaimed that the sun stood still and the earth moved, a very natural opposition and (for that day) persecution was excited against him. Good men sincerely believed the Bible to teach that the earth is the centre of the universe; in form an extended plain, having ends and four corners; that heaven is a solid crystal † arch, firmament or welkin above it, with the stars

\* Nott & Gliddon's *Types of Mankind*, p. 553.

† "The idea of a crystalline vault of heaven was handed down to the middle ages by the fathers of the Church, who believed the firmament to consist of seven to ten glassy strata, incasing one another like the different coatings of an onion. This supposition still keeps ground in some of the monasteries of Southern Europe, where I was greatly surprised to hear a venerable prelate express an opinion in reference to the fall of aerolites at Aigle, which at

set in, like lamps; and hell or *hades*, a dark cavern beneath. Nor were they slow in bringing forward Scripture texts as least as positive and far more numerous than those mentioned above, in their favor. The new science, if accepted, would, thought the theologians of the seventh century, overthrow the very foundations of the Christian religion. These fears were natural, but were they justified by the event? On the contrary, to-day the doctrines of Galileo are unquestioned throughout Christendom, and yet the Bible is none the less revered.

In more recent times, Geology has passed, only more rapidly, through the same phases, in its relation to Theology, as did Astronomy two centuries ago. It, too, was loudly decried at first, as infidel and subversive of the Bible; but the result of the contest, of which, during the present century, this science has been the battle-ground, is no longer uncertain. Geology has been studied by the clergy themselves, and two grand positions are now conceded by candid inquirers, such as Pye Smith in England and Hitchcock in America, viz: an epoch of creation indefinitely remote in the pre-adamite ages, and the fact that Noah's flood is insufficient to account for existing fossils, but was probably a local phenomena, confined to a part of Asia. It is true that the ignorant, and even persons of good general education, but who are behind the age on this question, retain the old-fashioned ideas on these subjects. Still the question is no less definitely settled for future generations than that of the circulation of the blood, of which it is said that no surgeon, at the time of its discovery, over forty years of age, but died an unbeliever in Harvey's theory.

The fact is, that while (partly owing to the nature of the Hebrew language) the first chapter of Genesis is not a *scientific* account of the creation, it is so wonderfully true in substance and so clearly the nearest approximation to absolute truth which was possible in teaching infant, barbarous man, that no theory but

that time formed a subject of considerable interest, that the bodies we called meteoric stones, with vitrified crusts, were not portions of the fallen stone itself, but simply fragments of the crystal vault shattered by it in its fall." Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. 3, p. 169.

that of inspiration is competent to account for it. Astronomy and Geology only modify certain theories of the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, at the same time that they come powerfully to the aid of religion by elevating man's conceptions of the Deity, and by disclosing to him such changes on the globe as no power and wisdom but those of an infinite Creator could produce.

Not to allude to the history of other sciences, the above two examples are full of instruction applicable to the case of Ethnology. They teach that while modern science, in its majestic march, treads no step backward, it is dangerous and damaging to the cause of religion itself to make the truth of any private interpretation of the Scriptures the "article of a standing or falling" Bible. They show that Christianity, however it may be rashly staked on the correctness of such interpretations by friends more zealous than wise, has nothing to fear, but everything to gain, from *truth*, scientific or other.

Such is the line of defence (a sound one, as we think) generally adopted in answer to the argument drawn from the Holy Scriptures. The exception consists of the work at the head of our list, of which, on other points, we shall have to speak in high terms, but which occasionally adopts a flippant tone in alluding to the Bible, which is offensive to the devout believer, objectionable in every point of view, and not only uncalled for, but calculated to prevent that impartial consideration of the subject which tends to elicit truth. "Types of Mankind" takes the ground, particularly in the chapter headed "Archæological introduction to the tenth chapter of Genesis," that the Bible is not an inspired book—a point which we cannot discuss here, as it is not only out of place in this journal, but it has nothing to do with the matter in hand. In fact, if it had been possible to discuss the question in this article without any allusion to Theology, that course would have been preferred; but the Biblical argument lies at the very threshold of the subject, and must be met.

*Second.* Another argument in favor of the Unity of the Human Race has been drawn from the study of LANGUAGES or Philology. This is necessarily somewhat abstruse, as well as difficult of condensation within the limits of a paper such as this; but it may be

briefly stated thus. Although, at a hasty glance over our globe, nations seemed to be more divided by languages than by almost any other peculiarity, except color, yet, *the more languages are studied on philosophical principles, the more their differences tend to disappear, and their radical unity to become more manifest.*

It has long been known that the Hebrew, the Syro-Chaldaic and the Arabic tongues form but one family, diverse from all other known languages. To this group the name of SEMITIC has been given.

But modern research has discovered another family much more remarkable, and has clearly demonstrated that one speech, essentially so called, pervades, even to this day, a considerable portion of Asia and nearly all Europe, and, stretching across a broad sweep from Ceylon to Iceland, unites, in a bond of relationship, nations separated by the intervention of centuries and the distance of half the globe, professing the most irreconcilable religions, possessing the most dissimilar institutions, and bearing but a slight resemblance in physiognomy and even colour. This language, or rather family of languages, has received the name of Indo-Germanic or INDO-EUROPEAN; its great members are the Sanskrit or ancient and sacred language of India, the Persian, Teutonic, Slavonian, Greek, Latin and Celtic dialects.

“By the analysis of the Sanskrit pronouns, the elements of those existing in all the other languages are cleared of their anomalies; the verb substantive, which in Latin is composed of fragments referable to two distinct roots, in the Sanskrit finds both existing in regular form; the Greek conjugations, with all their complicated machinery of middle voice, augments and reduplications, are here found and illustrated in a variety of ways, which a few years ago would have appeared chimerical. Even our own language may sometimes receive light from the study of distant members of our family. Where, for instance, are we to seek the root of our comparative *better*? Certainly not in its positive *good*, nor in the Teutonic dialects in which the same anomaly exists. But in the Persian we have precisely the same comparative *behter*, with exactly the same signification, regularly formed from its positive *beh*, good, just as we have in the same language *badter*, worse from bad.”\*

Many words of simple import and primary necessity run through the entire family, and consequently must be considered as aborigi-

\* Wiseman's Lectures, vol. 1, p. 44.

nal therein. For instance, the numeral *six* is in Sanskrit *shash*, in Persian *shesh*, in Latin *sex*, in German *sechs*. *Mother* is in Sanskrit *matr*, in Greek *mêter*, in Latin *mater*, in Persian *madar*, in German *mutter*. *Mouse* is in Sanskrit *musha*, in Greek *mus*, in Latin *mus*, in Persian *mush*, in German *maus*. The following are a few other simple words which run through the entire series, viz: two, seven, eight, nine, father, brother, foot, knee, name, nail, yoke, sugar, star, is, reacheth, beareth, mixeth, licketh, thou and no.

The discovery of this family likeness between the different Indo-European languages, the very ones with which the student was most familiar, and which, at first sight, presented the most formidable obstacles to a union, was an important step towards proving the radical connection of all.

Another step in advance was taken by Lepsius, in demonstrating that the ancient Egyptian tongue, while it is neither a Semitic nor an Indo-European dialect, yet sustains a fraternal relationship towards both families. On this point the Chevalier Bunsen (certainly the highest authority) does not hesitate to say that,—

"It must be considered as demonstrated that this affinity cannot be explained by mere internal analogy; that, on the contrary, it is historical in the strictest sense of the word, viz: physical or original. I mean that the affinity alluded to cannot rationally be explained by a real or supposed general analogy of languages as the expressions of human thought, nor by the later influence of other nations and tongues. Now the Egyptian name of Egypt is *Chém*, the land of *Cham*, which in Egyptian means black. Can we then have found in Egypt the scientific and historical meaning of *Cham*, [*Ham*,] as one of the tripartite divisions of postdiluvian humanity? The Egyptian language attests an unity of blood with the great Aramaic tribes of Asia, whose languages have been comprised by scholars under the general expression Semitic, or the languages of the family of *Shem*. It is equally connected by identity of origin with those still more numerous and illustrious tribes which occupy now the greatest part of Europe, and may, perhaps, alone or with other families, have a right to be called the family of *Japhet*. I mean that great family to which the Germanic nations belong, as well as the Greeks and Romans, the Indians and Persians, the Slavonic and Celtic tribes, and which are now generally called the Indo-European nations. The most ancient traditions of Europe certainly speak of *Japhet*, for *Japetos* is, according to the Greeks, the father of the great Titan or benevolent man of God who brought the celestial fire to his suffering brethren on earth."\*

\* Report of the British Association for 1847, p. 254.

It will be observed that these conclusions are in absolute harmony with the ethnological chart in the tenth chapter of Genesis, as translated\* by Mr. Gliddon. In fine, the knowledge of the Egyptian language, makes it probable that all the nations which from the dawn of history to our day have been the leaders of civilization in Asia, Europe and Africa, had one beginning. So far we stand on firm ground. What follows is more problematical.

Recent researches have gone far to show that the Tatars, Mandshus and Lungasians belong to one great stock; that the Turkonians, as well as the Tehudes, Fins, Laplanders and Magyars or Hungarians, present another stock closely united, and that both these families are originally connected with each other. It seems probable that the aboriginal languages of India and the Basque, (Biscayan,) are members of the great family. To the whole group is given by some philologists the appellation Turanian, and to the Indo-European tongues the title Iranian, both being considered as two great branches from one root, viz: the language of Japhet.

Again, Wilhelm Von Humboldt has established the connection between the Polynesian and the Malay or the dialect of Malacca, Java and Sumatra, and that this Malay language itself bears the character of another branch of the great Japhetic family. In the preface to Eastwick's translation of that invaluable work, Bopp's Comparative Grammar, the editor says: "The Vergleichende Grammatik, originally published in separate parts, has not yet reached its termination. In his first plan the author comprised the affinities of Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic and its Teutonic descendants. To these, after the conclusion of the first part, he added the Slavonic. He has since extended his researches to the analogies of the Celtic and *Malay-Polynesian* dialects, but has not yet incorporated the results with his general grammar." Thus does the family of languages of which our own is a member continually tend to enlarge its bounds.

The languages of the New World for a long time seemed to present insuperable obstacles in the way either of a reduction into one group or an assimilation to the known families of the eastern

\* See above, page [11.]

hemisphere. The number of dialects is incredible, and many of the American tribes spoke a language unintelligible to their nearest neighbors. But here too, the universal law of aggregation was found to prevail, and a close examination of the structure pervading the aboriginal forms of speech has left no room to doubt that, with the exception of the Esquimaux and other Arctic tribes, they all make up one individual family, closely knitted together in all its parts by that most essential of all ties—grammatical analogy. This analogy consists chiefly in the peculiar methods of modifying, conjugationally, the meanings and relations of verbs by what has been called *agglutination* or the insertion of syllables. This grammatical structure most nearly allies them with the Turanian branch of the great Japhetic family, although, “in inflections and other grammatical details, the North American Indian dialects partially coincide with individual Indo-European languages in the same way as those languages partially agree among themselves.”\* So little, comparatively, is known of the American tongues, that for the present only a general classification as a branch of the Japhetic family can be expected.

In regard to Africa, Egyptology has shewn that the language of the hieroglyphics is as certainly the primitive formation of the Euphrates and Tigris, fixed in Africa and preserved by the Egyptians as the Icelandic is the old Norse fixed in that island.

“The Semitic itself occupied Abyssinia, and the Berber language evidently belongs to the same stock. But what shall we say of the rest of Africa?”

“Here late researches have opened a new and great field of the most interesting character. We allude, in particular, to the labors of Tutschek, \* \* \* \* Von Gablentz, Ewald, \* \* \* \* Kräff, \* \* \* \* and Venn. These and similar works about the southeastern languages of Africa, have entirely destroyed those unfounded notions of an infinite number of rude and poor tongues. We now know that dialects of the Galla language, which in the North joins the Abyssinian, a very fine specimen of grammatical structure and euphonic formation, are spoken at least as far as the fifth degree south of the Equator; that it penetrates deeply into the continent along the eastern coast of Africa; that it is joined by the noble Caffre idioms, which also enter far into the interior, and that the Congo idioms on the western coast, if not

\* Jones on the Human Race, p. 168.

cognate, are at least very analogous in structure, as the Galla and Caffre are decidedly among themselves.

"They, besides all, bear on them vestiges of primitive affinity, according to our principles, with the great tripartite stock. But if we are asked, do these languages belong to Chamism [the Hamitic or Egyptian development], or do they stand on the degree represented by Semitism [or the Hebrew]? We are obliged to answer, neither the one nor the other. On the contrary \* \* \* \* \* we must confess that they stand on Japhetic ground. The primitive state of Chamism, exhibiting the germ both of Semitism and of Japhetism, is evidently left behind in those advanced formations. There is a further development, but that development does not run in the Semitic line. In the Semitic formations, the copula is constantly expressed by the pronomial form (*he*) [e. g. John *he* good, not John *is* good], whereas in the Iranian as well as the Turanian it is not, therefore all Japhetic languages have already the more abstract and therefore the more advanced verbal form (*to be*.) In this decisive characteristic those African tongues side with the Japhetic. And so they do in the whole system of conjugation in opposition to the Semitic conjugation, as explained above. As the American, and in a certain manner, all Turanian languages are distinguished by their system of incorporation, and in particular of agglutination of words, together with that of postposition; thus these African idioms bear the type of prefixes and indicate the congruence of the parts of speech by changes in the initials of words."\*

There remains one group of tongues which had not yet been linked by any scientific method to the other families of human speech, and that directly or indirectly connected with the great tripartite family of mankind. This consists of the Chinese and cognate, monosyllabic, inorganic tongues.

The Chinese language consists of about 20,000 words of one syllable each, all ending in A, E, I, O, U, NG, or N.† According to its position, a syllable may very often be noun, adjective or verb. Terms are multiplied by variation of the accent and tone of voice. The nouns have no inflections. In consequence of this rudimentary condition, the Chinese has been by some conjectured to be a surviving monument of antediluvian speech. Be that as it may, its study is yet in its infancy and there is no scientific proof that the gap between its formation and all others cannot be

\* Bunsen on the results of recent Egyptian researches in reference to Asiatic and African ethnology and the classification of languages. Report of British Association for 1847, p. 298.

† Murray on languages, vol. 1, p. 188.



filled up. The inference from the general results of philological research is, that it will be.

As the result of the whole investigation all known tongues may be resolved into three classes only, according to the classification proposed by A. N. Von Schlegel and adopted by Bopp.

I. Languages with monosyllabic roots, but incapable of composition, and therefore without grammar or organization. To this class belongs the Chinese, in which we have nothing but naked roots, and the predicates and other relations of the subject are determined merely by the position of words in the sentence.

II. Languages with monosyllabic roots, which are susceptible of composition. To this class belongs the Indo-European family, and all others not included under I and III, and preserved in such a state that the forms of the words may still be resolved into their simplest elements.

III. Languages which consist of dissyllabic roots and require three consonants as the vehicles of their fundamental signification. This class contains the Semitic languages only.

But class II, (Ham and Japhet,) has, as we have seen, been proved to be radically connected with class III (Shem), leaving only class I at *present* insoluble.

Such is the argument, briefly and we trust fairly stated, in favor of the unity of the human race, derived from the study of languages. It is undoubtedly the strongest on that side of the question which can be brought forward. But it is open to some obvious objections.

1. The Chinese, Thibetan and Japanase tongues, essentially the same now as they were 5,000 years ago, and spoken by more than one third of the human race, are confessedly diverse in their essence from all the others.

2. Language is a necessary consequence of the human organization; in other words, all men speak, because all men have the organs of speech. But as these organs are capable of giving utterance only to a certain limited number of original sounds, it follows of necessity that these sounds must sometimes coincide in the expression of the same idea. Again, things and their relations, objects, with their properties, changes and actions are every-

where the same, and these necessarily give rise to the representations of them by nouns, adjectives, verbs and the minor parts of speech, which must be likewise similar in principle and arrangement.

"Speech, as a necessary function of man's sensations, heart-affections and intellectual faculties, arise instinctively, involuntarily, yet in keeping with the harmony of the universe; whereas the single languages of the several nations were affected by the more or less correct choice, often by the caprice of their speakers, who themselves were influenced by local and other agencies. The essentials of the one human speech are ever the same. Each people's genetic power of speech, peculiar in each, amalgamates the phonetic elements with the feelings and mental conceptions into an organic unity." \*

To illustrate what is meant by a homely comparison: there are blackbirds in America, and blackbirds, but of a totally distinct species, in Europe. The blackbirds of America have not been taught to sing by the blackbirds of Europe, and yet their note is similar, because their throats are alike. So, no doubt, a nation of men created, or a colony of infants left on a previously uninhabited island, would invent a language of their own, apart from tradition, bearing more or less analogy with existing ones. This reasonable supposition will account for all those verbal and grammatical resemblances which, few and far between as they are compared with the body of the language, are thought to connect the negro and American Indian forms of speech, for example, with the Indo-European. It is not pretended that these resemblances are sufficient to prove that the former are absolutely derived from the latter in the same sense in which the Indo-European family are admitted to be united together. Analogy in language must not be pressed too far, or it will break down altogether.

8. Conquest, migration and the intermingling in prehistoric times of diverse stocks, will account for all those anomalies which the conceded truths of philology present, when brought face to face with the conclusions drawn from physiology and anatomy. The strongest point in the Indo-European theory is, that the language spoken by the dark-skinned natives of India and the

\* Kraitzer on the nature of language and the language of nature.

fair-complexioned European races is essentially the same. So it is *now*. But not so with the primeval tongue of Hindostan. That country is a conquered one, and just as the invading Celts absorbed the previous languages of Europe, which now exist only as monuments in the Basque, Finnish and Albanian tongues, and as, in its turn, the Anglo-Saxon abolished the Celtic in England proper, driving it into the corners of the island, so the invading Persians imposed their language on the Hindoos. The aboriginal tongue, however, plainly survives the Dekhare dialects, which bear but a remote analogy with the whole Japhetic family. No man living supposes that the Sanskrit is the primary tongue of Hindostan.

Take another example under our own eyes. The negroes of Hayti and St. Domingo speak French and Spanish exclusively, and if the history of that island were buried in oblivion, as, from the absence of the art of writing, the whole primeval history of the world is buried, this fact would be used by future *Savans* to prove that these negroes were an Indo-European race turned black \* by the influence of climate !

The true province of philology is neatly defined by Omalius de Halloy, in whose words we sum up.

“La linguistique fait connaître les rapports qui existent entre les diverses langues, elle les classe en familles, les subdivise en dialects, etc.; mais si ses conclusions peuvent être considérées comme positives lorsqu’on ne les fait pas *sortir de leurs limites*, il n’est pas de même lorsqu’on veut les appliquer à un ordre de choses qui n’est plus de leur domaine, c’est à dire lorsqu’on l’on veut en conclure que les *peuples* ont

\* “It is well known that the earlier colonists of Barbadoes, Montserrat, and some other West Indian Islands, were Irish exiles. Odd to relate, while a few of their negro slaves actually speak *Gaelic*, many have acquired the ‘brogue.’ An Hibernian, fresh from the Green Isle, arrived one day at the Port of Bridgetown, and was hailed by two negro boatmen who offered to take him ashore. Observing that their names were ‘Pat’ and ‘Murphy,’ and that their brogue was uncommonly rich, the stranger (taking them to be Irishmen) asked, ‘and how long have ye been from the ould counthrees?’ Misunderstanding him, one of the darkies replied, ‘six months, y’e honor.’ ‘Six months! . . . . only six months, and turned as black as me hat!! What a climate! Row me back to the ship. I’m from Cork last; and I’ll soon be from here.’” *Types of Mankind*, p. 23.

entre eux les rapports d'identité, de filiation ou de fraternité que l'on a reconnus dans les *langues* qu'ils parlent." \*

*Third.* We come now to the only remaining argument of importance in favor of the descent of all the existing races of men from a single pair, and that is the argument from HYBRIDITY.

This may be fairly stated in the words of Dr. Bachman, who, in a learned and elaborate essay on this subject, draws the following conclusions:

"Nature, in all her operations, by the peculiar organization of each species—by their instinctive repugnance to an association—by the infertility of a hybrid production, when by art or accident this takes place, and by the extinction of these hybrids in a very short period of time, gives us the most indubitable evidences that the creation of species is an act of Divine Power alone, and cannot be effected by any other means.

"That no race of animals has ever sprung from a commingling of two or more species.

"Domestication in every species that has been brought under subjection, produces striking and often permanent varieties, but has never evolved a faculty to produce fertile hybrids.

"Since no two species of animals have ever been known to produce a hybrid race, therefore hybridity is a test of specific character.

"Consequently, the fact that all the races of mankind produce with each other a fertile progeny, by which new varieties have been produced in every country, constitutes one of the most powerful and undeniable arguments in favor of the unity of the races." †

In other words—"not to put too fine a point upon it"—the progeny of the horse and the ass is a *mule* or hybrid, incapable of continuing his kind; therefore the horse and the ass are different species of animals. But the offspring of a white man and a black woman is not so incapable; therefore Caucasians and Negroes belong to the same species.

The "short and easy method with" this argument is to admit that it proves mankind to form one *species* in the animal kingdom (that is, according to Dr. Bachman's definition of *species*, which is simply a begging of the question,) and to deny that it affords any ground for concluding that there were not many centres of

\* Des races humaines, p. 19.

† The doctrine of the unity of the human race examined on the principles of science. By John Bachman, D. D. p. 119.

creation, both of animals and men, each producing *varieties* of a species, which of course would, between themselves, have fertile offspring. The controversy is not about words, but things. It is true this reply involves the necessity of proving that permanent varieties of other species of animals have been created, distinct from the beginning. But this can easily be done.

All the varieties of dogs and wolves (the genus *canis*) belong to one species, if "hybridity is a test of specific character;" for they all have fertile offspring among themselves. And yet there is abundant evidence of a diversity of origin among dogs. Says Hamilton Smith:—

"No instance can be shown in the whole circle of mammiferous animals, where the influence of man, by education and servitude, has been able to develop and combine faculties and anatomical forms so different and opposite as we see them in different races of dogs, unless the typical species were first in possession of the rudiments."\*

Dr. Morton has proved that the origin of the domesticated races of dogs is at least three-fold: "1st. From several species of lupine and vulpine animals; 2d. From various species of wild dogs; 3d. From the blending of these together, with, perhaps, occasional admixture of the jackal, under the influence of domestication." The same writer has first pointed out that the fox-dog, three varieties of the greyhound, the bloodhound, the turnspit, the watch-dog, the house-dog, and the wolf-dog, are each distinctly figured on the most ancient Egyptian monuments, dating from 1500 B. C. to 3500 B. C. Representations of all these varieties of dogs, faithfully copied from the elegant plates of Rossellini and the accurate engravings of Lepsius, are furnished in Nott and Gliddon's "Types of Mankind;" and thus (by the way) the results, so far as they bear on this question, of the scientific expeditions fitted out at great expense by the Tuscan and Prussian governments, and published at vast cost in works only a few copies of which exist in the United States, are made accessible to all.

The bull-dog, the mastiff, and the shepherd's-dog, are repre-

\* Naturalist's Library: On Dogs, p. 100.

sented on Assyrian, Greek and Etruscan monuments previous to the Christian era.

In Layard's plates of Nineveh may be seen copies of drawings made 600 B. C., which show the camel and dromedary as distinct as they are now; and yet Buffon classes them together as one species, because they have fertile offspring *inter se*.

Great confusion has resulted from the habit of regarding hybridity as an *unit*, whereas, its facts may be classed like other series of physiological phenomena. Dr. Morton makes *four degrees* of hybridity.

"1. That in which the hybrids never reproduce, the mixed offspring ending with the first cross; this is the case with almost all domestic birds, however different their generic relations.

"2. That in which the hybrids are incapable of reproduction *inter se*, but multiply by union with the parent stock; this is the case with the species of the genus *Bos*.

"3. That in which animals of unquestionable distinct species, produce a progeny prolific *inter se*; as the wolf, and the dog, and other species of the genus *Canis*.

"4. That which takes place between closely proximate species, as among mankind and the common domestic animals essential to his happiness."

The extent of the argument which can be drawn from the phenomena of hybridity as regards *man*, is (as Temminsk has observed of *birds*) "that the occurrence of prolific offspring between the different races, shows there is a *near affinity* between the species."

This affinity, however, is not so close between all races—the blacks and whites, for example—as to enable them to amalgamate perfectly. Dr. Nott maintains that mulattoes partake, to some extent, of the nature of hybrids, especially when one of the parents is an Anglo-Saxon, that race being further removed in its affinities from the negro, than the Celtic or Iberian stock. He asserts:

"1. That mulattoes are the shortest lived of any class of the human race.

"2. That mulattoes are intermediate in intelligence between the blacks and the whites.

"3. That they are less capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship than either the blacks or whites.

"4. That the mulatto women are peculiarly delicate, and subject to a variety of chronic diseases.

"5. That when mulattoes intermarry, they are less prolific than when crossed on the parent stocks."

Also, that when mulattoes intermarry, there is a tendency in the offspring to revert to one or the other of the original stocks, some of the children, for example, being whiter and some blacker, than either of their parents.

On these points the observation of such of our readers as live in the Southern States may safely be appealed to, in confirmation of Dr. Nott's conclusions. As regards his fifth proposition, a late traveller in the West Indies makes a note in point :

"I heard from an old creole of St. Barts, a curious observation, well worth the notice of philosophers, namely: that mulattoes of the same class (i. e., exactly the same degree of color) rarely or never have children."\*

The main arguments in favor of the Unity of the Human Race and the answers to them, have now been stated; and if the case were stopped here, and given to the reader only on a cross-examination, as it were, of the plaintiff's witnesses, the verdict would probably be the Scotch one of *not proven*.

But we now come to a consideration of those which are brought forward on the other side, to prove a plurality of origins. To the establishment of this hypothesis, a mass of erudition and research is brought to bear in "TYPES OF MANKIND," such as is highly creditable to the authors, and, we will say, one of them being a native of South Carolina, and the whole work having been written in Mobile, to the learning and talent of the South. What is especially praiseworthy, and in brilliant contrast with the superficiality and narrowness of vision betrayed by certain other writers on the same subject, is the fact that the authors have thoroughly acquainted themselves with the labors of those who have gone before them, including not only the works of

\* Day's Residence in the West Indies, vol. 1., p. 290. London, 1852.

English and American authorities, but also those of French, German, and Italian *savans*, whose voluminous writings, particularly those on archæology, are of the very highest importance in elucidating the problem in hand. A vast range of reading, such as is characteristic of the German scholars of the present century, is brought to bear with the lucidity and directness of purpose of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chapter and verse are always honorably quoted, and the sources from which the illustrations (362 in number) are derived, distinctly pointed out; so that, if the volume is open, in some degree, to the charge of special pleading, and a looseness of statement not strictly scientific, an opportunity is afforded for sifting the evidence to the bottom.\*

\* As we write this, an incidental proof of the *ethnological* accuracy of the authors is afforded by a criticism on the illustrated prospectus of "Types of Mankind," in *L'Athénæum Français*, which, at the same time, overthrows the authority from which, in good faith, they had quoted.

The *Athénæum* says:—"Déjà, dans le spécimen nous observons, comme type Carthaginois, un portrait d'Annibal complètement imaginaire. Il est tiré d'une belle monnaie d'argent sur laquelle Fulvius Ursinus avait cru lire le nom du célèbre chef Punique. Il est vrai que l'erreur d'Ursinus a été partagée par Heym, Gronovius, Swinton, et d'autres auteurs encore; mais Dutens et le savant Eckhel avaient réjeté une pareille attribution et classé cette monnaie à la ville de Tarse, en Cilicie, restitution dont la justesse fut plus tard démontrée, et qui fut adoptée généralement. En 1846, M. le duc de Lugnes montra que le prétendu portrait d'Annibal est celui d'un Satrap du roi des Perses, qui gouvernait Tarse au temps de Xenophon, c'est à dire deux siècles avant la mort d'Annibal."—(*Paris*, 25 Mars, 1854, pp. 264, 265.

On turning to the portrait in "Types of Mankind," (p. 136), we find the following remarks: "Hannibal (fig. 37), son of Hamilcar Barcas, born at Carthage, about B. C. 247. The highest 'Caucasian' type is so strongly marked in his face, that if his father was a Phœnico-Carthaginian, one would suspect that his mother, as among the Ottomans and Persians of the present day, was an imported *white* slave, or other female of the purest Japhetic race."

The authors, taking the portrait to be authentic, appear to have seen that its lineaments were so out of place at Carthage, that they conjectured Hannibal's mother must have been an imported *white* slave. The *Athénæum* says it has recently been proved to be the likeness of a Satrap of the King of Persia. It stands, therefore, as a proof of *permanence of type*, no less than of the sagacity of our authors, who detected its incongruity in advance.



A striking chapter in Nott and Gliddon's work is that contributed by Dr. Usher on "Geology and Palæontology in connection with Human Origins," the object of which is to prove, by the discovery in widely separated regions of the globe, of human osseous and industrial remains, in alluvial deposits and drifts; and more especially of fossil human bones imbedded in various rocky strata, along with the vestiges of *extinct* species of animals, the high antiquity which it is now necessary to ascribe to man's existence on this planet. The various accounts of such remains existing in different scientific works, and the transactions of learned societies, are here (probably for the first time) summed up, and a strong case is made out; one, too, which is confirmed by Professor Agassiz, who possesses fossil remains of the human body from Florida, to which he attributes the age of *at least* ten thousand years, "during which, it should be admitted that the mainland was inhabited by man, and the land and fresh-water animals, vestiges of which have been buried in the deposits formed by the fresh waters covering parts of its surface."\*

Now that attention is called to the possibility of such revelations, it is reasonable to look for further confirmation of them by future excavations. In fact, if the following scrap, which has been going the round of the papers,† is authentic, (Jeremy Bentham used to say that everything in the newspapers was a lie,) another remarkable instance must already be added to those collected by Dr. Usher.

"The Swiss journals give the following details relative to the discoveries recently made in consequence of the extraordinary fall of water in the Lake of Zurich. About one hundred feet from the right bank of the lake, opposite the village of Mellen, there have been found several rows of piles made of trunks of trees. The piles are about a foot apart, with an interval of sixteen feet between the rows. The piles support enormous beams, which form a very large area. Between the piles there have been found skeletons of animals *which are no longer to be seen in Switzerland, but no trace of any domestic animals*. On removing the mud, there have been found an immense number of heads of arrows and spears made of stone, carefully cut and very pointed; poinards made of flint, with buck-horn handles; a battle axe in stone; clay vases, evidently

\* Types, p. 352.

† First published in the New York Tribune of May 6, 1854.

formed by the hand without the aid of any instrument, and afterward baked in an oven; and several other articles in stone and baked clay. A human skull has also been found. These remains, which are considered to belong to the ancient Celts, are now under examination by a commission of antiquarians."

Dr. Lyell can, perhaps, tell how old must have been the Celtic race to be coeval with extinct animals. The utensils above described are similar to those discovered by M. Boucher de Perthes in France, in situations which led him to attribute to them a stupendous antiquity. Still, notwithstanding much multiplication of evidence, the reader cannot be blamed who should treat it in his own mind as did the theorist, who, being reminded that facts did not square with his hypothesis, replied, "So much the worse for the facts!"

After this digression, in pursuance of the plan marked out, we take up the principal arguments, to prove a plurality of origins for human races, which, like those on the other side, are three in number, namely: From known centres of creation, from anatomy and from history.

*First.* The argument drawn from known CENTRES OF CREATION of the inferior animals.

This topic is ably handled in a "Sketch of the natural provinces of the animal world and their relation to the different types of man," contributed to Nott & Gliddon's work by one every way fitted for the task, Professor Louis Agassiz. He says:

"There is one feature in the physical history of mankind which has been entirely neglected by those who have studied the subject, viz: the natural relations between the different types of man and the animals and plants inhabiting the same regions. The sketch here presented is intended to supply this deficiency, as far as it is possible in a mere outline delineation, and to show that *the boundaries within which the different natural combinations of animals are known to be circumscribed upon the surface of our earth, coincide with the natural range of distinct types of man.* Such natural combinations of animals, circumscribed within definite boundaries, are called *faunæ*, whatever be their home—land, sea, or river. Among the animals which compose the fauna of a country, we find types belonging exclusively there, and not occurring elsewhere; such are, for example, the *ornithorhynchus* of New Holland, the sloths of America, the hippopotamus of Africa and the walruses of the arctics; others which have only a small number of representatives beyond the

fauna which they specially characterize, as, for instance, the marsupials of New Holland, of which America has a few species, such as the opossum; and again, others which have a wider range, such as the bears, of which there are distinct species in Europe, Asia and America, or the mice and bats, which are to be found all over the world, except in the arctics. That fauna will, therefore, be most easily characterized which possesses the largest number of distinct types proper to itself, and of which the other animals have little analogy with those neighboring regions, as for example, the fauna of New Holland." \*

Proceeding to develop the relation between distinct types of man and the faunæ with which they are geographically connected, the learned Professor continues:

"A remarkable instance of the distribution of animals with reference to climate may be observed in the arctic fauna, which contains a number of species common to the three continents converging towards the North Pole, and which presents a striking uniformity, when compared with the diversity of the temperate and tropical faunæ of the same continents. \* \* \* \* \* Within the limits of this fauna we find a peculiar race of men, known in America under the name of Esquimaux, and under the names of Laplanders, Samojedes and Tchuktahes in the north of Asia. This race, so well known since the voyage of Captain Cook and the arctic expeditions of England and Russia, differs alike from the whites of Europe and the Mongols of Asia, to whom they are adjacent. The uniformity of their characters along the whole range of the arctic seas forms one of the most striking resemblances which these people exhibit to the fauna with which they are so closely connected." †

In the earlier portion of this article it was shown that all the so-called Caucasian races, subdivided in Genesis into the children of Shem, Ham and Japhet, are united together by a certain radical affinity of language. A striking confirmation of this remarkable result of philological investigation is afforded by the independent science of natural history.

"The unity of Europe (exclusive of its arctic regions) in connection with Southwestern Asia and Northern Africa, as a distinct zoological realm, is established by the range of its mammalia and by the limits of the migrations of its birds, as well as by the physical features of its whole extent. Thus we find its deer and stag, its bear, its hare, its squirrel, its wolf and wild cat, its fox and jackal, its otter, its weasel and martin, its badger, its mole, its hedgehogs, and a number of bats, either extending over the whole realm in Europe, western Asia and Northern

\* Types, p. lix.

† Ibid, p. lxi.

Africa, or so linked together as to show that in their combination with the birds, reptiles, fishes, &c., of the same countries, they constitute a natural zoological association analagous to that of Asia, but essentially different in reference to species." \*

Dr. Agassiz has elsewhere† shown that animals,‡ at least, could not all have originated, either from a common centre, or from single pairs—bees, for example, must have been created in swarms, buffaloes probably in herds, Indians possibly in tribes. To return:

"We find the races of men occupying circumscribed localities, in intimate connection with the recognized zoological and botanical provinces. Arctic man, like arctic animals, is the same in America, Europe and Asia. The races become more distinct as we approach the equator. In temperate Europe we have the great Caucasian family, whose three great branches may be said to be three varieties of the same species, as the varieties of the lion in Northern and Southern Africa (though having their peculiar marks) constitute one *species*. In temperate Asia we have the Mongolian race. In temperate America we have the Indian. In the tropics we have the African nations, the Malay race and the people of Central America and the West Indies (by some considered congenital with the Malays). In New Holland we have the Australian. In the Pacific islands we have the Polynesian and several local varieties. In Southern Africa we have the Bushman, the Hottentot and the Kaffir; in Southern America the Patagonian and the Fuegian. Among the quadrumana which approach nearest to man, we see a similar adaptation of species to continents. The monkeys of America, of Asia, of Africa and of Madagascar are different from each other; and what is curious is the fact, that the *black* orang is confined to the continent occupied by the *black* human races, while the *brown* orang is found with the tawney Malay races. Is it at all likely that one is a modification of the other, by climate or external circumstances?" ||

Looking at man merely from a zoological point of view, the doctrine here stated, notwithstanding its novelty, obviously commends itself to the good sense of the enquirer after truth.

\* Ibid, p. lxi. † Christian Examiner, March, 1850.

‡ Not to speak of plants, though the laws which govern faunæ and flora are analagous. Zeune puts it in this way: "Inasmuch as, according to the assertion of a beloved dramatist, it has not yet occurred to any one to maintain that *all figs have come from a single primitive fig*, even so little can any body admit the whole of mankind to be derived (*abstammen*) from a single human pair. Wherever the conditions for Life were found, there Life has sprung forth. *Menschenrassen*, pp. 3-4.

|| Kneeland's Introduction to Hamilton Smith's Nat. History of Man, p. 70.

*Second.* An argument for the diversity theory is drawn from the science of ANATOMY.

Different races of men differ from each other in physical structure to an extent which, in the case of other animals would induce naturalists to class them as radically distinct species.

To simplify the discussion, let the two extremes, the Caucasian and the Negro race, be compared. The color of the African is produced chiefly by the secretion of a dark pigment by the vessels of the true skin, and its deposition in the cells of the *rete mucosum*. The latter, consisting of *two laminæ*, \* instead of one as in the Caucasian, is comparatively thick; whence arises the softness of the negro's skin to the touch. Now, if a race of men had horns and hoofs, no one would doubt that they were a distinct species, and yet, to a naturalist, the presence of an extra skin in the negro is as absolute an indication of specific difference as horns or hoofs. So also is the fact that, like the male ape, the negro has no *frænum preputii*.

The covering of the African's head is a true *wool*, cospidate, or having a multitude of projecting points, so that it can be and has been, *felted*. It is smeared with an unctuous secretion and is less fibrous in its texture than the hair of the Caucasian. In shape it is eccentrically elliptical, the diameters being respectively about 1-312 and 1-970 of an inch, while the hair of the European is oval (about 1-273 by 1-364) and that of the American Indian cylindrical in shape. †

We had copied for insertion here Dr. Caldwell's unrivalled and conclusive analysis, from personal examination and dissection, of the entire negro anatomy; but the extract is too long for our remaining space, and we have only room for his conclusion :

"The domestic dog, the wolf and the hyena are acknowledged to belong to different species. Yet let a skeleton of each be prepared, and it will be much more difficult to distinguish one from the other, than to distinguish an African from a Caucasian skeleton. The same is true of the skeletons of the tiger and the large Asiatic panther. Indeed it is much easier to distinguish between the skeletons of a Bushman and a Caucasian,

\* Caldwell on the Unity of the Human Race, p. 51. Cincinnati, 1852.

† Browne's classification of mankind by the hair and wool of their heads. Philadelphia, 1853.

than between those of any two species of the cat kind that are similar in size. We may safely add, that there is no more difficulty in distinguishing between the African and Caucasian skeletons, than between those of the horse and the ox." \*

Says Van Amringe:—"The horse and the ass, the lion and the tiger, the hyena and the wolf, the goat and the sheep are not more distinct in their species, their sexual relations and their tastes, than the different species of the human family."

In answer to these facts it is alleged by Prichard and others, that in Piedmont, Normandy, Bavaria, Hungary, Franconia, Corsica, England and the United States, climate, food and other physical causes have produced in horses, black cattle, pigs, chickens, &c., numerous and great changes in form, size and color.

But man has resided in those countries as long, or longer than most of his domestic animals; and those same physical causes to whose action he also has been exposed, have produced no such mutation in him. And this brings us to

*Third*, The argument from HISTORY and archæology.

No new races of men have ever appeared on the earth, so far back as authentic history, or even tradition goes, save by the intermixture of two or more separate stocks.

The influence of a tropical sun and atmosphere imbrown the complexions of Europeans and affects their health, vigor and longevity, as the cold of a Northern climate does those of the negro, but in neither case is any change produced indicating the slightest tendency to the formation of a new race.

As far back as history goes, the existing races appear to have the same physical and mental characteristics which distinguish them at present. Herodotus (B. C. 450) speaks of black woolly haired Africans, and describes the other races of men as we find them to-day.

Skulls found in the most ancient mounds of America and even the fossil remains found in the Island of Guadaloupe, present the American type of cranium as unmistakably as the most modern ones.

\* Unity of the Human Race, p. 59.

The Egyptians appear to have divided mankind, or rather the nations known to them, into four races, which appear on monuments side by side, and colored respectively white, red, yellow and black. The full length figures painted white correspond in appearance with the European or Japhetic family, the red with the Egyptian, Chamitic or Hamitic, the yellow with the Asiatic, Jewish or Semitic and the black with the negro races. These four types are represented thus on monuments of the undoubted date of 1500, B. C.

The monuments themselves go back as far at least as the 33d century before the Christian era, while the epoch of Menes, the first king who united upper and lower Egypt and who lived about four hundred years before the building of the first pyramid was

	B. C.
According to Bunsen.....	3643.
“ “ Kenrick .....	3892.
“ “ Lepsius.....	3893.
“ “ Hincks.....	3895.
“ “ Pickering.....	4400.
“ “ Barrucchi.....	4890.
“ “ Lenormant.....	4915.
“ “ Henry.....	5303.
“ “ Böckh.....	5702.
“ “ Lesueur.....	5773.
“ “ Champollion-Figeac.....	5867.*

And the pictorial representations of the Egyptians proper by themselves from the 3d to the 35th century B. C. agree in representing them as of but one and the same type. This may be seen by any one who will consult the great works of Denon, Champollion, Rosseline and Lepsius. What this type was is now accurately known, from the scientific examination of their mummified remains by Dr. S. G. Morton. “In their physical character the Egyptians were intermediate between the Indo-European and Semitic races. \* \* \* \* \* The teeth differ in nothing from those of other Caucasian nations. \* \* \* \* \* The hair of

\* Types of Mankind, p. 675.

the Egyptians resembled in texture that of the fairest Europeans of the present day."\*

On the other hand, the mummified remains of negroes and other races of men have also been identified in the Catacombs.

"Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it is now, that of servants or slaves. \* \* \* \* They are abundantly represented on the pictorial delineations of the Egyptian monuments. Complexion, features, expression, these and every other attribute of the race are depicted precisely as we are accustomed to see them in our daily walks; indeed, were we to judge by the drawings alone, we might suppose them to have been executed but yesterday; and yet some of these vivid delineations are nearly three thousand five hundred years old; and, moreover, as if to enforce the distinction of race by direct contrast, they are placed side by side with people of the purest Caucasian features."†

These facts are hard to get over. Their force can only be obviated by a resort to one of three suppositions.

1. Miracle. But this would be wholly gratuitous, and to call in its aid would be, in effect, to give up the whole question.

2. The supposition that causes operated in the infancy of mankind which do not operate now. But of this, not a particle of proof is, or can be, alleged.

3. That mankind have existed on the earth for a much longer period than is usually supposed. And this is precisely the refuge resorted to by Prichard, the Champion of the "Unity" doctrine. "The Hebrew chronology," says he, "may be computed with accuracy to the era of the building of the temple, or at least to that of the division of the tribes. In the interval between that date and the arrival of Abraham in Palestine, it cannot be ascertained with exactness, but it may be computed with a near approximation to truth. Beyond that event we can never know how many centuries, nor even how many CHILLIADS OF YEARS may have elapsed since the first man of clay received the image of God, and the breath of life"‡ We know that one type of man has not been transmuted into another in 3000 years; we do not know certainly that 100,000 years might not do it.

\* *Crania Egyptiaca*, p. 66.

† *Ibid*, pp. 66, 60.

‡ *Physical history of mankind*, vol. 5, p. 570.



In "Types of Mankind" the Caucasian, the Jewish, the various African, the Egyptian, the Negro, the American and other types are taken up in succession as they exist to-day, and carried back historically step by step as far as written or monumental evidence will carry them, showing that, so far as we know, none of them have ever changed. This portion of the work is profusely illustrated with wood-cuts, upon which a great part of the evidence rests, and which cannot be reproduced here, even if space were not wanting. We can only recommend the attentive perusal of the 200 pages in which the proof is elaborated.

The ground now gone over cannot be better recapitulated than in the words of Nott and Gliddon, (p. 465.) The following points they consider established.

1. That the surface of our globe is naturally divided into several zoological provinces, each of which is a distinct centre of creation, possessing a peculiar fauna and flora; and that every species of animal and plant was originally assigned to its appropriate province.
2. That the human family offers no exception to this general law, but fully conforms to it; mankind being divided into several groups of Races, each of which constitute a primitive element in the fauna of its peculiar province.
3. That history affords no evidence of the transformation of one Type into another, nor of the origination of a new and *Permanent* Type.
4. That certain Types have been *Permanent* through all recorded time, and despite the most opposite moral and physical influences.
5. That *Permanence* of Type is accepted by science as the surest test of *specific* character.
6. That certain Types have existed (the same as now) in and around the valley of the Nile, from ages anterior to 3,500 years B. C., and consequently long prior to any alphabetic chronicles, sacred or profane.
7. That the ancient Egyptians, had already classified mankind, as known to them, into *Four Races*, previously to any date assignable to Moses.
8. That high antiquity for distinct races is amply sustained by linguistic researches, by psychological history, and by anatomical characteristics.
9. That the primeval existence of man, in widely separate portions of the globe, is proven by the discovery of his osseous and industrial remains, in alluvial deposits and in diluvial drifts; and more especially, of his fossil bones, imbedded in various rocky strata, along with the vestiges of extinct species of animals.
10. That *Prolificacy* of distinct species, *inter se*, is now proved to be no test of *common origin*.

11. That those races of men most separated in physical organization—such as the *blacks* and the *whites*—do not amalgamate perfectly, but obey the laws of Hybridity. Hence,

12. It follows, as a corollary, that there exists a *Genus Homo*, embracing many primordial types or “species.”

That the diversity theory is absolutely proved, no one can maintain, so long as names venerable in the roll of science hold out against it. But thus much, at least, must, in our judgment, be conceded in a review of the whole subject:—Either there were separate creations of different types of mankind, or man must have existed on earth for Chiliads of years. Both of these propositions may be true—one of them must be true. A. L.

---

## ART. II.—EAST FLORIDA: HER LANDS AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS.

1. *MANUAL DO FAZENDEIRO OU COMPENDIO DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL, por el Senor Don Augustin de Mazantez, Membro Correspondente da Sociedade Real de Madrid.* 12 mo. Madrid, 1818.
2. *FARMER'S MANUAL OR COMPENDIUM OF EAST FLORIDA, by Signor Don Augustin de Masantez, Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Madrid.* 12 mo. Madrid, 1818.

IN the progress of our country, attention seems to have been recently more directed towards the State of Florida than at any time previous. The planters and farmers of the South, whose conservative principles and habits render them, as a class, slow to enter upon new or untried fields of labor, have at length become impressed with the value of the lands and climate of this portion of our confederacy in producing many of the products and staples of agriculture; while the crowds of the North whose physical systems involve the strumous diathesis are looking in greater numbers every year to the Peninsula as the El Dorado where they are to obtain a new lease of life by averting the shaft of the fell destroyer.

Although one of the youngest in our galaxy of States, there is much in the history of the past to interest us in Florida. The Peninsula was first visited in 1512, by Ponce de Leon, in search of the "Fountain of Youth," whose waters were supposed to possess the miraculous power of restoring youthful vigor to old age. This absurd fable originated, it is said, with the Cuba Indians, who assured the Spaniards that the "Fountain" lay somewhere to the north. To a people like the Spaniards in those days, fond of the supernatural and the marvellous—a nation of *gobe-mouches*—the story appeared very reasonable, and was as firmly believed by them as the miracles wrought by the relics of Saints, or the wonders produced by demonology and witchcraft. Easter-day, called by the Spaniards *Pascua Florida*, having been the day on which the shore was reached by Ponce, he gave it the latter name, which it still bears. The celebrated expeditions of Pamphilo de Narvaes, in 1526, and Ferdinand de Soto, in 1539, to this fabled El Dorado are well known. At a later period, 1565, King Philip II. of Spain; whose head was so filled with religion that there was no space left in it for common sense or common humanity, planned a crusade against an unoffending colony of French Protestants, who, had recently fled from Catholic persecution in France to the wilds of America, and settled at the mouth of the river St. John, where they had fondly hoped to enjoy "freedom to worship God." The design was sufficiently successful. After a variety of fortunes, the Spaniards admirably succeeded in butchering these Frenchmen for the honor of God. The cruel history may be read in numerous pages, which are sufficiently accessible to the reader. We forbear accordingly going into the details. Enough to say that, in some degree, human vengeance was taken upon the pious murderers. A brave Gascon, named Gorgues, surprised and butchered the Spanish colonists, even as they had butchered the Huguenots, but unhappily, without including among their victims, the cruel leader of the Spanish host, Pedro Melandez; and without being able, in any way to assail, or to affect the bigotted and savage monarch, to please whom, chiefly, and to satisfy his notions of what the cause of Christ required, the sanguinary expedition was undertaken, and its horrid purpose consummated. No more terrible

tragedy than that which is involved in the fortunes of Ribault, Laudonniere, Melendez and Gorgues is to be found in the chronicles of the new world!

Having destroyed the French colony of protestants, Malendez planted his settlement of Spaniards and more orthodox Christians. Thus did bigotry and intolerance originate the first known European settlement in Florida. The green fields and forests were to be baptized in Christian blood, before they could be consecrated and accommodated to Christian uses. But retributive justice has not slept, and another and a hostile race, triumph over the very realm for which the Spaniards had saturated their souls with crime. The change has been full of the happiest auspices for humanity everywhere; and the avenger still tracks the footsteps of the murderous race, through all the lands which have been incarnadined by their sanguinary progress.\*

The name of Florida, was for a long time applied to an indefinite extent of country, embracing both Carolina and Georgia; but it was gradually contracted to its present limits, by the encroach-

\* We are never so much inclined to look with contempt and disgust upon our race, as when contemplating the history of religious bigotry, intolerance and persecution. All that is cowardly, mean, selfish and black in the nature of man, seems to have had its full development under the pretext of zeal for religion. At this enlightened day it becomes every good citizen to regard with scorn and indignation the least manifestation of the spirit of intolerance on account of religious opinions; for, humiliating as may be the avowal, we are not entirely free from it even in these United States.

It should be borne in mind, while reciting the deeds of Spanish Catholics towards French Calvinists, that Calvin himself defended the putting of heretics to death. Calvin was a Frenchman. Unable to convert to his religious belief the celebrated Servetus, a Spaniard, he consigned him to the flames—"for the love of God!"

Even so late as the present year (1854) we find the public prosecutor of Stockholm, prosecuting seven women in that city, for having abandoned the Lutheran faith, and embraced that of Rome; and recently we find the Trustees of Columbia College, New York, rejecting the Professor of Chemistry, on the ground of his being a Unitarian!

When, it is asked, is all this intolerance of religious opinions to cease? Never, we answer, so long as the lust of power is veiled under the garb of piety; so long as sectarian bigotry and mere partizan zeal pass current for Christian piety; and men make merchandise of religion."

ments of the English colonies on the north. The settlement of Georgia by the English under Oglethorpe gave great offence to the Spaniards, because of its infringement upon their asserted boundaries. This, however, was but one of the causes of hostility. The Spanish Government complained of the illegal trade which English colonies and English vessels carried on with her colonial dependencies, by which the commerce of the mother country was reduced to one-seventh of its tonnage and value. On the other hand, the British Government was incensed at the oppressive restrictions imposed by Spain on English bottoms trading in her colonies, the interruptions to the alledged lawful traffic, and the seizure and condemnation of her vessels, to the great destruction of her colonial commerce. The encroachments of the British on the territory and the commercial policy of the Court of Madrid drew forth the implacable hatred of the Spaniards; and although they refrained, for a time, from open aggression, through fear no doubt of so powerful a nation, they yet put in motion many secret agencies by which the peace of the English was frequently disturbed; for the murders perpetrated by the Indians in Carolina, the desertions practiced by the negroes, and the insurrections which broke out among the slaves, were all plotted by the Spaniards in Florida.

In 1763, the Peninsula was ceded to Great Britain, but it was restored to Spain by the peace of Paris in 1783. In 1811-12, Spain having claimed the country to the Mississippi as part of Florida, which the Government of the United States considered as bounded by the Perdido, the latter took possession of Baton Rouge and Mobile in the disputed territory. In 1812 and 1813 East Florida was invaded by a body of quondam patriots protected by the United States flag, under the pretence that it was called for by a movement on the part of the inhabitants in favor of republican government; but it was nothing more than an arranged plan to take possession of the Peninsula, with a view to keeping out the British, who, it was apprehended, by our Government, would attempt to occupy it during the war then pending. This invasion proved a great injury to the Peninsula. Devastation and ruin befell every plantation in the district; and this was

accomplished either by the United States troops and "patriots" who were together, or by a lawless body of men who remained in the Province after the former had taken their departure. The country did not recover from the evils of this invasion before its cession to the United States. After protracted negotiations this cession took place in 1819 for the sum of \$5,000,000 and Florida was soon after formed into a territory. Upon the change of flags in 1821, most of the inhabitants quitted the country; almost every Castilian departed for Cuba; but some of the poorer Spanish farmers and fishermen and a body of Greeks and Minorcans, who had been brought out by Dr. Turnbull as "redemptioners," remained; and there has subsequently been a considerable emigration from the neighboring States, chiefly into the middle section of the country. Latterly, the eastern section has attracted attention, and much of the land in that quarter has been taken up and settled by our enterprising and energetic planters. The increased demand for transportation from Carolina to Florida has caused the "Florida Steam Packet Company of Charleston" to petition the South Carolina Legislature for an amendment of its charter allowing an increase of its capital, with a view to adding another steamer to the line. The capital of the company now amounts to \$90,000. Active competition in this business is going on in Savannah, where several steamers are regularly employed in taking out freight and passengers. At the last session of the Georgia Legislature, an act was passed incorporating the "Savannah and Florida Steamboat Company." Everything indicates rapid emigration to East Florida; and it is to this portion of the State that we wish hereafter more particularly to direct our observations.

The work of Don Augustin De Mazantez, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, was written, as appears from the preface, with a view of inducing some of the farmers of Old Spain to come out and settle in this delightful country (*pais delicioso*). He devotes the first chapter to a glowing description of the climate, the luxurious growth of vegetation, the abundance of game and fish, and "the ease with which families can be supported" in the Peninsula; all of which is true enough;

for East Florida furnishes the means of living with very moderate efforts, and must always recommend itself particularly to that class of our population, who, while they are content with little, are also fond of enjoying, if not *otium cum dignitate*, at least the *dolce farniente*. To the small farmer and grazier the work of Mazantex is more particularly adapted, as it contains minute instructions for the culture of yucca, the making of cassava, the planting of corn, potatoes, tanyahs, fruit trees, &c., and the raising of cattle ; but it also contains useful instructions for the culture of cane, the manufacture of sugar, and the raising of tobacco ; all of which are in accordance with the practice at the present day, of some of the most judicious planters. His knowledge of the lands of the Peninsula seen to have been mostly derived from the information given him by others, and limited observations made by himself ; they are, therefore, of not much value to us, as what we shall say hereafter about the lands of East Florida, will be from our examining them in person and judging for ourselves. We shall avail ourselves, however, of such parts of the work as have a bearing on the culture of the various articles mentioned.

The accounts we have of Florida, even at the present day, are more or less mixed up with errors and misconceptions. As the early discoverers were allured to its shores by its fountain of youth and its mysterious riches, and were charmed into excessive admiration by the brilliant hues and lively verdure of its majestic forests and gorgeous shrubs, more recent explorers, plunging into its labyrinths of swamps, hammocks, ponds and jungles, have gone to the other extreme, and pronounced it the fit haunt only of savages, alligators and snakes : a chaotic medley of land and water producing mostly malaria and frogs. The *juste milieu* in this, as in other matters, will be found to be the true condition of things.

From the time that East Florida was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1819, up to the year 1843, it has been either the allotted residence of Indian tribes or the theatre of Indian hostilities. It is true that some settlements had been established on its borders, but a few of the more daring adventurers attempted to settle farms in the interior during this period, so that previous to the

Seminole war in 1853 and before it had been traversed by our armies, it was but little known to any but the Indian tribes that inhabited it. These facts will sufficiently account for the limited knowledge that existed, even in adjoining States, with regard to its soil, productions and climate. The superficial views and erroneous impressions of men who had merely marched through the country; whose occupations were merely military, and were accustomed to estimate soils by *the darkness of their color*, have done much to propagate the impression that the lands were worthless and the country generally sterile. Such an impression, however, we regard as very far from being correct. A recent visit to the different sections of East Florida, in which we have had an opportunity of examining the quality of the soils, witnessing the growing crops, learning the amount of productiveness, &c., has enabled us, we think, to form a tolerably correct estimate of her agricultural capabilities, and has convinced us, that while there is a great deal of land within her borders that is almost entirely barren, there is a large amount as fertile as any in the United States.

The Peninsula of Florida is 350 miles in length and 150 in width, containing an area of 52,000 square miles. The southern part, from about latitude 28°, is, most of it, a low, flat and wet country; so much so that, during the rainy seasons, between June and October, an overland passage from the Atlantic to the Gulf coast is almost impracticable. This section embraces all the counties of Munroe and Dade, also the larger portion of St. Lucie and a part of Hillsboro', having the lake *O-kee-cho-bee* for its centre, and contains numerous tracts of pine lands, prairies and hammocks. North of this tract, up to the Georgia line, the surface of the country is generally level, but in some parts it is slightly rolling, and, occasionally, hills of moderate height may be met with. This portion of Florida consists chiefly of pine forests, interspersed with hammocks, prairies and marshes. The pine forests differ much in fertility; those having an undergrowth of oak and hickory are the best. The pine barrens are covered with forests, principally of the yellow pine, having but little underwood, and the soil is poor. The swamps or morasses are formed



either by the rivers overflowing the woody ridge that forms their bank, and inundating the low lands in the vicinity with water, or they are produced by the drainage of the surrounding country. The latter, called pine barren swamps, are overgrown with cypress and cypress knees; the former, or river swamps, are covered with a heavy growth of timber, and where the fall of water is sufficient to admit of their being properly drained and brought under cultivation, they are extremely fertile, and considered the most productive lands. The prairies, or savannahs as they are called, vary in size, but sometimes extend several miles in length and breadth, forming fine natural pastures. The hammocks are scattered throughout the country, and vary in extent from a few acres to a thousand. They will probably average about three hundred acres each. They are covered with a growth of red, live and water oak, dogwood, magnolia and pine, and afford excellent arable land.

The substratum of the eastern part of the peninsula is clay mixed with sand, in which the carbonate of lime is frequently found; but that of the western is a kind of rotten limestone. Several singular phenomena are caused by the nature of this rock underlying a portion of the territory. One of these is the great number of sinks or wells that are met with. In many places this rock is undermined by subterraneous streams, forming numerous excavations in the surface of the earth, called lime sinks or natural wells. These sinks are hollows of a conical shape, the apex downwards, and vary in size from a few yards to several acres, at the bottom of which running water often appears. One of these sinks was described to us by Mr. L. as being on his plantation in Alachua, and at one time perfectly dry. Suddenly, one day, during a spell of dry weather, and when there had been no rain in the neighborhood for many miles, the sink became nearly filled with water—clearly proving that the rise and fall of the water in it was produced by causes acting at a long distance, and forcing the water to it through a subterraneous passage. Bartram, the celebrated American botanist, who, at the advanced age of seventy, explored the country some years ago, thus describes the great sink in the Alachua savannah: "In this place a group of hills almost surrounded a large basin, which is the general receptacle of the

water draining from every part of the savannah, by lateral conduits, winding about, and one after another joining the main creek or general conductor, which at length delivers them into this sink, where they descend, by slow degrees, through rocky caverns, into the bowels of the earth, whence they are carried by secret subterranean channels into other receptacles and basins. There are three great doors or vent-holes through the rocks in the sink, two near the centre and the other one near the rim, much higher up than the two, which was conspicuous through the clear water. The beds of rocks lay in horizontal thick strata or laminae, one over the other, where the sink-holes or outlets are." Connected with the same rock formation is the bursting forth of numerous springs from the ground, so copiously as to form at once full grown rivers, as, indeed, they rather seem to be eruptions of subterraneous streams, suddenly emerging from the dark labyrinths through which they have long crept beneath the surface. One of the most remarkable curiosities of this kind is the Silver Spring, in Marion county, five miles from Ocala. The water of this spring or river is so transparent, that the most minute object can be seen at its bottom, fifteen or twenty feet deep, and when in a boat on the surface, it is so pellucid, that one feels like floating in the air.

The pine lands constitute, by far, the largest portion of East Florida, and are of different qualities. They may be divided into three classes. The best consists of a dark vegetable mould on the surface, several inches deep. Beneath this is a brown, sandy loam, several feet deep, mixed mostly with limestone pebbles, and resting on a substratum of clay and limestone rocks. These lands last well, and are very productive, bringing from one thousand to twelve hundred pounds long staple cotton, in the seed, to the acre. We have seen fields on the upper Suwannee, bringing the latter amount, that had been planted fourteen years in succession, and without any manure; they were as productive as they were in the beginning—in fact, the limits of the durability of this kind of land is unknown, and it seems almost inexhaustible.

The second quality of pine lands form, also, a large portion of the peninsula. They are all productive, but they do not last more than three or four years without manure—some not more than two

years. Spots that are "cow-penned" will produce twelve hundred pounds of sugar per acre. These lands will also, when properly cultivated, produce Cuba tobacco of the finest quality, oranges, lemons, limes and other tropical productions. These lands are adapted to the poorer class of our agricultural population, who are content merely to make enough to support their families comfortably. By a system of cow-penning, these lands can be kept up so as to produce abundantly for the poor man; and with regard to the cattle, they can keep almost any number, as they require no feed, either winter or summer, except what they find on the range around them.

The most inferior quality of pine land is that which comprises, in part, undulating sandy districts covered with a stunted growth of black-jacks and pine; and low, flat, swampy regions, frequently inundated, but which are covered with luxurious vegetation all the year. These lands being very extensive, will always render East Florida a fine grazing country, and its vast herds of cattle, hogs, deer, &c., will, both winter and summer, find a boundless extent of range in these fine pastures.

The *hammock lands* form altogether but an inconsiderable portion of the peninsula. They are divided into high and low hammocks. The former are the lands in greatest repute in East Florida. They present generally an undulating surface, are composed of a fine vegetable mould, mixed with a sandy loam sometimes two feet in depth, the substratum being composed, in most cases, of clay and lime. It will at once be seen by the scientific planter that, in a climate like that of Florida, lands composed of such constituents must be extremely productive. In the first place, this land requires no great deal of labor to clear it, and, when cleared, it requires no other preparation but that of ploughing, to fit it at once for the greatest possible production of any kind of crop adapted to the climate. It can be cultivated with much less labor than other lands, being remarkably light and mellow; it has no tendency to break up in heavy clods, nor is it infested with pernicious weeds or grasses. In unfavorable seasons it is much more certain to produce a good crop than any other kind of land, from the fact that it is less affected by excessively

dry or wet weather, and its vicinity is generally high and healthy. These reasons are sufficient to entitle the high hammock land to the estimation in which it is held, and it is, consequently the most sought after of any other land. There are several well-known instances, in the county of Alachua, of three hogsheads of sugar having been made to the acre on this kind of land, after it had been cultivated six successive years in corn, without any manure.

The low hammocks are always flat, or nearly so; the soil on them is always deep, and of greater tenacity than that of the high hammocks. Many of them are quite moist, and require some ditching to bring them under cultivation. Formerly, there were many sugar plantations in operation on this description of land, which proved that it was extremely well adapted to the growth of the cane.

The swamp lands excell all the lands of Florida in productiveness, and perhaps in durableness of fertility. They are evidently alluvial and of recent formation, and are still annually receiving additional deposites on their surface. They are either situated on the margins of rivers, whose overflowings have deposited alluvion upon them, or occupy extensive natural depressions or basins, which have been gradually filled up by deposites of vegetable debris, &c., washed in from the adjacent and higher lands. The great objection, however, to these lands is the labor and difficulty of bringing them under cultivation. They all require ditching, and to the practical eye of the experienced planter, it will be at once discovered that many of them are irreclaimable, owing to the want of fall sufficient to drain off the water after the lands are ditched. But where the fall is sufficient to admit of draining thoroughly, and the labor employed sufficient to accomplish it, there are no lands anywhere that pay better than these swamp lands. Many years since, an enterprising Englishman—Dr. Turnbull—became impressed with the value and productiveness of these lands, purchased a large body, and brought out from the Mediterranean a colony of about seven hundred Greeks and Minorcans, as laborers, with the view to the making of sugar and other products. These people were engaged upon a principle similar to that upon which the British are now employing the

coolies in Jamaica—the apprentice system. They were styled “redemptioners,” because of their being bound for seven years to redeem, by their labor, the expense of the voyage and the cost of provisions, &c., necessary to the support of them and their families. At the end of the seven years they were to receive stipulated wages. Things went on prosperously for a short time; buildings were erected, extensive canals and ditches were dug, and the lands were gradually being brought under cultivation. But, at length, the energies of the laborers began to flag; their employer became impatient; their task-masters became more urgent; blows and stripes were resorted to, with a view of inducing them to more active work, till, at length, the Minorcans took to running away. Three of these fugitives arrived at St. Augustine, where their tale of suffering and wrong excited the sympathy of the Spaniards, who, pursuing their old game towards the English, urged them to return and raise a general insurrection. This advice they followed, and, in a short time, there was a complete *emeute*. The whole body of laborers dropped their tools, refused to work, and marched off, in a body, towards St. Augustine. Turnbull and his overseers pursued them—used threats and promises to induce them to return; but they were of no avail. They arrived in St. Augustine, and were received by the Spaniards, who appropriated a part of the town to their occupation. Many of their descendants still inhabit the same houses, or are settled on small farms in the country around, and are noted for their fondness of an easy and quiet life, for the simplicity of their manners, and their kindheartedness. Thus ended Dr. Turnbull’s scheme for raising sugar with free white labor—another proof to the British, by one of their own countrymen, that for the tropical products of agriculture, on anything like an extensive scale, no other than negro slave labor can, with certainty, be depended upon. Dr. Turnbull displayed much judgment in the selection of his lands, being those in the vicinity of New Smyrna. It is stated to be a fact well known, that on the plantation of Mr. Dummitt’s, near that place, land of the description above mentioned has produced four hogsheads of sugar per acre—the greatest yield of sugar ever realized in Florida.

In many parts of the State the "first-rate pine, oak and hickory" lands are to be found in pretty extensive bodies; and from the fact that they are more easily cleared and brought under cultivation than either the swamp or the hammock lands, they have generally been preferred by the poorer class of our agricultural population.

Besides the lands already mentioned, there are extensive tracts of "savannah land," which, in texture of soil, mode of formation, &c., are very similar to the swamp lands. They differ from the swamp lands, however, in being destitute of timber. Some of these savannah lands are extremely barren, being composed almost entirely of "pipe clay."

The appearance of the land of Florida is very often deceptive. Indeed, so different is the appearance of some of the richest soils in Florida from what it is in other States, that it is only by actual cultivation that an adequate idea can be formed of their productiveness and durability. What is taken for a mere sandy and unproductive soil, will often, upon examination, prove more valuable than was anticipated; and the effect of the climate on vegetation compensates, in part, for the poverty of the soil itself. We have already alluded to the durability of some of these soils; it is owing, in a great measure, to the quantity of alkali contained in them. Marl can be found in almost every part of the peninsula. There is scarcely a square mile in which carbonate of lime, in some of its forms, cannot be found within two or three feet of the surface, and sometimes nearer, or even above it; and this, as every enlightened planter knows, is an indication of fertility and durability both.

There are various modes of distinguishing soils without entering into a minute analysis of their component parts. The simplest and most natural is, to compare their texture, the size and form of the visible particles of which they are composed, and to trace the probable source of their original formation from the minerals which are found around or below them. The soils which have been formed from the disintegration and decomposition of the primitive rock, such as granite, basalt or limestone, and those which contain all these minerals minutely divided and intimately

mixed, are always naturally fertile. Palpable sand with clay, forming what is commonly called loam, when in due proportion with a mixture of organic matter, forms the richest and most easily cultivated soils. When lime meets with crystalized sand, a mixture is formed which has all the requisite qualities, as to texture, to produce the most fertile loams. The only deficiency is organic matter. These loams may be always looked upon as the most favorable soils for agricultural operations; and if a considerable depth of loam is found which neither retains water too long, nor allows it to percolate too rapidly, it may be regarded as a soil eminently capable of the highest degree of cultivation. Such are the best high hammock lands of Florida. They are deficient in organic matter, and, for this reason, are not so fertile as the swamp lands; but I doubt if many of these hammocks are not equally as durable as any swamp land.

It has been maintained by Professor Liebig, the celebrated agricultural chemist, that organic matter is not essential to great fertility and durability in a soil. He says, "Land of the greatest fertility contains argillaceous earths, and other disintegrated minerals, with chalk and sand in such proportion as to give free access to air and moisture." The land in the vicinity of Mount Vesuvius may be considered as the type of a fertile soil, and its fertility is greater or less in different parts, according to the proportion of clay or sand which it contains.

The soil which is formed by the disintegration of lava cannot possibly, on account of its origin, contain the smallest trace of vegetable matter; and yet it is well known that when the volcanic ashes have been exposed for some time to the influence of air and moisture, a soil is gradually formed in which all kinds of plants grow with the greatest luxuriance.

This fertility is owing to the alkalies which are contained in the lava, and which, by exposure to the weather, are rendered capable of being absorbed by plants. Thousands of years have been necessary to convert stones and rocks into the soil of arable land, and thousands of years more will be required for their perfect reduction—that is, for the complete exhaustion of their alkalies.

Air, water, and the change of temperature, prepare the different species of rock for yielding to plants the alkalies which they contain. A soil which has been exposed for centuries to all the influences which affect the disintegration of rocks, but from which the alkalies have not been removed, will be able to afford the means of nourishment to those vegetables which require alkalies for their growth during many years.

The first colonists of Virginia found a country, the soil of which was similar to what Liebig mentions; harvests of wheat and tobacco were obtained for a century from one and the same field without the aid of manure. Look at the country around Naples in Italy, which is famed for its fertile corn land. The farms and villages are situated from 18 to 24 miles distant from each other, and between them there are no roads, and consequently no transportation of manure. Grain has been cultivated on this land for thousands of years without any part of that which is annually removed from the soil being artificially restored to it. How, then, can any influence be ascribed to *humus*, (the form which organic matter naturally comes to by slow decomposition in the earth,) under such circumstances, when it is not even known whether *humus* was ever contained in the soil? A soil may contain a sufficient amount of alkali for one hundred crops, and still may not yield up the whole quantity within one hundred years. These views impress us with an idea of the great durability of the best lands in Florida. It must not be supposed, however, that we regard them as inexhaustible; they must gradually become exhausted, unless those alkalies which have been removed are again replaced; a period, therefore, will arrive when it will be necessary to expose them from time to time to a further disintegration, in order to obtain a new supply of soluble alkalies, for, small as is the quantity of alkali which plants require, it is nevertheless quite indispensable to their perfect development.

While we agree with Liebig, that organic matter is not absolutely necessary to the fertility of some soils, yet we believe that it is essential to the highest degree of fertility, and that some soils require more of it than others. The alluvial soils formed by the deposit of a variety of earths in a state of very minute divi-



sion, and mixed with a portion of organic matter, form by far the most productive lands. These soils are found along the course of rivers which traverse extensive plains, and which have such a current as to keep very fine earth suspended by a gentle yet constant agitation, but not sufficiently rapid to carry along with it coarse gravel or sand. Wherever there is an obstruction to the current, and an eddy is formed, there the soil is deposited in the form of mud, and, gradually accumulating, forms those alluvial soils which are so remarkable for their fertility. Hence it is that the swamps and savannahs are more productive than any other lands in Florida.

The primitive limestone which underlies a large portion of East Florida, and which is generally near the surface, is very hard, yet it is gradually decomposed by the action of air and water, being in a very small degree soluble in the latter. The water which flows through these limestone rocks is soon saturated; but when it springs out and comes to the light, the carbonate of lime is deposited by the evaporation of the water; and if this meets with clay, it forms a marl, which, naturally added to the silicious sand, forms the basis of a very good soil, particularly well adapted to pasture. This is the condition of the inferior quality of pine land in Florida. There are thousands of acres of this kind of land admirably adapted to the raising of cattle, and which is fit for no other use.

The most extensive bodies of rich land in East Florida are to be found in the districts of Columbia, Alachua, Marion, Sumter, Hernando and Levy. One of these tracts extends from above Newnansville to the Warm Springs, a distance of more than 60 miles, and is about 20 miles wide, making 1200 square miles, the greater part of which is oak and hickory, high hammock, rich savannah, and good pine land. On the upper Suwannee there is an extensive tract of oak, hickory, and pine land of the best quality; and on the lower Suwannee there are large bodies of the best quality of high hammock. There are also on the Waccassassa several extensive tracts of high and low hammock, swamp, and best quality of pine land. On the upper St. John's, on the Ocklawaha, on the Withlacooche, on the Kissime, and, in

short, on nearly all the rivers of the country, extensive bodies of hammock, prairie, and swamp land may be found. The great difficulty, however, with the latter, we conceive, is the want of "fall" to drain them sufficiently for cultivation;—much of this land, therefore, must always remain too wet. This is, we think, particularly the case with the swamp lands on the river Kissimee, where the country seems to be almost one continuous flat, the most of it fit only for cattle range, and a large portion of it designated by the Indians, in their expressive phraseology, *pay-hai-o-kee*—grass-water. But even where it is susceptible of being properly drained, in consequence of the heavy outlay of capital required to bring the swamp lands under cultivation, and from the facility of obtaining hammock land, which requires no ditching, the former have been but little sought after by persons engaged in planting in Florida; and there are now at least half a million acres of the best description of this land vacant in the country, and which can be secured at the Government minimum price. Large bodies of it lie all along the rivers of the country convenient to navigation.

Besides the lands already mentioned, there are some very good to be found in several of the other districts of Hernando, (formerly Benton) Hillsboro, Orange, and St. Lucie. In the county of Hillsboro, a reserve has been made, on the Hillsboro river, in Range 20, Township 28, of from 1,500 to 2,000 acres, of the most valuable and productive hammock in the State, at least 30 miles direct to Tampa by land, and not less than 50 by water, and much of it having no naval timber. Crossing the St. John's River at the ferry near Picolata, and passing over a body of land in Putnam county, belonging to the estate of Gen. Clinch, some tolerably good pine land may be found. On the road from Pitalatka to Ocala, and about 14 miles from the latter place, there is a body of very good pine land. It extends about seven miles in one direction and three or four the other, making about 20 sections, 640 acres each, of arable land, registered at the Land Office in Tallahassee as township 18, range 28. It has not yet been taken up either by the United States or the State, but will soon be decided upon and offered for sale. One settler, an emi-

grant from Georgia, had already erected his log cabin on it, and was digging a well when we were there. The earth from the well showed that the land had clay bottom, and sufficiently near the surface to render it good cotton or corn land. I judged it to be capable of producing about a bale of cotton to two acres. A settlement of about 20 families of our small farmers might find this body of land an eligible situation.

Our space does not permit us to enumerate all the various sections of land which came under our observation, that are worth settling upon in the Peninsula. There are spots to be found in every district, except perhaps the extreme south, or everglades. The whole length of Indian River, in the counties of Orange and St. Lucie, is one of the finest "poor man's" countries, 'bating the mosquitoes, that we know of. The mildness of the climate renders but little clothing necessary; yuccas, tanyahs, potatoes, and the tropical fruits, oranges, bananas, &c., can be raised in abundance; and the river is the common "meat-house" for all. So that those of our American "sovereigns" who reject the primeval curse with regard to the earning of bread by sweat, &c., may find on Indian River a happy immunity; as, in order to live, they will have little else to do but to catch fish, gather fruit, and—keep off mosquitoes.

All the lands in Florida owned by the United States Government have been surveyed, except those lying in the counties of Munroe and Dade, and parts of Hillsboro and St. Lucie. At the request of the War Department, orders have been recently issued by the Secretary of the Interior for the survey of a large section of country below the Worth boundary of 1842. It is said that the survey will be made forthwith, and the country opened for settlement as far south as the following line, viz.:—From mouth of Pea River (N. E. corner of Charlotte's Harbor) via the N. edge of the Big Prairie to the S. point of Istokpoga Lake; thence along S. E. of said Lake to Istokpoga Creek; thence down said stream to Kissime River; thence down the Kissime to Lake O-kee-cho-bee; thence due S. to the southern border of said lake; thence direct to the mouth of Shark River; and thence along the

Gulf Coast to the point of original departure (Pea River), excluding all the Sea Islands in Charlotte's Harbor, &c.

A large portion of the Government lands already surveyed have been offered for sale, and the best have been purchased; but there is still a large quantity of productive land that can be purchased at Government prices. The State of Florida owns extensive tracts of selected lands, which, with a view to the encouragement of settlers, she offers upon liberal terms. These lands have all been selected by competent agents as choice lands, and they are considered very fertile and durable. The numerous Spanish grants, which have been so long in abeyance, have all been adjudicated, their limits defined, and many of them are now offered to purchasers.\* Besides these, there are in almost every county in the State, large bodies of hammock and other lands of the best description owned by private individuals, which can be purchased at from \$3 to \$10 and \$13 per acre.

The United States lands are divided into sections one mile square, 640 acres; and these again into quarter sections, 160 acres; and the price is \$1.25 per acre. The lands belonging to

\* One great cause of Florida's not being settled more readily by our agricultural population, after it came under the American flag, was the uncertainty incident to titles for land. England and Spain had made numerous grants and donations to their respective subjects, upon many of which certain conditions had been imposed; but the difficulty was to get evidence to show whether or not these conditions had ever been complied with. With a view to the investigation of these claims for grants and donations, the U. S. Government appointed, in 1828, a Board of Commissioners, whose business it was to examine these matters, and decide upon them; and those that were perfected were confirmed. Subsequently to the action of this Board, the U. S. Court decided upon other claims of the same character. The most important grants were the Aredondo grant of 20 miles square, and that to the Duke of Arragon, of about 12,000,000 acres. In May last, the Supreme Court, at Washington, decided in favor of the U. S., in the case involving the validity of the grant to the Duke of Arragon, comprising about one-third of Florida. The Court refer to two other great Spanish grants, which embrace nearly all the remainder of the Peninsula, and incidentally pronounce them without legal foundation. Thus, for the first time, the independence of Florida is judicially declared. The American character of its territory is now established, and the government is fully released from foreign claims, covering between 30 and 40 millions of acres.

the State of Florida, though all of a very good quality, are divided into five classes, the prices of which are graduated as follows: For the first class, \$3 per acre; second class, \$1.50; third class, \$1; fourth class, 75 cents; fifth class, 50 cents per acre. The terms of the sale are, one-fourth of the purchase money to be paid in cash, the balance in three equal annual instalments, with five per cent. interest from day of sale, payable annually in advance. Besides enabling purchasers to obtain valuable lands at moderate prices and on accommodating terms, the Legislature of Florida also passed an act in 1849, granting pre-emption rights to settlers of the State lands, in which the provisions are very liberal—more so than those of any of the pre-emption laws of Congress.

The prices of lands in East Florida in the hands of private individuals have advanced very much within the last few years; particularly those situated in the counties of Marion, Sumpter, and Alachua. These counties have monopolized almost entirely the attention of persons visiting Florida with a view of purchasing, and the chief settlements have there been made. The consequence is that lands there have risen from 100 to 500 per cent. Some tracts bought a few years since at \$3 per acre, have been lately sold at \$15 to \$20 per acre. But there is still much good land to be had in these counties at \$3 to \$5 per acre; but it must be hunted out; and with a view of doing this, land-seekers will have to quit the stages and steamboats, and take it on horseback, prepared with blankets, &c., for camping out. Plats of the different lands for sale may be seen at the Land Offices in St. Augustine, Newnansville and Tallahassee. At Jacksonville, Pilatka, and Ocala, also, much information may be obtained from individuals relative to lands; but here, as elsewhere, the purchaser has to be on his guard against the arts of the mere speculator.

From the brief view which we have taken of the lands of East Florida, it will be seen that she possesses a due proportion of those of the most fertile and durable description; and these, on account of the tropical character of the climate, possess, as will be shown hereafter, a value beyond the lands of any other portion of the

United States; while the lands that are considered inferior, and would be quite unproductive in other States, have the poverty of their soil in a great measure compensated for by the warmth and humidity of the climate, which gives it a vegetation of great variety and luxuriance. Taking the area of East Florida and that of South Carolina, which are about equal, I doubt if there is not more productive land in the former than in the latter. Although there is in East Florida, besides the Everglades and irreclaimable swamps, a large extent of the poorest kind of pine land, yet the proportion of unproductive land of this description is not so great as it is in South Carolina, or, indeed, in any of the Southern States. This difference is in part owing, as we said before, to the tropical character of the climate of East Florida, which causes lands of an inferior quality to yield valuable productions, and the most inferior of them to furnish fine pasturage for cattle all the year round.

At present, the principal planting counties in East Florida are Columbia, Alachua, Marion, Sumter, Hernando and Levy. The three first named are the most populous and thriving. The ensuing crop of East Florida, which will pass out at the St. John's, is estimated at about \$750,000. More than half of this, it is thought, will come from Marion, Sumter, and the lower part of Alachua counties. The succeeding crop will be much increased as new lands are being cleared, and the steamers from Charleston and Savannah are bringing additions to the planting force. Within the last three years, the emigration from South Carolina alone to Marion county has amounted to several thousands, and, in the vicinity of Ocala and Micanopy, the settlers are chiefly Carolinians; hence that section of Florida has obtained the *soubriquet* of "New Carolina." The lands in this section are in large bodies and very fertile; but, on account of the influx of population increasing the demand, the prices are higher than in other parts further south and west, where equally as good lands at much lower prices may be obtained.

A large portion of the territory of Florida is covered with dense forests, and there are extensive prairies producing tall native grasses. Besides her rich and wide-spread pine forests, mostly

yellow pine, furnishing tar, pitch, turpentine and lumber for exportation, Florida has also a great source of wealth in the live-oak, red-cedar and red-bay, which almost everywhere abound in her extensive hammocks; and in mahogany of a superior quality which grows abundantly in her southern keys. The evergreen or live-oak is invaluable for ship timber. This tree, so remarkable for the durability of its wood, is now become rare in the other States, and as it never thrives at a distance of more than 80 to 85 miles from the sea, the General Government has reserved several tracts of live-oak land in Florida, to secure the preservation of a sufficient supply of this timber for the Navy. In felling this timber for the market, such hammocks as are found near navigable streams are first chosen, and when it is absolutely necessary, the timber is sometimes hauled five or six miles to the nearest water-course, where although it sinks, it can with comparative ease be shipped to its destination. The best time for cutting the live-oak is considered to be from the first of December to the beginning of March, or while the sap is completely down. The tree is subject to a disease called the "white-rot" and is perceptible only to the best judges. It consists of round spots, about an inch and a half in diameter on the outside of the bark, through which, at that spot, a hard stick may be driven several inches, and generally follows the heart up or down the trunk of the tree. Thousands of these trees are cut and afterwards abandoned, so deceptive are these spots to persons unacquainted with this defect. To judge from appearances, therefore, would make one believe that there was much more good live-oak in the country than there really is. It is calculated that not more than one fourth of the quantity usually reported is wholly free from this defect. The abundance of yellow pine of the largest and best kind on the banks and in the vicinity of more than twenty navigable rivers will make Florida one of the greatest lumber States in our Union. Already has enterprise been directed to the subject, and numerous steam saw-mills have already gone into operation; and, as far as we have learned, have proved to be highly profitable investments. The shipment of yellow pine lumber from the St. John's river the ensuing year will reach it is thought, 50,000,000 feet, the value of which will be at the mills about \$600,000.

The chief agricultural products of East Florida are cotton, sugar, tobacco, and corn. Formerly, indigo formed a valuable article of exportation, but it is now raised only for family use. Rice is also raised in considerable quantities.

For the growth of long staple cotton, the best high hammocks have generally been selected as the most desirable. Some of these will yield from one to two thousand pounds of seed cotton per acre. Experience, however, has taught the planter that most of these hammock lands are *too rich* for cotton. The stock runs too much to weed and bolls badly, consequently there is not so much lint made. Good pine lands are beginning to be preferred by many planters.

The experience of the country in reference to the production of cotton may be stated at about one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds clean cotton, or from six hundred to eight hundred pounds of cotton in the seed per acre, for an average of five years or more; and a fair field hand will cultivate eight acres, making an average result of twelve hundred pounds per annum. One hand can pick this in sixty days work, and in the climate of East Florida there are five months to pick cotton. The result of one hand in cotton at thirty cents, would be three hundred and sixty dollars, which can be produced with moderate labor, besides a sufficient supply of provisions for support.

Notwithstanding the cultivation of the long staple cotton is so favorable, it is more than probable that the principal crop of East Florida, before many years, will be sugar. She possesses important advantages, as a sugar growing country, over both Louisiana and Texas, and is destined ultimately to surpass either of those States in the production of this staple. Her principal advantage over Louisiana consists in the superiority of her climate, both as regards its salubrity and its better adaptation to the growth of cane. The sugar crop of Florida, besides being one month in advance of that of Louisiana, can in most parts of the Peninsula be left two months longer to mature without any danger of its being destroyed by frost. The most northern part of East Florida is south of the sugar growing portion of Louisiana; and the southern part of the Peninsula is entirely exempt from frost. It is from this circum-



stance that lands of the same quality yield much more sugar in Florida than in Louisiana. There is also a great abundance of fuel in Florida every where convenient for use ; in Louisiana it is scarce. Moreover, the geographical position of Florida as regards all our best markets, as well as those of Europe, is superior. Over Texas she has also advantages similar to those over Louisiana—climate, seasons, health, geographical position, channels of transportation, and abundance of fuel. Within an area of twenty miles square around Micanopy there are prairie and swamp lands which might be reclaimed at an expense estimated from \$80,000 to \$100,000, and which are sufficient to produce 100,000 hogsheads of sugar. In the vicinity of New Smyrna and upon the Halifax and Tornoka Rivers upon the Atlantic coast, very desirable sugar estates are to be found. This section of Florida was in high cultivation previous to the Indian war of 1835. Here were the plantations of Bulow, Hernandez, Anderson, Dummet, Hunter, Williams, Darby, Cenger, Heriot, Depeyster, and some others. All these estates were destroyed by the Indians soon after the war commenced. Most of them are now for sale.

It is generally believed that the rich swamp lands are best adapted to sugar cane, and there is no doubt that more juice can be obtained from cane grown on such land than from a drier soil ; but we are of the opinion that the former does not possess so much sacharine matter and does not ripen so early as the latter. The grain too is not chrystal or large and runs more into molasses. The most beautiful brown sugar, in grain and color, we have ever seen, was made from cane raised upon high hammock land in Marion county. We do not wish to be understood as condemning rich swamp land for the cultivation of cane, as it will yield heavy crops for a long period of time, but we desire for it to be known that other lands will answer, and of a class which can more easily, and for less expense, be brought under cultivation ; although, perhaps, not so enduring.

The average product of sugar per acre in Florida is a hogshead of 1,000 lbs. At 5 cents=\$50. For molasses \$10 more, added = \$60. A hand usually tends seven acres ; therefore, a hand will make \$420. We were told by a planter in Marion county, that

he generally cleared \$350 per hand, after deducting all expenses for the year, including the purchase of bacon, which, on account of the climate, it is difficult to make there.

The sugar culture is most profitable when carried on with a tolerably large force, and with every facility which is afforded by steam-power for making the sugar. The grinding by steam-power is much superior to the method of using horses or mules, and the patent method of refining by steam in a vacuum is simple and preferable to any other.

The cultivation of Cuba tobacco is carried on to a considerable extent in East Florida, and might be much more extended. The culture is a very profitable one as is shown by the following statement made by J. M. Hernandez, Esq., of Florida, and published some years since in the *Southern Agriculturist* :—

"Taking 600 lbs., which is the average product per acre, it would yield (if well cured,) at 50 cents per lb. \$300 in the leaf.

"The following exhibits the profits to be derived from it when manufactured into segars :—

600 lbs., allowing 8 lbs. to the 1,000, would produce 75,000	
segars, which at \$10 per M.....	\$750.00
Cost of the leaf.....	\$300.00
Worth of manufacture at \$2.50 per M.....	187.50—487.50

Difference in favor of the manufacturer.....	\$262.50
--	----------

"This amount being the profits of the manufacturer alone, the profit to him who would combine both pursuits would be more than doubled."

The work of Mazantex contains minute directions for the culture of tobacco. Our space, however, does not permit us to give his method here: It is very similar to that now adopted in Florida. \*

\* In the years 1846, '47 and '48, we made the experiment of raising Cuba Tobacco on our plantation here. (Barnwell District, S. C.) The seed were imported from Havana in January, '46 and planted each year in February. The first year produced a mild and fragrant weed—like that raised in Cuba; the second year it lost some of its peculiar aroma and was otherwise stronger; the third year it degenerated into something similar to common American tobacco. We inferred from this that a superior article of Cuba Tobacco might be raised, with favorable seasons, in South Carolina, by importing the seed from Cuba every year; and an ordinary article every other season by importing every third year.

Corn *can* be raised in Florida to supply the demand for it. On account of the climate, however, the weavel is so destructive that it will not last through the summer if permitted to lie in the crib without any preparation or guard against this insect. But proper attention by means well known to experienced planters as to the use of salt, lime, &c, will prevent this cause of complaint.

Potatoes, Peas and Oats grow abundantly.

Among the fruits of East Florida are the orange, lemon, lime, cocoa, guava, citron, pine-apple, banana, grape, fig, date, olive, &c. Previous to the year 1835, much attention was given to the rearing of groves of the sweet orange, and large investments had been made in planting out nurseries, which, indeed, could hardly supply the demand for the young trees. St. Augustine was one immense orange orchard; the annual export from this city amounting to between 2 and 3,000,000 oranges. The business was a source of revenue and profit to the place of great value. Eighteen years ago, the income to the city was about \$72,000 per annum. In very productive years, some of the orange groves paid as high as three thousand dollars. The largest and best trees sometimes produce six hundred; and the average product per annum of a single tree was five hundred oranges. During the orange season, the harbor of St. Augustine was enlivened by numerous fruit vessels that crowded the river for the purchase and transportation of oranges to other ports; but, on a night in February, 1835, known by the people of the United States as the coldest within their recollection, its chilly blasts reached the orange groves of St. Augustine and the country adjacent, and cut down the entire species of the orange. In one night, the labor and profit of years, the inheritance of many generations--the little all of many families, was destroyed! Poverty and distress overtook those who but the day before were in comparative affluence! The revenues of the city ceased, and it has never recovered from that stroke. The population, which was then from four to five thousand, is now reduced to two thousand. Shoots from the dead trunks of the old trees have indeed sprung up, and they have preserved a sickly growth ever since; but all efforts to resuscitate the tree have been rendered of no avail by the ravages of an

insignificant insect—the “bark louse,” one of the *coccidæ*, which preys on the life of the young shoots. Even those shoots that survive and bear fruit are covered with animalcules. Efforts, however, are still being made to rear orange trees, and there seems to be a prospect of success. The orange culture has been proved to be a source of great profit: it will be so again whenever success shall attend the planting of groves.\*

The culture of the pine apple in South Florida will be found to be equally as profitable as that of the orange; and although the lands which are adapted to this culture are of limited extent, they are yet extensive enough to produce an amount sufficient to supply the home market. The pine is said to mature its fruit from the slips, when properly set out, in about eighteen months, and their stocks will continue to bear for several years. An acre of land is capable of producing forty thousand pine-apples, and they will command in the market, 10 to \$18 *per hundred*. Allowing that the pine-apple, on account of risks in transportation and cost of getting to market, should be worth only half the market price in the field, yet an acre of thrifty, well cultivated pines will yield from \$1,500 to \$2,000 *per annum*. At five cents each, the product of an acre of pine-fruit would be \$2,000. They often sell, we are told, in Charleston at twenty-five to thirty-seven and a half cents each.

On the banks of the Indian River and St. Lucie Sound, where lie the tropical fruit lands of South Florida, a region of country lying some forty miles below Cape Canaveral, there are great resources for fruit. Orange orchards, pine-apple fields, banana and cocoanut groves are now in process of cultivation by settlers, many of whom are from the North, and have begun to clear these lands within the last few years, and ere long we may expect that they will furnish for Northern markets the delicious products of

\* Orange Lake, in sight of Micanopy, is girdled with orange groves. Bitter-sweets and sour are the only kinds in these dense groves. They bear abundantly, and when thinned out and left at a proper distance in the fields have a rich and pleasing appearance from the deep green foliage and pendent golden fruit. The bitter-sweet eats very well, and the sour when mixed with sugar and water, makes a cooling and pleasant beverage. Throughout the Peninsula, large groves of these trees may be seen.

tropical climes. The adaptation of the soil and climate of South Florida to the production of tropical fruits is no longer an experiment. Though north of the tropical latitude, the climate is so genial, that it nourishes with luxuriance, in the open air, most of the fruits of tropical climes. We have seen and eaten of as fine specimens of the lemon, lime, guava and banana as those we have met with in Cuba.\* To those who, on account of constitutional delicacy, consumptive habits, or other causes at the North, are disposed to seek other and more congenial latitudes, this section of Florida offers tempting inducements. How many poor working men of the North, whose labor is the support of helpless families, and who are destined to die by inches of that dreadful disease, consumption, by remaining in their present situation, might have their lives prolonged to a green and happy old age by changing their occupations, and engaging in the rural employments of this genial region!

The lands of South Florida on the east coast, in the region of Indian River, have the appearance of being an older formation, and are on a higher level above the sea than those higher up the coast. The landscape presents a finer view, and the climate is more salubrious. The attractions of Indian River for those who wish to make their own labor their capital, from which they may be enabled to draw, with moderate exertions, a support for themselves and families, are great; as we said before, it is one of the best "poor man's" countries that we know of.

It is curious to observe the various impressions and opinions held respecting Florida by persons who have gone there. Some are loud in their praises of both her soil and climate, while others are just the reverse. Much depends upon the opportunities which these persons have had for judging of the country, and the motives by which they were instigated in going.

There is a class of persons in the world whose sole object in life seems to be the making of money! Their estimate of a country is always according to the number of dollars and cents

\* Mr. Russell, on Indian River, has raised a number of fine specimens of these fruits the past season. Dr. Spear, of Mellonville, has raised, the past season, twenty thousand lemons from two hundred and fifty trees.

they can put into their pockets. They are nothing more than speculators, and care little about the health or happiness of the community where they operate. If their schemes are successful, it is a fine country; if not, it is unfit to live in.

There is another class, a visionary and hopeful one, that never succeed anywhere. Hearing of the extraordinary crops of some planter, in which five hundred dollars were made to hand, he forthwith sells out his old home, takes up the line of march, and is soon encamped on lands purchased in the vicinity of the prospering planter. In a few years he finds that he is not as successful as his neighbor, and cannot understand why it is so. He becomes discouraged, and sighs for a return back to his worn-out lands, blaming Florida for his ill-success.

The third class, and it is much the largest, is composed of intelligent, energetic and practical men, whose lands at home have become so much worn and exhausted, as not to remunerate them for the labor bestowed in their cultivation. Calmly and dispassionately they examine for themselves the lands of Florida; the amount and character of their produce; the advantages and disadvantages of climate, health, &c.; in short, they estimate all the incidents of a planting interest, and then proceed practically, energetically, and perseveringly to work. Such men think well of Florida, and are successful there, and do not hesitate to recommend to others, planting worn-out land, like that which they left, to follow their example.

R.

JUNE, 1854.

---

### ART. III.—MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

1. *A practical treatise of the law of marriage and divorce.* By Leonard Shelford of the Middle Temple.
2. *An Act to divorce certain persons therein named.* Pamphlet acts, &c.

THE primal act by which human society was organized, the first social institution, was that of marriage. St. Augustine, finds in the first ordinances of the Creator concerning man, the constitution of this society, and a declaration of the terms on which it should exist, and the objects it was to serve.

"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion, &c."

"And the Lord God said, It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him."

"And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and they shall be ONE FLESH."

Thus, was ordained the union of one man with one woman, and that indissolubly a union thus constituted was "blessed."

The compilers of the Code Napoleon, in their exposition say "that the world had long remained in ignorance of the basis of this union, and that it was only within a short period, that confused and inexact notions were not entertained in regard to it. They were convinced that marriage which had existed before the establishment of Christianity; which preceded all positive law, and which is founded in the constitution of our natures, is *neither* a *civil* act, nor a *religious* act, but a *natural* act, which has engaged the attention of the legislature and which religion has sanctified."

No greater mischief has been done to sound philosophy, and consequently to an elevated civilization, than was done by the inculcation of the notion that the natural condition of mankind was that of savageness, and that his relations might be ascertained by tracing his history from a barbarous origin. In this point of view, marriage was originally the connection of male and female for the procreation of young. It required no law; it involved no religion; it was not a civil, nor a religious act; it proceeded from animal instincts. The same authors repeating what had been said by Montesquieu, affirm "that every people had caused Heaven to intervene in a contract which was destined to exercise so great an influence over the fortunes of the spouses, which, binding the future to the present, makes their happiness depend upon a succession of uncertain events, and which exciting fears as well as hopes, seem to require the aid of Heaven to fill up the chasm between them."

The omnipotence of the law-making power—the pervading energy of its will, must have her conceptions congenial to men, to whom was committed the great task, of reforming and harmonising the legal institutions and civil order of a mighty empire. Hence, we can readily understand their faith, that the social and civil organism, about which they were employed, had been *created* by legislation; that those deep-rooted and universally diffused notions of the presence of God, at the celebration of a marriage formed according to his will, and that his blessing attends and hallows, were ingenious inventions, serving to couple and connect the hopes with the fears and anxieties which in the sensibilities of the young pair were aroused at the prospects before them.

We very much question the accuracy of these conclusions of those eminent juris consults. We doubt very much the fact, that the world had been so long ignorant, and we cannot hail with gratitude this gospel so lately promulgated. Marriage had existed before Christianity, if by Christianity is meant the *advent* and teachings of Christ. But Christianity was in the earth from the foundation of the world, and we have the words of the Messiah, that he restored and revived the ideas in regard to marriage which had existed in the beginning. At the moment of his preaching scarcely a nation existed but recognised, in some form or other, the connection of religion with this institution.

The relation of husband and wife is a natural relation, but that does not describe it. There can be no marriage that does not involve a civil relation. Were there but two persons on the earth and those forming a conjugal society—between those persons a civil order would necessarily result. Whose labors would sustain the society? what would be the arrangements of the family? who would determine its abode and the manner of its abiding?—are questions they would decide between themselves. As the civil order becomes more complicated, these inquiries involve more significance and have a larger range. Combinations of property, application of industry, civil capacities, domestic authority, flow from the connection.

These enquiries, do not solve all the questions? Those reasonings lead to sterile results, which treat of man, without a reference



to his relations to his Maker, or which seek for him in a condition where these relations are not acknowledged. All human science and all art, proceed from that first revelation, "in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." In this over-ruling and all-pervading truth, we must find the source of all finite relations.

In reference to man, we have, however, a specific revelation of the origin and plan of the marital relation. It was a union of two persons, so as to form but one—an identity of ends and aims—a fusion of separate volitions, impulses, affections, sympathies, so as to form a single existence. It is a spiritual incorporation, by which two souls and bodies are made one flesh.

The christian theory never treats of man's natural condition, as a savage and ignorant condition. It does not recognise his primitive nature as a degraded nature.

The first communications of God to man placed him in possession of all the truths essential to the development of a perfect social, civil, and political order. He revealed Himself;—he ordained the social union, and blessed the chaste nuptials of his first creatures. Christ, appealed to by the pragmatical and caviling Pharisees, to know whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause, answered, "*Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh? wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh.*" What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

This truth lost its sway in the early periods of the world's history. Polygamy and promiscuous commerce appear in the earliest epochs.

Woman was made the slave of man, and marriage scarcely rose above the dignity of an animal connection. The claims of the husband to his wife appear, however, in the first rank of civil arrangements. Abraham and Isaac, wandering over the barbarous lands of Arabia and Palestine, express the fear that their right would not be respected, but their distrust called forth rebuke from the kings and princes of those lands. The Egyptians ascribe their laws of marriage to Menes, and the Chinese to Fo,

their earliest sovereigns. The Athenians trace theirs to Cecrops, the Romans to Romulus.

In all countries, except the Persian and Assyrian, connections between persons in the direct line of descent were forbidden. In these countries a man might marry his mother. The Athenians permitted the marriage of the half-sister of the father's side, while the Spartans only of the mother's. The Egyptians permitted marriages of brother and sister. The Mosaic law prohibited such customs, but the practice of the Hebrews was not, at all times, equal to their laws. The Romans prohibited marriages in the direct line through all degrees, and collaterals were prohibited from marrying within the fourth degree. This was altered by Arcadius, who authorized the marriages of cousins.

• Marriages between persons related by affinity were prohibited, in the second degree, though the manners of the people forbade such connections to the fourth.

"In all times," say the compilers of the French code, "marriage has been prohibited between children and their progenitors. These would be frequently irreconcilable with the laws of physical nature. They would always be with decorum and sound morals. They would change essentially the relations which should exist between parents and their children. They would reverse their positions, overthrow their respective obligations, and shock the sentiments of mankind." The Hebrews punished with death such connections. The Romans declared them infamous. The Council of Trent imposed the prohibition of intermarriage between persons standing in the second degree, by affinity, according to their rule of computation. The earlier regulations extended the prohibition to the fourth, and even the sixth and seventh degrees.

These earlier prohibitions were not considered so unyielding but that dispensations might be procured. The traffic in these was the subject of legitimate complaint. The basis of the law of marriage in the church is the Mosaic code, and those dispensations rarely, if ever, invaded its prescriptions.

The periods at which marriages may be formed differ widely in the laws of different nations. The Spartans fixed the legal age

for men at thirty, and at twenty for females. The Romans permitted marriages at fourteen in males, and twelve in females; and, from their code, this is the age of consent in Great Britain, Spain, and most of the United States. The age in Switzerland, Hungary, Prussia, and Saxony is eighteen and fourteen; Holland, Belgium, Russia, eighteen and fifteen; in Sweden and Hesse, twenty-one; Wurtemberg, twenty-five. In the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, a man over forty years cannot marry a woman, unless she is within ten years of his own age.

The control of parents, and the good sense and humanity of the society at large, prevents the growth of very great abuses in the matter of early marriages. Still, whatever is made the subject of legislation, should be dealt with discreetly and seriously. The ages of *twelve* years for females and *fourteen* for males scarcely approximate the time at which marriages should be permitted. Eighteen for males and fifteen for females would scarcely answer for the minimum periods of legal capacity. The great Apostle, discussing the domestic relations in his letter to the Church at Ephesus, enters into a minute statement of the analogy between the relation of husband and wife, and the connection between Christ and the Church.

“Wives,” he says, “submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church, and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore, as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their husbands in everything. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.

“So ought men to love their wives as their own body. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church. *Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego dico in Christo et in ecclesia.*”

These words constitute the principal foundation of the argument by which the matrimonial contract was treated by the Church as a sacrament, and thus falling under its control and supervision. They unquestionably made a deep impression on the

consciences of the primitive Christians, and threw about this relation a sanctity, which contrasted well with the laxity and dissoluteness which reigned at that time in the Roman Empire.

The Roman marriage, as it existed in the first centuries of the city, was a religious contract celebrated with great solemnity, and which established mysterious and holy relations. It established an entire community between the husband and wife in human and divine things. The marriage ceremony was performed at the temple in presence of ten witnesses from the different tribes of the city, after sacrificial offerings and the consultation of the aruspices. The wife passed into the hands of her husband, losing her rights in the gods of her family, and acquiring a communion with him in his Gods and religion and family. At a later period these rites were changed for the plebeians, and others more simple were established in their place.

This rite too was sacramental, accompanied with religious ceremonies, and both forms were restricted to Roman citizens. In the sixth century of the city, the marriage of usucaption was introduced.

Marriage was then established by the fact of a continued cohabitation for a year, and this led to the marriage by consent, accompanied with no religious rite nor sanctified relations. Concubinage, with no intention of forming a marriage, naturally followed closely after. The community of worship, the unity of the family, which constituted the essence of the religious marriage, was destroyed in the innovations which were made upon this ceremonial, and the obligations which the tie created were permanently disturbed.

It is a question among historians whether marriages could be dissolved by DIVORCE in the early days of the city. The power of the husband to repudiate the wife for certain offences is admitted, and some contend for the power of divorce as residing in both the husband and the wife. It is generally agreed that there was no instance of a divorce for above five hundred years, and that the occurrence of the first caused a profound shock to the Roman sensibilities.

It is at this period that the alteration appears in Roman manners. The constitution of separate estates, the enjoyment of independent revenues, the severance of that union which gives a second character and purpose to the institution were lost.

Tertullian writes—"The institutions of our ancestors, which directed woman in the ways of sobriety and modesty, are fallen into disuse. Where do we find in marriage that felicity so favored in former times by manners, and which, for nearly six hundred years, from the building of the city, was not submitted to a scrutiny of repudiation? At this time *repudiation* is the end as well as the *design* of marriage." Gibbon testifies to the laxity which lead to marriages followed by repudiations, and repudiations which preceded new connections; while Marshal stigmatises one who was married *ten times in a single month*.

Christianity was placed, by its very nature, in direct hostility with these customs. It undertook to reconstruct the family, according to the Divine model. It entered into the sanctuary of domestic life, and gave laws to all its arrangements. Marriage was celebrated in those primitive days before the altar, by the administration of the consecrated bread and wine, a profession of faith, and a nuptial benediction. Consultations with the minister of the faith were recommended to be had in advance of the ceremony, and the prayers of believers were invoked, that the blessings of heaven might attend the sanctified union. This was not done, as is supposed by the French civilians, to soften anxieties, and to invigorate hopes, in the ordinary meaning of those terms.

The union thus formed sprung from the heart, was approved by the conscience, and sanctioned by the understanding. There were great duties to flow from it, and great responsibilities to follow it. Divine aid was sought in a manner acceptable to him who had ordained the union.

The church attended at the cradle of the children of the marriage; it blessed their youth, and comforted them in death. "Who can express," says Tertullian, "the happiness of such a union, of which the church is in some manner the instrument, which is confirmed by prayer, sealed by the benediction, announced by angels to the assembly of the saints, and ratified by

the heavenly Father." "The priest," says Isidore of Seville, "blesses the marriage at the moment it is celebrated. It is what God did in reference to the first conjugal union at the time of its formation; for it is written, 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them; and God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply.' What is done now in the church, is in imitation of what was then done in paradise."

Grave disputes have arisen as to the essentiality of the nuptial benediction, and what constitutes the sacrament of marriage, and who are the ministers of the sacrament, and the extent of the jurisdiction of the organized church over the civil contract of marriage. The better authorities seem to admit, that for civil purposes—those that concern civil capacity—the laws of legitimacy and succession, the jurisdiction of the civil authority is paramount. The sanctification of the marriage, the protection of parties forming it from error, impediments and impositions; to guard the parties from the infatuation of passion; to avoid the scandal, disgrace and misery of secret, unauthorized, or ill-advised unions; to compel them to consider the responsibilities they assume;—these afford sufficient *public* motives for the employment of the ministry of religion and the Christian Church in the celebration of marriages.

The law of Theodosius explains, and was probably intended to assist, the supremacy of the secular over the ecclesiastical authority. That law affirms, "That it is not the ante-nuptial donation, nor the constitution of the dowry, nor all the pomp or ceremonial of the nuptials, which form a valid marriage; nor will the omission of these accessories render invalid a marriage otherwise regular, nor deprive children of their legitimacy. It is sufficient that two persons of legal capacity, under no legal impediment, shall give their mutual consent to the marriage in the presence of witnesses who can attest it."

This decree was recognized in the codes of Justinian, and its authority was acknowledged by the churchmen for several centuries. The presence of the priest, the necessity for the nuptial benediction, were insisted on, for the ends of a Christian mar-

riage. They were not deemed important to the establishment of a legal contract. One of the Gothic kings of Spain, in the 7th century, was the first who exacted the interposition of the priest to the constitution of the marriage. Leo, the Philosopher, in the tenth, and Alexis Comnenus, in the 12th century, ordained that no marriage should be valid without a nuptial benediction by an authorized member of the church. Charlemagne, in several of his capitularies, established the same necessity. About the same time it became a portion of the law of England. In a late case reported in the 10th of Clarke and Finnelly's Reports of cases decided in the House of Lords, that court determined that a marriage was invalid in Great Britain that had been celebrated by a dissenting minister, between two persons who did not belong to his congregation. The judgment was rendered against the dissent of Lords Brougham and Denman, and is founded upon the ancient ordinances and usages in force in the kingdom. It was held that no marriage was valid unless celebrated in the presence of a minister of the Church of England, save in those exceptional instances which had been provided for by statutes in reference to dissenters.

There was a time when the marriage was not held to be complete until there had been a concubinage, and a decree of Pope Alexander the Third is found, which determined that a consummation by cohabitation was necessary to its perfectness.

The beautiful Anne of Brittany was left at an early age heiress of that important duchy. Such was the lawlessness that reigned, that she feared some of her suitors would carry her off forcibly to marry her. She accepted the proposals of Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany, and grandfather of Charles the Fifth.

The marriage ceremony was performed with his ambassador, who appeared as his proxy. In order to fulfil what was supposed to be necessary, the princess was placed in bed, and the naked leg of the proxy placed beside her. This was not deemed sufficient, for, during the life of the emperor, Anne was married, first to Charles the Eighth and afterwards to Louis the Twelfth of France. Sismondi vituperates the transaction in his History of France. The probability is, that some of the ancient usages, in

reference to the vesting of the wife's claim to dower, were confused with the rules regulating the contract of marriage itself, "*au coucher, femme gagne son douaire*," was a widely diffused adage; and among the customs of Bretagne, there was one to the effect that the wife acquired title to dower by concubinage.

This endowment of the wife after the marriage was called *Morgengabe*, and existed over a wide extent of country. It is found among the Greeks as the *Theoretium*—price of virginity—and there are traces of it in the Roman manners. The custom of Castile was that the title to marriage presents depended upon the fact of there having been a kiss and an embrace.

If the marriage failed after these, the donor could not receive them back.

These gross ideas did not penetrate far into the legal idea of the marriage, as understood by the church.

In one of the earlier councils, the chastity of the nuptials, in the just estimate of the clergy, is shown by the decree, "*Spousas et spousa cum benediciendi sunt a sacerdote, a parentibus suis, vel a pova nymphis afferentur; qui cum benedictionem acceperint, eaden nocte pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant.*"

The law of Europe was, that marriage was formed by the consent of competent parties. The Church and the State generally concurred in throwing about the ceremony such guards as to secure publicity, and to avoid the scandal and crime of forbidden or secret connections.

The Church and the State seemed to be impressed with the sanctity of the relation, and co-operated to impress upon society just views in reference to it. The consent having been legally given, the marriage was no longer dissoluble.

The Hebrew system did not recognize divorce as we understand that term. The inquiry put to the Savior, whether it is lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause; and the answer given, that Moses allowed a writing of divorcement, shows that the question was not settled as to the powers of the husband. A fair interpretation of the Mosaic law would be, that the husband could not act capriciously. Some of the Rabbins contended



that there must be a cause, though it need not be a very grave one, while others claimed a full liberty of repudiation.

That the manners of the East tolerated unrestrained licentiousness, is apparent from the lives of David and Solomon and the very remarkable method that Ahasuerus took to supply the throne of Persia with a queen. "The first example," says Josephus, "of the repudiation of a husband by his wife was given by Salome, sister of Herod the Great, who sent the writing of divorcement to Corsobarius, the Idumean, contrary to the usage of our laws, which give this power only to the husbands."

The laws of Solon permitted either party to demand a divorce. The husband obtaining one, was required to restore the dowry of his wife, and to furnish her with a maintenance. The wife was required to demand the divorce in person from the judge. A curious and illustrative scene is found in the biography of Alcibiades.

The nature of the marriage contract in Rome has been the subject of much discussion among historians. The words by which the contract was formed, in the early epoch, have not been preserved, and the ceremonies are open to a various interpretation. It is agreed that the *confarreatio* of Romulus and the *cœemptio* of Servius were both, in some measure, religious ceremonials. In the *confarreatio*, there was the sacrifice, the consultation of aruspices, the consecrated bread and water, the transfer to the husband, by which the wife was spiritually engendered by him, and came to his family as a daughter. In three cases was he permitted to repudiate her; for either, he was able to expel her from his family. This expulsion deprived her of the family and family gods, and deprived her of her position and place in the city. The offences were adultery, poisoning of their children, and abandonment of the conjugal domicile. The Roman juris consults describe a marriage as the conjunction of a man and woman for mutual aid during life, with the communion of human and divine things.

Married persons were called *conjuges*, and marriage a *conjugium*, for the yoke under which the betrothed was placed was emblematic of the concord which was necessary, and the phenomena of the union. The goddess VIRIPLACA presided over the

domestic peace, and provided the things requisite for the dignity of the husband and the honor of the wife. The history of Rome is replete with evidence of the estimation in which marriage was held, and the virtue and magnanimity of the women of Rome. The women, on one occasion, supplied the public treasury by the surrender of their ornaments, and from thence funeral orations, in celebration of the virtues of women, were permitted. That their honor might be surrounded with inviolability, it was not permitted, even in courts of justice, for her male adversary to touch her, that her robe might not be sullied by the touch of a stranger's hands. Their manners were reserved; their entertainments and dances modest; their employments domestic. We have seen, in the earlier portion of this article, that a change took place in the manners of the Romans, and especially in the ceremonies of marriage. The introduction of new people, under their empire, and the toleration of new modes of worship, and new gods, led to the discredit of the ancient and strict ideas of the early Romans. The religious ceremonies were no longer exacted, because the imported populations neither comprehended their import, nor revered their sanctity. Irreligion was the first consequence; the destruction of social morality the next. Gibbon notes this change in the ceremonies of marriage, as a fatal symptom of the decline of strict manners. Divorces came to be allowed by mutual consent, or for a legitimate cause, or even without a cause; but the party who repudiated the other for *no* cause, was subject to the penalty "*pœnain justî dissidii*." Seneca describes the dissoluteness—the abandonment—that penetrated into the habits of the people: "Women married only to be repudiated, and were repudiated only to marry again. *Nubunt repudiî causa et exeunt matrimonii causa*." Gibbon says:

"When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new jurisprudence was introduced, that marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice suggested daily motives for the dissolution of the marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freed man, declared the separation. The most tender of human connec-

tions was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes alternately felt the disgrace and infamy; an inconstant spouse transferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning a numerous, perhaps a spurious, progeny to the paternal authority and care of her late husband; and a once beautiful virgin might be dismissed to the world, old, indigent and friendless. A specious theory is confuted by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to happiness and virtue."

It was in this condition of the laws and manners that Christianity came to have a voice in the administration of the empire. Constantine placed a limit upon disorders that he did not dare to uproot. He confined the causes of divorce to three. If the husband were an assassin, poisoner of his children, or had violated sepulchres—or the wife was an adulteress, a bawd, or poisoner; these were just causes for divorce.

The Emperors who followed, enlarged the number of cases which furnished the legitimate reason. These were captivity of the husband; absence for four years without news; old age, sterility, adultery, homicide, treason, theft, sacrifice, forgery, impotence, religious professions, cruelty, immodesty, &c. Some of these were mutual, and others belonged either to one or the other.

The divorced wife was not allowed to marry for a year after the divorce.

The divorce by mutual consent was still continued, and the privilege of repudiation was still permitted, under a penalty. The law of divorce, as found in the Theodosian code, which formed the law of the Western Empire, prevailed in Europe until the elevation of Charlemagne. It had been the subject of restriction in France by princes of the first line, but to him its extirpation is due. It existed in Britain till the tenth century, and in Spain till the thirteenth.

It is not to be concluded that the Church acquiesced in the imperial legislation quietly. These gentle laws of marriage prevailed *against* the earnest teachings of the Christian fathers. The legislation of Christian States is not always Christian, as every statute book of the United States, except that of South Carolina, will show, in reference to this very subject.

"Do not tell me," says St. Chrysostom, "of the laws made by those *without*, which permit you to separate by means of a writing of divorce. It is not according to those laws that God will judge you. He will judge you by those he has himself established."

"The divorce is absolutely reprobated by our laws," says St. Gregory, "though the Roman laws dispose otherwise."

"The laws of Cæsar are one thing, and the laws of Jesus Christ another," says Jerome. "The precepts of Papinon to one effect, and those of Paul, our apostle and master, to another."

St. Ambrose says, "You send away your wife, as if you had the right—as if you committed no crime in so doing, and suppose yourself justified because *human* laws tolerate it. But the *divine law forbids it*. Listen to what the law of the Lord says, to which those who *make* the laws should submit: 'Let not man separate what God has joined.'"

Theologians have a firm support in distinct passages of the sacred canon for the conclusion that divorces, coupled with a privilege of another marriage, were forbidden. The wife who was married after her repudiation, under the Hebrew system, was called *defiled*, and the Apostle Paul teaches "that the wife should not depart from the husband, and that the husband should not put away the wife."

The Church at Rome in the year 407, through Innocent, seems to have declared a settled doctrine on this subject. In writing to the Bishop of Toulouse, he says, "You have consulted me, my dear brother, concerning those who, having been divorced, have entered into a new marriage. It is clear that both parties commit adultery. Those then, or those who, during the life of their husband or wife, dare to contract a second marriage, although the first *seems dissolved by a divorce*, cannot be excused from adultery. Even those to whom they are united are guilty of the same crime according as it is written in the gospel—"That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: And whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery." All such persons, therefore, should be excluded from a communion with believers." The Council at Carthage adopted the canon that, conformably to the doctrine of the Evangelist, and to that of the Apostle, a husband abandoned by his wife, or a wife repudiated by her husband, ought *not* to contract a new marriage, but to remain in that state until they were reconciled; otherwise they

should be put in penance, and as the civil laws did not correspond, they declared they would solicit an imperial law to harmonize the laws.

Charlemagne adopted this course, and, during the 9th and 10th centuries it became the law of nearly all of Western Europe. The Greek Church about the same period adopted the interpretation which allowed divorces for adultery. At the time of the reformation divorces for causes arising after the marriage were repelled by the moral sense of nearly the whole of Christendom. Divorces were permitted; but the causes must have existed *at the time of*, and formed impediments to the celebration of the marriage. These causes, as now admitted by the Roman Church, have been expressed in the form of Latin verse and are—

“ Error, conditio votum, cognatio crimen ;  
Cultus, disparitas, vis, ordo ligamen honestas ;  
Si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibus  
Si parochi et duplicis desit presentia testis  
Rapta loco mulier, si non reddito tuto  
Hæc facienda vetant connubia facto retractent.”

These causes arise in an *error* in reference to the person, or in the fact of *violence*, *rape* of the woman or whether the parties have the *condition* of freedom. Kindred (cognatio) by blood or *affinity*, (either by marriage or in the church, sponsors by baptism or children by adoption,) were not permitted to intermarry.

The Christian cannot marry the infidel, nor can one under *vows*, or in *religious orders*, or who is held under the bonds (*ligonen*) of a previous marriage. Murder or adultery, committed to enable parties to marry, are impediments. Marriage cannot be founded in crime. Impotence, after a long struggle, was admitted among the causes of divorce; and the Council of Trent rendered the presence of the Parish Priest of one of the parties and two witnesses necessary. Some of the impediments were permanent, while others were relative, and some could be overcome by dispensation. The Church did not provide for annulling marriages contracted against the consent of parents, or without publication of banns; though, in the practice of the clergy, these are exacted before a marriage will be celebrated. The final con-

clusions upon this subject led to much criticism. The eloquent D'Agnessau says, "That families would be more happy, fortunes better assured, marriages more exempt from the desecrations which disturb them, if the canonists of the latter time had been as severe in their maxims, as jealous of the just authority of parents as the Roman juris-consults, We may add to the opinion of juris consults, the suffrage of the Greek Church, which, following the lead of St. Basil, has canonised the laws of the Emperors, and consecrated their wise provisions.

We join to it the authority of the Church of France. We can prove, by the canons of many councils, held in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, that it not only always detested, condemned and forbade marriages formed without the consent of parents, but even declared them null.

We have thus traced the canon law of Europe for the reason that it is the basis of our statutes, and for the further reason that it stands upon an interpretation of the divine law. Marriage is received in it as a divine relation ordained by God, and designed for the happiness of the human family. That it is the foundation of society, the source of all civil and social order. The care of the Church has been that marriages should be formed upon just considerations, and it prohibits the union of those who can come together only through crime, a breach of modesty and good manners. Its severity against incest will not tolerate connections between those *spiritually* bound. Its abhorrence of adultery is such, that the fact, that the parties *had* held adulterous relations, precludes their legal connection. It takes every precaution to secure marriages on Christian principles, and holds the parties to a Christian obligation.

That the Church at Rome claimed powers over the subject of marriage, which independent States could not admit, is very clear to our minds. We are not asserting the legitimacy of that church, nor do we admit its pretensions to supremacy. We are reviewing its legislation with the design of setting forth the ground which Christianity had occupied and maintained on this subject, while the Church was its recognised exponent. From the 8th to the 16th centuries, the Gentile law of divorce was overturned in all its principles and prescriptions.

The practical results of the Reformation, upon the relations of the members of the family and especially upon the relations of husband and wife, have always appeared to us as in a high degree mischievous. License was sought from, and license was tolerated by, the leading chiefs of the reformation, to an extent which has occasioned just reproach. Luther agreed that divorces might be allowed for adultery and abandonment of the conjugal domicile, and in his later writings seemed disposed to enlarge the privilege. Melancthon confined the divorce to the causes of abandonment and adultery; Calvin to adultery and apostacy. The breach having been made, other teachers enlarged it. Milton and Bucer were favorable to divorces by consent.

The complete prostration of the work which the Church had so laboriously constructed was effected during the French Revolution. The constitution of 1791 had declared, "that religious vows, nor any other engagement, contrary to natural rights, were to be recognized." In conformity with this assertion of *natural liberty*, on the 20th September, 1792, the law of marriage and divorce was declared. The preamble is—"That the National Assembly, considering the importance of conferring upon Frenchmen the faculty of divorce, which results from *individual liberty*, which an indissoluble engagement would impair, &c."

The law of marriage suppressed the impediments from solemn vows, sacred orders, spiritual relationship, rape and adultery. Divorces were allowed by mutual consent, in favor of one of the parties, upon the allegation of "*incompatibility of disposition or character*, or for causes, such as madness or idiocy, condemnation to infamous punishment, cruelty, abandonment, notorious bad habits, absence for five years without information, &c. The effect of the divorce was to restore entire independence and the faculty of forming a new contract of marriage.

The code Napoleon operated some reform to the licentiousness of this enactment of revolutionary sensuality and passion. Divorces were allowed by that code for adultery, cruelty, condemnation to an infamous punishment, and by a persevering and mutual consent, rendered in the manner prescribed by law.

The divorce for this last cause could only be sought after the par-

ties had cohabited for two years and the husband was twenty-five years of age and the wife twenty-one. It could not be sought after the marriage had continued twenty years or the wife had attained forty-five years. This mutual consent must be rendered to the judge at three different audiences during the year; and must have been given, with the approbation of the parents, or kindred of each, and after an agreement in reference to the children and the property. Another marriage could not take place for a year after the divorce was thus perfected. These prohibitions deprived this faculty of much of its mischievous quality.

The conscience of the French people was never contented with the change of the law, and, after the first delirium of the revolution, in 1816, a law was passed to the effect "that divorce is abolished. The judgments which prescribed it, which remain unexecuted, are inoperative." This antidote has not removed the disorders which spread from the pestilent root of the revolutionary ordinance, and the mitigated miasma which issued from the Code Napoleon. Divorce is allowed in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, in Prussia and Austria among those who do *not* belong to the Catholic Church. The causes are generally desertion, condemnation for crime, impatience, adultery, cruelty, absence without information. The divorce by mutual consent is not permitted in either of those States.

The States of this confederacy, excepting South Carolina, have adopted laws permitting divorce. These are generally based upon the European codes we have referred to. The administration of these laws has been attended with great laxity, and a severe blow has been given, in consequence, to the public morals.

The practical operation of this administration is such, that it is generally conceded that a person who is determined to have a divorce, by a discriminating selection of his forum, will not fail. The indissolubility of the marriage tie, the permanence of the family bond, the domestic order that the sentiment of its indissoluble character created, are fast leaving us. The abominable sentiment of the National Assembly of '91, that "no convention which restrains natural liberty is to be respected," seems to be



acquiring a hold that cannot but be productive of the greatest mischiefs. The dissolution of the family, the withdrawal of the wife and children from the paternal control and government, have obtained an amount of toleration, even from the judicial decrees and discussions in our country, which discloses a great laxity in principles. Some years ago, in Philadelphia, a wife was suffered to withhold a child from the control of the father—the father being anxious for both wife and child to return to the domestic domicile—for no better excuse for her abandonment being rendered than that the husband had insisted with too much seriousness upon a *theoretical view* of the supremacy of the husband in the family, and the duty of the wife to render obedience; while another case of a similar character has passed through the courts of New York, and finally came to the supreme court of the Union, in which the paternal authority was set at nought—the husband's greatest offence being that he had insisted, rather rigorously, that his wife should take sulphur and molasses as a medicine!

The substantial grounds in both cases were, that the wife was tired of the conjugal connection she had formed, and preferred the paternal roof to the husband's domicile; and the court in Pennsylvania, as well as New York, bent their principles to enable her to attain her object. In one, and perhaps in both cases, special laws were prompted, in order to perpetuate the condition which the courts had permitted.

The Roman law of divorce is founded upon the principle that marriage is a contract, and, like all other contracts, might be rescinded by consent, or for a breach by either party, which involved its material considerations. Marriage is, unquestionably, a contract in so far as it depends upon the agreement of parties; but it has no resemblance to commercial contracts. The husband and wife scarcely enter upon it on terms of equality; the marriage union can never be dissolved on such terms.

The husband acquires from the union increased capacity and power. He represents the wife in the political and the civil order. He is promised and usually obtains from her affection, reverence and duty. The wife carries into the union a feebleness that solicits protection—a singleness that requires support—affections

and sensibilities that demand objects which she may grasp and to which she may adhere.

In the union, she rarely learns to stand alone, and seldom cherishes wishes for independence. Her necessities for protection are increased. How can she go out of the union as she entered it?

The husband and the wife are *not the only parties* to the contract; the family has its foundation in this union. Children have an immediate interest in the perpetuity of the union. They come into the world not simply as animals, entitled by the law of nature to the mother's milk, but as moral beings, having an eternal responsibility. The order of Providence committed the care of fitting them to meet this condition—not to boards of commissioners, or trustees, or charitable foundations, or to legislative creations of any kind—but to the father and mother, united under a law of immutable obligation; and, as a part of that law, it was "enjoined upon man not to divide what God had so united."

The children of a marriage, whose parents have become separated, lose that cooperative effort, that combined care and energy, which Providence designed to secure to them. The habits of order and government, that are essential to a family, are material helps to the proper development of children. The concentration of affection and of parental kindness—the evidences of provision and care, that its domestic arrangements make necessary—serve to educate and instruct and soften the younger members of the family. The discipline of the family is that which renders the work of government easy. When that discipline is perfect, the reign of order and of virtue in the state is established; where withheld, it is scarcely possible for the child to attain to a perfect or a pure maturity.

It is not merely in reference to the members of the family that we should regard the institution of marriage. The feelings and the material interests of the members are entitled to weighty consideration; but the order of the world rests upon foundations more solid than these. Man is a social and moral being, and, consequently, is placed under a social and moral law. This law determines his relations and duties; this law is the foundation upon which he must build. From the society formed by marriage,

the whole social and political order in which man is placed has grown. The duties which arise in that society are permanent; there is no period at which they are ended.

Herein the marriage relation is distinguished from all other. The relations of concubinage terminate with the indulgence of appetites, and the license of the senses; it has no design of forming a family, or perpetuating the existence of the members; it has no moral aim, nor does it tend to any moral result. Polygamous connections have aims more favorable to man and to society than promiscuous and licentious connections. They do not permit the formation of *the* family.

The wife is degraded, but not to the degree of a concubine. Children have a knowledge of their father, but never the fullness of paternal care and providence.

The husband and father is a lord and master, holding captive, for his gratification, a crowd of beings that he must feel to be his inferiors, and who are by him made so.

The Christian marriage, blessed in its formation, permanent in its existence, consecrated in its aims and objects, establishes relations between the members of the family that are just and equal. The wife and mother and children, under the benign principles which sustain marriage, have been gradually improving in their condition. The exorbitant powers allowed to husbands, the authority conceded to parents over children, given not, in the end, for promoting their happiness and elevating their characters, but to gratify pride or a love for dominion, have been withdrawn. The control of the parent is *a trust*, and it is limited to the necessities which this trust creates. The equal rights, the reciprocal duties of husband and wife, duly acknowledged, give new impulses to civilization, and a better constitution to society.

In the domestic order, the sources of all the progress of modern time may be discovered.

The laxity of idea, which was developed in the French revolution, has found its greatest diffusion through the legislation of the United States upon the subject of marriage and divorce.

The hereditary ideas, which centuries of use had established as true, could *not* be uprooted in *Europe* even by the violence of the

revolutionary tornado. The European codes universally contain provisions for the celebration of marriage *publicly*, and after a previous notice, at the domicile of one of the parties, by a person legally authorized. They require the consent of parents as a condition, where the parties are minors, and a respectful request to the parents, for consent, even *after* the age of maturity is attained. The evidence of a fact of a marriage is carefully preserved in public registers. Measures are taken to secure families from the scandal and disgrace of clandestine or hasty union. Great Britain has removed that fountain of bitter waters—the Gretna Green marriage—from her manners, and no State in Europe furnishes a parallel to it.

The Legislation of the United States, upon the subject of marriage and divorce, amounts to an adoption of the laws of Rome, as they existed in the declining years of the republic, without any of the safeguards which their manners preserved.

The paternal power, though recognised in most of *our laws*, is maintained with firmness and rigor in none. The decree of the National Assembly of France, of 1792, provided that marriages formed without the consent of parents, by minors, were null. The interposition of legal authority in the celebration of the marriage is established; but, in many of our States, it is not essential to its validity. Therefore, questions have arisen in the courts as to the *factum* of marriages, and facilities are afforded for the hasty, ill-advised runaway marriages, which have carried misery into so many families.

There is no subject which more requires an intelligent and enlightened statesmanship than this. The separation, in the the United States, of the Church from the State, does not involve the banishment of Christianity from our civil or domestic order. Our legislation should be habitually directed under its guiding influence, and no condition opposed to it should be tolerated.

The consequence of our loose notions on this subject of marriage—*notions which must ultimately lead to the most loose practices*—is found in the tolerance of the plan of forming a separate State of Utah, and permitting it to become a part of this Union; and the additional fact that its *bestly order* is viewed without repugnance or disgust!

The laws cannot enforce all that religion commands; but the laws ought not to encourage what religion condemns. The accord of the civil laws with religious convictions, forms the strength of the State—the security of society—the perfection of laws! The separation of the civil order from its religious basis must end in the complete overthrow of one or the other, or both.

Our purpose has been to show that we have fallen behind the European States in our legislation on this subject, and that the claims of religion, morality and sound policy, demand a total change in the principles of our laws. We cannot act in the matter too soon. We cannot too soon set to work to repair these breaches in our social morals, which, suffered to increase, will, not more certainly than rapidly, incur for us all the dangers of other States which have fallen into like social looseness. It is not possible to measure, or even to conceive, the thousand dangers to a people, which flow necessarily from a deficient domestic discipline and morality. The national moral depends, in brief, upon the moral of the family, and the decay and overthrow of the one is almost always to be first indicated by the corruption of the other. When the wife ceases to be a sacred thing, whose robe even should be secure from profane touch, the whole framework of the social temple is about to fall to pieces.

---

ART. IV.—ESSAY ON AMERICAN SOCIETY, AS SEEN THROUGH SOUTHERN SPECTACLES.

1. *Mrs. Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans.*
2. *Miss Martineau's Retrospect of Western Travel.*
3. *Miss Bremer's Homes of the New World.*
4. *Willis's Home Journal. Miss Leslie. Charles Astor Bristed. Geo. Wm. Curtis.*

IF we are not improving in a social point of view, it must certainly be because we “hate instruction, and our hearts despise reproof,” as much as the imaginary individual to whom Solomon addressed so many admonitions. Mr. Charles Astor Bristed,

Ike Marvel, and Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis have satirized us. Miss Leslie has written a Behavior-Book to improve our manners, and though last not least, the accomplished editor of the "Home Journal" has given us occasional criticisms on the various phases of social life, as varying circumstances have called for them. Their remarks were intended more particularly for New York society, but the somewhat metropolitan authority of that city, and and the kindred resemblance in the follies of different sections of our country, give them a more general interest.

The extent of this literature not only indicates the awakened interest of the public mind in our social development, but is valuable as embodying the most interesting part of the much more that is talked of and discussed by our most intelligent people. Another even more correct and very interesting exponent of the kind of notions our people entertain on such subjects, is found in the incidental remarks of the common newspapers of the day. With a great deal of the satire, and more particularly those understood to proceed from Mr. Curtis, we have only this fault to find—they vividly and most amusingly paint faults common to human nature, and give the world to understand that they are pictures of American society. Apparently, either the exaggerated character these follies have in our case received from circumstances which we hope are purely transitional, has deceived the satirists into regarding them as American follies, or, what we think the true state of the case, there has been a most Utopian expectation formed, that we should exhibit to the world, not only a model government, but a model society—one freed from many of the faults which, under circumstances supposed to be less favorable, have heretofore characterized the social system. A feeling seems very generally to have prevailed among our people, especially among the philanthropically disposed, that somehow, in our republic, society was to be established on what the dreamers called "a more simple, natural basis," old "social tyrannies" were to be abolished, each man was to "stand upon his own merits," the "glittering baubles" which had been raised to so false a value, were to be no longer prized, &c. All the world was to see this, fall in love with the benign influences of republican-

ism—"tottering thrones"—"area of freedom"—"manifest destiny," &c. How republicanism could accomplish all this, unless it could banish the evil from human nature, never seems to have occurred to anybody. But, indeed, republicanism really seems to have figured in the imaginations of some people, as a scheme for man's regeneration. Probably no two words in the language have been more misunderstood than the words republican and anti-republican. Almost everything which some people dislike, or which trenches on their personal satisfaction, they are in the habit of styling anti-republican. Many who would disavow these false notions are, nevertheless, unconsciously infected by them, and indulge in speculations really based upon them. Those who would be utterly disgusted with any talk about "manifest destiny," entertain a more refined and possibly, therefore, more dangerous error.

The feelings which prevail with regard to what is called "American aristocracy" illustrate our remarks. We are the more inclined to analyze the position of this so-called aristocracy because it has been peculiarly a subject for the shafts of satire, and is very generally considered most inconsistent with republicanism. "American aristocracy" is a phrase which is often uttered with contempt by the newspapers, as if it were as palpably absurd and ridiculous as to say an English Frenchman, or an ugly beauty. The common feeling with regard to it is often heard in such expressions as, "Social distinctions are ridiculous in this country," and "To talk of old families," and "an aristocracy of birth" is "anti-republican," and "a most unbecoming aping of foreign society."

The complete disseverance of the social and political system in this country, though a fact which, when formally laid down, may even seem a common place verity, and will hardly be disputed by any, is by no means generally realized, and we think a false notion of it lies at the root of many of the Utopian expectations of which we have spoken. Political inequality in aristocratic countries has produced such great corresponding social inequality, that it is hard for our people to realize that our political equality

does not, cannot, and therefore is not intended to produce complete social equality. Other governments have governed *so much*, it is hard to make people understand that our's governs *so little*. These confused notions seem to have been entertained by Mr. Tupper in a passage in his "Proverbial Philosophy," which we are the more inclined to quote, as it forms a sort of commentary on the assumptions of that "self-constituted Poet-Laureate of the Anglo-Saxon race," including ourselves.

*"Whence, then, cometh the doctrine, that all should be free and equal?  
It is the lie that crowded Hell, when seraphs flung away subjection.*

No man is his neighbor's equal, for no two minds are similar.

And accidents, alike with qualities, have every shade but sameness.

The lightest atom of difference shall destroy the nice balance of equality,  
And all things, from without and from within, make one man to differ  
from another.

*We are equal and free, was the watchword that spirited the legions of  
Satan.*

We are equal and free, is the double lie that entrappeth to him conscripts from the earth.

The messengers of that dark despot will pander to thy license and thy pride,

And draw thee from the crowd, where thou art safe, to seize thee in the solitary desert.

Wo! unto him whose heart the *syren song of liberty* hath beguiled;

Wo! unto him whose mind is bewitched by her treacherous beauty.

In mad zeal flingeth he away the fetters of duty and restraint,

And yieldeth up the holocaust of self to that fair idol of the damned.

No man hath freedom in aught save in that from which the wicked  
would be hindered.

He is free towards God and man, but to all else a bondman."

If this is not a fling at the Declaration of Independence, it certainly sounds very much like it, but Mr. Tupper may be forgiven for so misinterpreting that Declaration, when our own people say so much calculated to give the words that false meaning. We know of no form of government which aims to establish equality in the sense in which Mr. Tupper so amusingly misunderstands the Declaration of Independence, unless it be the visionary scheme of the Socialist, which would take away the only alienable one of the advantages which cause social inequality, viz., property.



The truth is, our government has merely left society to take that form which providential circumstances shall impress upon it.

Now, when thus left to itself, to *crystallize* as it were, it must of necessity be, in some sense of the word, an aristocracy. It cannot be a perfect equality; for, as Mr. Tupper very truly remarks, "no two minds are similar," and "the lightest atom of difference shall destroy the nice balance of equality." Our Maker, for his own wise and good purposes, has endowed some of us with advantages and qualities which he has denied to others—wit, beauty, genius. We imagine few persons will object to these remarks, and to an aristocracy whose distinctions God so evidently formed. They say it is this absurd talk about "old families," who set up a claim to rank by *right of birth*, which excites their indignation.

And yet we assert that society, when thus left to crystallize of itself, according to circumstances, must of necessity be, in some sense of the word, a hereditary aristocracy. Hereditary, because one cannot very well, as a mere matter of convenient and necessary courtesy, seek the acquaintance of a man of talents, wit, or any other merit, without also visiting his family. It is only in this limited sense that the appellation "old families" expresses that to which they owe position; for their rank is not hereditary because people really take any especial pleasure in a man's company whose father was ambassador to England, or value him one whit the more for being of "good family." The fact that such people often receive a great deal of deference and consideration long after the death of him to whom they owe elevation, does not contradict this; for this consideration is really not due to any pleasure in the company of people of "old family," or respect for them as such, but is rather deference to the acknowledged position they have thus acquired. And though people very often think otherwise, and remark, often with very indignant criticism, on the "false principles" of society, that it sometimes apparently protects the unworthy possessors of prescriptive rank, and neglects people of merit, it is really no proof of any such exaggerated respect for "family." What such people forget is, that society is no regular organization, and consequently it is difficult to make

it act in any degree as an unit, which it must do to confer positive marks either of favor or censure. Possibly, no one distinctly says or avowedly thinks society is an organization, but many talk in a manner which implies it, and some even rail against it, as if it were a downright personality.

It is the principle of our republic, out of its own jurisdiction, to recognize power *in esse*, and not power *de jure*, and upon this principle the claim of this aristocracy holds good, for they really have power, and that, not in spite of our republicanism, or in contradiction to it, but consistently with it; and to say it is anti-republican is to talk very unphilosophically. It is equally absurd to rail against this state of things on any other ground, and say it is *wrong* for people to have rank who do not win it. This transmission of position is the operation of a principle infused by a Providential hand into all society, and which will exist, to produce the same results, while man shall be a social being. That principle is, that some must suffer for the sins of others, some be benefitted by the merits of others. Why the sins of the fathers should be visited on the children, we know not. We only know it cannot be helped. The misfortune sticks to us with the taint of Adam's transgression, for which Christianity is the only remedy. He who in this case would endeavor to oppose this state of things, would only inconvenience himself. No doubt the weak-minded members of this aristocracy are often ridiculously vain of their position, but the vanity is no more ridiculous than to be vain of any other purely Providential distinction. It is no more anti-republican than for a pretty woman to be vain of her beauty.\*

\* From an article in the Westminster Review, which is another indication of wide spread interest in things social, the following is apposite:

"The government of Manners and Fashion may be rendered less tyrannical, as the political and religious governments have been, by some ANTAGONISTIC UNION. Alike in Church and State, men's first emancipations from excess of restriction were achieved by numbers, bound together by a common creed or a common political faith." "There needs, then, a Protestantism in social usages. Abortive as individual protests generally turn out, it may be that nothing effectual will be done until there arises some organized resistance to

The great accusation, however, against our "American aristocrats" is that they so frequently array themselves against any but prescriptive claims to position. No doubt, such assumptions of conservative airs are very ridiculous, and a fair subject for satire. Still we do not think them altogether to blame. Their position has been so much misunderstood, and there has been such a disposition to ridicule their claims as "absurd in a republic," that they have themselves mistaken their own footing, and instead of feeling that they are a necessary part of any society; they have grown to imagine their social rank the result of something foreign to republicanism and akin to nobility in monarchical countries, something in spite of, and in opposition to all claims to social rank from merit or any other cause. And so they have grown to think their social rank is to be built up upon the ruins of all social rank not derived from proscription. As might be expected, those who would be least likely to attain position by merit, are the persons who most perseveringly attempt to put down those who can win it. These are the weak heads who cannot judge for themselves, and whose opinions and feelings being chiefly derived from those of other people, they have taken up the prevalent idea that they are somehow or other antagonistic to merit. Probably it would not be so great an objection to a man, that "his father sold dry goods by the yard," did the objectors not imagine that the fact of his deriving no disadvantage from his ancestors, proved that they ought not to derive any advantage from theirs.

It is a thousand pities, some friend to the stupidities could not make them understand the impolicy of pluming themselves on a merely Providential circumstance. It so provokes people to inquire into personal traits. For a rich fool to pride himself upon his wealth, is but to hold a candle to the vacancy of that "upper tenement to let, to any stray ideas in want of a location." They

*this invisible despotism. The liberty of the subject, asserted in our constitution, has yet to be wrested from this subtler tyranny."*

What we spoke of as *absence* of organization, is read by others *want* of organization. To this suggestion, however, there might be many pros and cons.

should know strong lights do not suit them, and not provoke the world to remark that, though they are in niches, they are abominably bad statues. There is one remedy against the tyranny of "old families." People often refer to them because their acknowledged position does often give them the key to the best society, but sensible people seek the best society, not because they value the company of members of old families, but because they suppose in that highest society are to be found people of wit, genius and merit. And should they succeed in excluding from it all but old families, which they never will, the highest society would soon lose the prestige of being the best. Even prescriptive wit, genus and beauty, which always value these qualities more than *family*, would prefer the circles where they are the test of admittance to those where family alone is. Because, Miss Bremer made some imprudent revelations, some of the prescriptives have said they will not invite any more "poor devils of authors" to their homes. Possibly when the poor devils of authors are gone, the charm of their entertainments may be gone. There must be an array of minor characters when Hamlet is played, and a door-keeper to whom we must pay due notice, but after all it is Hamlet that carries us to the play, and the *best* society, without the best people, is the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. Amusing are the discussions of which this aristocracy is sometimes the subject. Practical people, who plainly see that the aristocrats are one of the "powers that be," will profess their "belief in family and blood," and point out, that old families are a considerable element in the *best* society everywhere. And so they are, not because old families produce good society, but because that certain age and permanency, which is essential to the best society, also produces old families. In reply to all this, some aristocracy hater will trace back the pedigree of the old families, to end as it often does, in some shoemaker or ditcher. The discussion is still more amusing, when, as is often the case, a plebeian or patrician prestige is supposed to attach to certain occupations. We were once much amused with a young lady, who made a grand distinction between commission and dry goods merchants. She was quite at a loss to justify her distinction, until she bethought herself of

the disadvantage of associating with men, who "*know the price of everything you wear.*"

The most amusing instance of vanity of position that we ever met with we saw while writing this article. A marriage notice, in a New York paper, was followed by these words: "It affords us pleasure to state that many of the oldest and best families of this city were present on the occasion, and witnessed the ceremony so impressively rendered by Dr. Hawks." To our ears it sounds very much like a certificate of position. We do not design noticing those criticisms and satires, which point at apparently local faults, but we wish more particularly to discuss those, which seem applicable to Southerners. Among these are the influence of wealth, love of distinctions, &c.

The influence of money and political distinctions seems to be the natural result of that intensified pursuit of them by our people, which was apparently caused by the fact, that the money, in whose reach they are here placed, had been so long debarred from them. The only American peculiarity about that pursuit and influence is its exaggerated aspect, and this, we doubt not, is merely transitional. Possibly, the influence of wealth, so begotten, may react and prolong that exaggerated aspect of the pursuit. What, in our case, however, gives a gross character to our ostentation of wealth, is, that while our people go through with what may be called the *money making phase* of their existence, they neglect the cultivation of those tastes for the beautiful in art and nature, which can alone refine and dignify the pleasures of the *spending phase* and when they arrive at it, they only know how to spend it in having finer clothes, houses and furniture than their neighbors. The story of Mr. Potiphar and the wooden books in his library, is an old one, which we read long ago, of some *parvenu*, but a lady of our acquaintance was guilty of a more original and equally amusing blunder. She had in her sitting room a book case, with two sets of books in it, one Harper's Family Library bound in drab, the other some set bound in black. She had them arranged in her shelves, first a drab book and then a black book, and so on, drab and black alternately all the way through, forming a sort of mosaic, which used to amuse her vis-

itors very much. A gentleman friend of ours used to declare that she read them in that order.

Probably, no charge brought against our society is so calculated to excite our indignation, as the charge of dullness. To be a bore is decidedly the worst crime the nineteenth century knows. Now, we doubt not, in a great many of the young-lady-complaints of weariness with balls, parties and receptions, which followed so close on Miss Bremer's account of a New York dinner party, there is a good deal of affectation of the *blasé*. To those who really suffer from bores, we should like to commend a charming bit of morality we learned from Jeremy Taylor. On care of time, he says, we ought not to bestow it on vain, tedious or unprofitable persons. It certainly is not a forced construction to say the words "vain, tedious and unprofitable persons," admirably describe bores. And who will not feel inclined to adopt so charming a morality, supported by the authority of the anglican Chrysostom, which makes it not only allowable, but *actually a positive duty to cut bores!*

The question of our dullness is certainly a most important problem for our solution, and very naturally carries us back to first principles, and leads us to inquire what is the object of the gatherings, which we call "going into society," what the want in human nature which so evidently requires their ministry. One thing is certain, it is not the want of a field for the display of wealth, wit, beauty or importance of any kind, whether monied or prescriptive, nor is it the want of a field for matrimonial speculations. It is very evidently a want in a better philosophy of life, which takes small account of such necessities as these.

For ourselves we have often summed up the best philosophy of life in "Do the duty," and enjoy the pleasure "which lies nearest thee." In this philosophy happiness was never intended to be the object, and is like one of those point stars which can only be distinguished when we look at surrounding stars and away from them. Therefore, "do the duty." It was, however, intended we should have relaxations and enjoyments, but chiefly of the present. Life is too short and uncertain to sacrifice the present too largely to a future of this world, and its enjoyments should be in fruition.

Therefore, enjoy the pleasure which lies nearest thee. Now, we opine, it is just this kind of enjoyment which parties and social gatherings were designed to furnish. The proper spirit for their enjoyment seems to consist in being able to throw off cares, designs, business projects and be gay, witty, philosophical, or sentimental, just as the spirit of present enjoyment shall suggest. Dr. Johnson seems to have referred to this sort of spirit when he said, "he who is not a fool half the time is a fool all the time." He probably intended to express the idea that he who never throws off thought completely and surrenders himself to the enjoyment of the present is as great a fool as he who never thinks. He also expresses our own idea, that it is impossible to violate either half of our summary of the philosophy of life and properly perform the other half.

To those who violate this philosophy Providence morally awards practical justice, by making them miss happiness and become incapable of enjoyment. In this country it is often matter of remark, that our laboring classes seem incapable of relaxation, and have few holidays, but this complaint of our dullness proves that the same disposition is more generally diffused. We all seem to err by overdoing the duty that lies nearest us, the duty of providing for our families, and we look forward to being rich before we can take breath to enjoy ourselves. We have given the apparent causes of this exaggerated pursuit of wealth, and possibly with our indifference to relaxations as such the Puritanical element in our national character may have something to do. The Cavalier element, which should modify the Puritanical element, has, for reasons which we shall discuss further on, never had fair scope.

Our misfortune is, that our intensified pursuit of that which is the duty nearest us, has neutralized the agreeableness of those who should be the most agreeable part of our society, the men of aim and purpose, and has made them as a class capable of nothing but aim and purpose. The danger with mere pleasure seekers is that they are apt to become mere excitement seekers, incapable of enjoying any society which does not have excitement, and jaded and worn out with that. The difficulty with our men of aim and

purpose is that they are like whist players who are accustomed to play for money. They cannot be interested in playing for nothing. They are so accustomed to the exciting game where the brilliant stakes of fortune and place are played for, that they need something to give interest to the game. It is notorious in the experience of all that many of our best men are bored with parties, and bores at them. Others are so affected by habit, they play for some social stakes, admiration, rank &c., than which, nothing is more destructive of the true enjoyment of society, though like gambling, it gives a spurious interest to the game. There is even evidence that this state of things has its effect on our few pleasure seekers, and makes them even more inclined to be excitement seekers.

Possibly some one may remark, that what we have endeavored to represent as the true spirit for the enjoyment of society is precisely the Christian spirit, and may suspect us of making out an argument to point at a previously selected moral. We, however, disclaim any such intention, and argued, not upon the ground of right, but expediency. Certain it is, however, that viewing things solely upon the ground of expediency, all true philosophy of human life or actions may be summed up in "Be a Christian," all false philosophy in "Appear a Christian." And without troubling ourselves to reason out true philosophy in every instance, we may often discern its position by simply watching the imitative steps of false philosophy. And in this case we can prove true philosophy by the false. Those, who most have any other object in view than enjoyment, veil it under an air of abandon and frank, careless gaiety. The style which people affect is inconvenient. The difference in point of expediency between true and false philosophy is, that it is really impossible for a long time successively to affect what we are not. Affected merriment rings hollow. Single lies may sometimes succeed, and extraneous circumstances may sometimes obscure a man's real character in the eyes of the world, but we doubt much if any man ever lived, who, by his own hypocrisy or affectation, long succeeded in deceiving the world as to his real character. That highest art, which can completely conceal art, has not yet been



attained. Even Talleyrand only gained the character of a profound dissimulator.

A writer in Putnam's Magazine, (Mr. Curtis,) says that, theoretically, society is the playful encounter of sprightliness and wit. Undoubtedly, the spirit of present enjoyment usually vents itself in mere idle jests, and gay trifling nonsense, and is much embellished by sprightliness and wit, but to say that society is merely, or even chiefly a field for the encounter of sprightliness and wit, (which seems to be the sense of the remark,) is to lose the spontaneousness which is its chief charm. It is probable the most agreeable phase of society, and the witty person who is not spoiled, is the most agreeable character in society. Unfortunately, however, the rewards of wit are so great, it is so admired and appreciated that few wits have heads strong enough not to be tempted into catering for admiration, trying to be witty. If a man says one or two good things; makes a few sparkling retorts, forthwith he has that most unfortunate reputation, the reputation of a wit, and half the people he meets are perpetually trying to draw him out, throwing down the gauntlet for him to take it up by some brilliant repartee. And how strong the temptation to try to fulfil such complimentary expectations, and then he may be amusing but he ceases to be agreeable, and he who tries to be witty is just as sure to fail often as the corners, which most papers of the day reserve for funny things, are sure to contain a great many stupid anecdotes. Theodore Hook was what we should call an amusing man, Charles Lamb an agreeable one.

We have put interpretations on the words amusing, agreeable, enjoyment, pleasure, to illustrate distinctions which we desired to make evident, but we do not mean to say the words have that meaning in the dictionaries.

The truth is, every profound criticism on our society is like discussing the clearness of water, into which more is constantly being poured. We are not yet what we shall be. We shall get rid of this somewhat *parvenu* phase of money making, and though the critics do not think so, we shall have our men of leisure. To those who live in New York it probably seems that fortunes must always change hands often in this country, and

doubtless in that commercial city, where there will always be much speculation; it always will be so. But we have strong hopes that, elsewhere, things will get to be *just right*. As there is no artificial law of entail in our country to keep estates in the family, wealth will not, of course, remain in the hands as long as in Europe, but we want no more dead flats of aristocratic and prescriptive refinement for our best society. We want permanence enough for refinement, cultivated tastes, but not so much permanence as to exclude originality, and we have faith to believe we shall have all we need. It may be a long time before this desirable state of things arrives, for there are many influences and most desirable ones to work before we shall be fairly matured and settled down like the rest of the world, but we have faith to believe it will come. Meantime, we have some noble examples of what many more of our people will be when that day comes. And if anything can hasten that day and soften the faults of the present, it must be the cultivation of that taste for the beautiful in nature and art, hitherto so wanting in our national character. It is not to be credited, that the Anglo-Saxon character, which, even in its original state, was always famed for a taste for the beauties of nature and rural adornment, should, with the infusion of warmer blood, lose all taste for beauty. And the cultivation of this taste must be one strong influence against the ostentation of mere wealth.

The interest awakened as to our social manifestations has given rise to discussions as to our manners, and Miss Leslie has written a Behavior-Book which some critic has styled the best Rubric for the direction of young ladies, to be found in the whole range of Chesterfield literature. He who could apply the name of Chesterfield to the literature of good manners must have a very false idea of good manners, and it certainly makes the compliment to Mrs. Leslie sound rather ironical. Chesterfield was emphatically the advocate of that false philosophy which teaches its followers only to appear what they should be, and in nothing more strenuously than in good manners do we advocate the necessity, as a matter of expediency, of being what we wish to appear.

Miss Leslie seems to have adopted the word behavior as more

general in its signification than manners, but in reading the book one is often tempted to look back to the preface and see if she gives any explanation of what she means by behavior, for under it she comprehends quite a heterogeneous mass of information upon various subjects. We have directions how to choose dresses, directions how to make dresses—even a little theology, and very poor theology too. Among other things she says, "If you have breakfasted early," (in travelling) "it will be well to put some gingerbread nuts or biscuits into your satchel, as you may become very hungry before dinner!" We are not sure but she advises her readers to wear India rubbers in wet weather, but not having the book at hand we will not swear to it.

The book is written in a pleasant gossiping sort of vein, and bears evident marks of emanating from a person who had lived much in hotels and boarding houses, and seen all kinds of people and manners, and it is evidently designed to minister to what she thinks a real want of such people and our people generally. If, as she apparently thinks, this general want is a mere knowledge of forms and conventionalities, the book is quite useless, for they cannot be taught by list or rule, because the rules unassisted by good sense, good feeling and observation would half the time mislead, and the possessor of those qualities would never need the aid of rules.

We were much amused with the application of Miss Leslie's rules in the hands of a young lady, who declared her intention of behaving by the behavior book. Miss Leslie lays down the law most positively on the subject of arguments and discussions in company, and says when any one differs in opinion from us, we must simply bow and change the subject. A rule, which particularly needs the interpretation of good sense to be of any value, for applied without exception, and Miss Leslie mentions none, it would nearly put a stop to all conversation. The comical way in which our friend caricatured Miss Leslie's directions was quite irresistible.

The truth is we think Miss Leslie has mistaken the general want, and it is not so much a knowledge of conventionalities as a want of respect for externals for forms. It is a curious study to

trace in so many directions the influence of that great rebellion of crushed spirit against tyrannical form, which was the idea of the reformation of religion in the fifteenth century. It has gradually affected politics, manners, and even on the dance can its influence be traced, polka dancing being just as much an effect of the abuse of the style of manners caused by it, as the minuet was an effect of the contrary spirit. It has even colored the style of conversation. What young lady and clergyman at the present day (even in a novel) would address each other as "Dear excellent Mr. Arden," and "My dear amiable young friend," expressions taken from an old fashioned novel. In those days, apparently, it was customary to express feeling, and our grandmothers were sentimental young ladies. The prevailing tone now is badinage, and we have lively young ladies.

There can be no doubt that we err on the other side and jest too much. To say that "there is many a truth spoken in jest," is a weak mode of expression. It were more true to say, there never was a jest uttered which did not in some way influence truth. It might be a curious speculation, which were most unfavorable to eloquence, the day of sentiment or the day of badinage. Both weakened the language expressive of feeling, the one by using it to affect feeling, the other by using it in jest.

As might have been expected, we Americans, who are so eminently affected by the spirit of the age, display the extreme of want of respect for the outward, or, in other words, forms. We evince it in our newspapers and in our conversation, through which often floats a current of contempt for what are called the "false etiquettes" and "unmeaning conventionalities" of society. It is sometimes said of popular writers, that they "hate cant and conventionalism;" thus calling in alleiteration's artful aid to assist in placing conventionalities in bad company.

The idea that fine manners are the results of fine feelings would, by the generality of people, be considered a very fine theory of somewhat romantic people; but they would think that, at this day, owing to the falseness of what is called the best society, it is totally untrue in practice, for people of fine feelings do not always have good manners, and people of bad feelings often imi

tate (and, to their perceptions, very perfectly) what we call good manners. And they would silence most theorists by the very true remark, that the best manners are only found in those who have been a great deal into the best society.

A thing cannot, however, be true in theory and untrue in practice. The reconciliation between theory and practice, in this case, explains the true value of those much maligned conventionalities, and is found in the fact, that good manners are not only the effect of a fine character and fine feelings, but that they do also powerfully react upon them. However noble and unselfish a man's principles may be in the main, he is still human, and the old Adam is strong within him. Selfishness will peep out in the detail of his character, and he needs visible props and aids, and a minute course of discipline, to refine and polish feeling from selfishness in the little things of which life is made up. For conquering this selfishness, no better system could be devised than the forms and conventionalities of good society. They are a perpetual finger-post, pointing to how we ought to feel. Conventionalities are, in reality, only a system of wholesome restraints, which, like all human laws, are subject to the disadvantage of being interpreted by Pharisees according to letter, and not according to spirit—restraints, however, which will profit every one who has the discernment to read them aright, and not mistake for rule of universal application what is temporary, local or the result of these accidents, which so easily affect society, simply because it is no organization. The spirit begotten by them, the spirit, the soul of good breeding, is a thing capable of improving the best character—a thing which might have improved in some particulars, even so honest, expansive a nature as that of dear, sturdy, affectionate, generous, though somewhat ursine, Dr. Johnston.

There was probably a day when the style of manners was overloaded by etiquettes, ruled simply by precedents; but that day is passed, and though weak human nature (which, as has been truly said, is like a drunken man upon horseback—put him up on one side and straightway he falls down on the other) will always be in danger of placing too much value on the externals, it may yet be said, that few of the conventions and externals of what are

called good manners at the present day, are of no value at all, and almost none are at all burthensome. To ascertain their value, the best rule would probably be the church's "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," and it is for this reason that foreign travel is supposed to improve a man's manners. And there is really no good society in the world where an observance of anything more than universal rules of good breeding is absolutely essential, or where the interpretation accepted is not according to spirit, instead of letter. Nor does this condemn "*our best society*," for the mountainous value it is supposed to place on conventionalities exists only in the imagination of those whom want of acquaintance with it have prevented from learning their true value. Snobs, we have seen, who imagined their social position depended on their maintaining the last letter of it, even to trampling on all good feeling; but the very next day we have seen some noble and discerning soul do the very thing the snobs so feared to do, and the maligned public opinion of that society vindicated itself, by its immediate acquiescence. And so, upon analysis, we find the theory true, that fine manners are really the result of the finest feelings. Conventionalities refine the manners by refining and improving feelings, but only within the circles of sympathies originally possessed by the character on which they act, and therefore they can only produce the best manners upon the raw material of the best characters. And, besides, unless they improve the manners through the feelings, the result never will be nothing but a counterfeit. And, moreover, to produce the ideal of manners, a man must not only go into the best society, but must live in it, by having his home-life subjected to its restraints. A man may travel all over Europe, and associate constantly in its best circles—may have been constantly and intimately thrown with the most truly refined and polished women in the world; but unless that respectful deference of manner he has learned to observe towards them is observed just as much towards the needlewoman who makes his linen, his manners will never approach that ideal of fine manners which is current coin everywhere, and, moreover, the insincerity of the counterfeit deference of manners he may have acquired, will inevitably be betrayed, soon or late, to every woman of the

slightest discernment with whom he associates—so essential, as a matter of expediency, is sincerity to the best manners.

Perhaps the misapprehension on the subject of conventionalities may be attributed to two reasons. One is, that they are subject to the disadvantage of being read according to the letter, and not spirit; the other is found in the fact that the ideal of the best manners, namely, a perfectly correct expression of a noble character, is not that which calls forth the common expression, "What fine manners." The truth is, the vehicle manner is only susceptible of merit as a vehicle, and, when it is correct, it so naturally carries the mind back to the fine idea, of which it is only the embodiment, that one only exclaims, "What a noble, lovely character." It is not that the result is not appreciated, but that it is not appreciated *as manner*. The expression is forgotten in the thought; and, for this reason, it perhaps is, that insincere manners are so often remarked upon as fine manners. The expression being, as it were, somewhat dissevered from the idea, becomes more apparent, and the *manner* is remarked upon.

The above observation proves (what few persons would, at first sight, admit, of that supposed system of hollow selfishness, "*our best society*") that, whatever confusion society may be in, about the names, when we come to things, it concurs in our standard of good manners; for while few would *call* a person who conformed to that standard a model of good manners, almost all would exclaim, "After all, how superior is such a person to one possessing merely the varnish of good manners." Perhaps no better example can be given of good brought out of evil, than the effect in elevating our standards, which is caused by the fact that the centripetal force of individual selfishness has hardly room to expand before it meets, and is counteracted by the centrifugal force of other people's selfishness. And all, therefore, who are actuated by expediency, should aim at this standard; for wheresoever manners, in the sense of an expression of character, have influence over our fellow beings, they act according to these rules. Nor are these remarks untrue, because the word manners is sometimes used in a more extended sense, to comprehend powers of entertainment, graceful motion, &c. The definition cannot be properly

made to exclude the expression of character, or, indeed, to render it a subordinate part of manners, for while those other qualities make people enjoy our society, admire our appearance and manners, as an expression of character, make people like or dislike us; and whether we choose to recognise the fact or not—whether we choose to improve the character or not, it will be expressed in spite of us. Real characters are a mixed thread, but he who has the rare discernment to analyze them properly, will hardly find an exception to these rules. Chesterfield and Charles II. were men who eminently possessed those qualities which make a man an agreeable companion, a keen sense of the ludicrous, wit, and a certain cheerful, “never-say-die” philosophy, which is the most delightful thing in the world in a companion. Their manners, though in many respects charming, were certainly not models. Both possessed much of that refined and really amiable selfishness which cannot bear to see others suffer or inconvenienced—unless they themselves are benefitted by it. Both were, moreover, endowed with an exquisite delicacy of perception, which gave them a sort of objectivity of mind, and which thus enabled them to understand the feelings of others to a far greater extent than far more noble persons. But this refined selfishness is often the most unbending selfishness, and wherever this objectivity, or the courteous forms of social life, pointed out to Chesterfield a course which involved self-denial, selfishness administered an opiate to his great sagacity, and he tried to meet the case by a refined hypocrisy. Those to whom one phase of his character was exhibited, probably admired him very much, until they saw the other phase. No one who understands human nature will imagine this other phase of his manners to have met with that which all will grant to be the true test of the expediency of a deceitful course, namely, success in deceiving people.

People now-a-days talk so much of the hollowness of “good society,” and would be as loth to admit that it could value people according to any such elevated standard, that it seems not improper to remark, that some modes of our social intercourse are for purposes of amusement and entertainment, and therefore it is to be expected society will sometimes apparently value people chiefly



for qualities which contribute to that object. That I select a butcher who brings me good meat, rather than one who is only a good man, is no proof that I do not value goodness. This idea, though it certainly has weight, is to be taken with great caution, and can palliate no walking, to any object, over human feelings.

For our people generally, and more especially those who are at all interested in our social developments, the chief lesson to be learned is the value of externals. Already can be traced upon them the effect of this unwise contempt. There is, however, another reason why we think the lesson of peculiar importance. The word conventionalities, and the other terms used to designate the restraints of which we have spoken, are vague terms, often used in a more extended sense to signify restraints far more important to decency and order--restraints upon loose feelings and bad principles. And, at this day, people of loose morals have gained courage openly to question their value, and with this strain of abuse from those who do not understand, mingles another strain from people who would not have courage to question these restraints openly, but for the example and encouragement of those who talk ignorantly. George Sand, for example, is a hater of conventionalities, and all the barriers society has raised--female protection are but conventionalities.

Now, it is in this home life that we profess to discover the effect, to which we alluded, of our contempt for externals. We do not so plainly see it in the more formal intercourse of society, because that intercourse is, to a certain extent, necessarily ceremonious. From this very necessity, that intercourse might be expected to suffer most, (as it really did,) from too great regard for externals and etiquettes, and would suffer least from too great neglect of forms. And, in corroboration of the truth of this remark, the more ceremonious intercourse of our society requires us to observe just about a due proportion of formality. The fault to which we refer is to be traced in the more intimate relations of life, where necessarily there is little formality, and people are more apt to fall into that "familiarity which breeds contempt." And here, the experience of all whom we have ever heard speak of the subject, or allude to it, (and we have watched the indications with much

interest,) will, we think, support the result of our own experience. How seldom do we meet with people, united by the intimate relations of husband and wife, brother and sister, parent and child, who are habitually courteous—that is to say, unselfish towards each other. Most unusual is it to meet a husband and wife whose manner towards each other is at all what it ought to be. All the formality assumed in company does not veil the disrespectful, almost contemptuous, familiarity of more private life. We have seen many men who would throw away cigars at the approach of a strange lady, but who would never hesitate one moment to make their wife's sitting room smell like a bar room; and though we should think that a badly arranged home, where no arrangements are made to keep people's indulgencies from inconveniencing each other, and her a bad wife, who allowed no place for cigar-smoking, still, we do not consider that he acts with true gentlemanly spirit towards his wife who will give the whole house a smell of stale tobacco, rather than walk ten steps, even if his wife be so truly a lady, and acts in so genuine a spirit of self-sacrifice, that she does not let it be seen that she is sacrificing.

It is in this reaction of the outward upon the inward, that consists the true value of the many little deferences and courtesies paid to women. While they are the fruit of the respect our countrymen feel for women, we do not doubt they have had much influence in keeping up that respect, and do not deserve the contempt cast on them by the strong-minded assertors of woman's rights. Picking up handkerchiefs, &c., are small matters, but such small matters are the handfuls of earth with which the ladies take seizin of that vast land of respect and honor bound to send forth armed forces for their protection in case of danger.

The question arises here, how are we of the South affected by all this criticism of things social? One thing is certain, it does not exactly apply to us. We differ not only in degree, but in kind, from our Northern brethren. In some respects, the Southern character is one from which we should expect a peculiarly fine social development, and which fits it to be an admirable leaven in the fermenting mass of American society. That delightful *insouciance*, of which fashionable indifference is the very

bad imitation, should at least preserve Southerners, who possess it in so eminent a degree, from the effect of the fever-heat which our competition for wealth and distinctions infuse into American society. We at least value money less than our Northern brethren, though we value distinctions more. But of the two faults, too great carelessness or too great carefulness about money matters, when both extremes stop short of dishonesty, we must say we prefer the carelessness. It is the fault of a princely and magnificent nature, a nature capable of fine social development.

The Cavalier origin of the Virginian, who peopled many of the more Southern States, should free him from some of the faults which Northern Puritanic origin and influences give them.

We have often thought that the position of the planter in many respects resembled that of the English country gentlemen. But while the advantages which have combined to render the Englishmen so superior a class of men, are a hot-house system, and the law of entail sacrifices one set of men to another, in our case it is not so. The slave is raised intellectually and morally by the system, and the privileges possessed by the master are not the result of a favoritism shown by government to one class of men, but a necessity caused by the existence of the African in this country. The position is one better calculated to give habits of command and self-possession, and the tie being closer and of a more warm personal nature between master and slave, than between landlord and tenant, it is therefore more calculated to cultivate refined and gentle feelings of humanity in the planter. The pursuit of agriculture is one most removed from competitive influences, and in itself calculated to exercise a noble influence over the mind. In addition to all this, the system of education pursued in our colleges, which people are beginning to quarrel with, is one which, if suited to the wants of any class of men in the United States, must be peculiarly so to the planter, because he is a man of leisure, and has time for cultivation of elegant scholarship and refined tastes.

From all these advantageous circumstances, we should expect the Southern planters to be a class of superior gentlemen.

And yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, we say Southern character has never had any sort of opportunity to develop those excellencies which are peculiar to it. There is one unfortunate circumstance, which has more than counteracted the effect of all those advantages of position. This is found in the fact, that the cultivation of those products which constitute Southern staples are more than any other exhausting to the soil. The system of cultivation pursued has been so ruinous, that in a rolling country, in one or two generations, the land is completely worn out.

Now there is nothing more essential to the finest social development than a certain permanence in society. Probably the best evidence of the refinement and cultivation of a people is found in their homes. The many adornments with which a highly cultivated taste surrounds a home, are the evidence of the cultivation of one generation, the school in which the taste of another generation is educated and intensified, a better school than the best college in the world. But what inducement has the planter to make a home what cultivated tastes could make it, certain that the money he lays out is solely for his own individual gratification, certain that it cannot benefit his children, because when they are grown the plantation is worn out, and they must go west. The going west of our planters is not like the going west and California-wards of our Yankee brethren. They go west because increase of population and not deterioration of land renders emigration desirable.

The instability of our homes is often remarked of us as a nation, but they are peculiarly so South. At the North, a man builds, and his children may not occupy the house, but if well, substantially, and tastefully built, it will sell well, and so long as it does not decay, increases in value. If a man builds an expensive house on his plantation, he puts his money in a losing investment, and the chances are, on an old, worn-out place, it would not sell for more than a good log-cabin. The consequence is, at the South, the spirit of adorning home, and making life beautiful, is a spirit of cheap expedients, of white-paint-and-fluted-board imitations of temples of Minerva, of brown, sanded, wooden,

laboriously intricate and Lilliputian imitations of Gothic castles. Everybody feels that the very first and chiefest characteristic of a home is a look of permanency, and as it is entirely too expensive to make it genuine, why we have an abominable cheat. And those who sigh over these things, and would write about them in those journals which are generally read, feel that it is quite unavailing to point out good taste and ridicule bad, because other influences than want of knowledge are at the root of the bad taste, and it is folly to waste unavailing words. For this reason the daughters of planters are condemned to boarding-school education away from those home influences which are the only good school for the training of woman's character. The education of the young planter, which seemed so suited to his position, is positively useless. He comes home from college, and just when we should expect him to settle down to the cultivation of that scholarship and those refined tastes he has acquired, the land is worn out, and he must go off to Mississippi or Texas. Half the evils which abolitionists, with their characteristic *non sequitur* way, attribute to the evil influence of slavery on our character, arise in this very evil influence we point out.

We are perfectly aware that no exhortations or lectures on the disadvantages of this mode of cultivation, would have the least weight so long as there is fresh land out west, and we do not design giving them. We give the true state of the case, simply because it is a part of our subject, and accounts for many faults often attributed to other causes.

When a rolling country is fresh and new, the agricultural or country interest is dominant, and the towns are largely affected by the society of the country people. Just when we would expect the best results, the most favorable development of Southern character, lo! the planters are all gone. The town or commercial interest becomes dominant, and in all matters of taste gives law to the country. Then Southern character becomes subjected to Yankeeifying influences. We have not one word to say against Yankee influence at fountain-head. We do not object to its influence when it does not overcome Southern influence. We Southerners are, however, another sort of people, with other

peculiarities, other excellencies than our Northern brethren, and particularly in a social point of view, those excellencies are worthy of full development. Overweening external influences will injuriously affect any character, and second-hand Yankee influences have a most disastrous effect on Southerners.

Northern influence, in matters of taste, always must be great at the South, because New York being the commercial metropolis, there is a natural tendency for it to become somewhat the metropolis of taste. We have no sort of objection to it, and really see advantages in it, so long as those influences are not controlling. There is, however, one ideal of Southern character, and another of Northern; and for Southerners to aim at the Northern ideal, is decidedly to be regretted. When the country or planting society becomes too weak to resist town influences in matters of taste, then a few other causes, and especially that of the peculiar institution, are all that prevent us from becoming completely Yankeeified. We do not say this in the foolish, contemptuous tone some weak Southerners use in speaking of our Northern brethren; we use the obnoxious word Yankeeified simply because Northernized and *Northernified* would be awkward words.

It is in the low, flat seaboard country, which is not so easily affected by this ruinous culture, that we find those fastnesses and strongholds of Southern character. Planters form a large and controlling element in their society.

We have heard the remark made, that it is among old men and ladies we find the best specimen of Southern manners, and it is a corroboration of our ideas. Agreeable old people are, naturally, the most delightful of human beings. How could it be otherwise, when, socially, as in every other respect, the best characters live to improve. We have seen a few delightful old men, who seemed as if every faculty, every fine quality, had been cultivated for old age, just as other people cultivate them for the prime of life. The truth is, in our country, old people do not appreciate their duties or capabilities. A great many seem to think that it is the positive duty of old age to be ugly and disagreeable. They remind us of a remark of an old lady, with whom we had a discussion, about two caps she was comparing. Both cost the same, and neither was

guilty of unbecoming finery. In reply to our advocacy of one of them, the old lady could only reply, "Oh, child, this suits an old woman like me much the best." The only difference was, one was a hideous thing, which made her look like a corpse; the other a light, delicate cap, which softened and subdued her whole face.

In concluding this article, we have had recalled to our mind a party of pleasure, in which we were once interested in comparing Northern and Southern manners. There were a good many ordinary specimens of Southern planters present, and two Northern gentlemen, who were unusually agreeable, and must have been considered well bred men at home, simply because they would have been well bred men anywhere. The good breeding of the Northerners seemed to us very much as if they had reasoned out a system of good breeding and acted on it; but the good breeding of the Southerners seemed like an instinct. There seemed to us a sort of—briskness is the best word we can think of, though it does not exactly express it—about the Northerners. They seemed *so up to everything*, that we turned with a sort of relief to our delightful, lazy, *insonciant* Southerners. Of course, it may be because we are accustomed to Southern laziness that it so strikes us; but in our own experience, and in that of some discriminating persons who have made the same observation, there has always been that same fault with the manners of Northern people we have met.

While good society is a crystalization, rather than an organization, it certainly crystalizes according to certain rules, and it seems suitable to the conclusion of this article to state some of those rules, and it will, at the same time, be a sort of classification of its elements. In the best society there are, necessarily, two good elements—one the prescriptive, which may be called the aristocratic or fashionable element; the other the class whose position is the result of merit, and which may conveniently be called the artistic and literary element. The last contains the people of originality, whose wit, genius, &c., really make that society the *best*. Good society is the fruit of this element, but the aristocratic element is the fruit of good society. Society cannot afford to do without the aristocratic element, because it cannot afford to do without that peculiar refinement, polish and *savoir vivre* which in

general can only be acquired by those who have been *bred* in the best society. The best and most delightful people are those who belong to both elements.

Besides these two good elements, our society has its evils, which may be called necessary and unnecessary evils. The unnecessary evils are those people who confer nothing on society, and who are in it because it acts on some false principle of admiration and respect. Among these are the rich people, who can only spend money in show and finery. The other class, or necessary evils, are those prescriptives who are incapable of acquiring the prescriptive merit. They are weak, silly, coarse people, whose advantages of breeding can never train them into anything capable of conferring advantage on society. They are *necessary* evils, because they come in unavoidably with those other prescriptives, who add to, rather than detract from, the charm of society. All prescriptive tyranny proceeds from this class, whose importance is due to their size. The social disadvantage in aristocratic countries lies in the fact that the government, by extending and confirming the privileges of prescription, always necessarily great, gives more power to this class of *necessary evils*, and renders the artistic and literary element completely subservient to it. Our government only lets society alone, and neither indirectly or directly does or could do anything to destroy the aristocratic element. It still exists, and is still disposed to tyrannize. But there is one counteracting influence to this tyranny, where the artistic and literary element has fair play, as it does in our country. The metropolis which gives law in matters of taste, is the very point where form the tendency of literature and art to centralize—in a metropolis, the literary and artistic element becomes important, and completely gains ascendancy over the aristocratic. And notwithstanding all the satire, there is every evidence that from all these causes, to those who find their own level in its society, New York must be a delightful place to live in. The literary and artistic and other people of that class, whether professional or otherwise, are sufficiently numerous to form a circle of their own, the circle of what Willis calls “the people who have done something.” The danger to that circle is, that it becomes too entirely



separated from the aristocratic circle, which it cannot afford to do without. Were the breach complete, and the circles entirely distinct—which there is no reason to believe is the case in New York society—the literary circles would, from the number of professed literary people they contain, acquire an unpleasant professional literary tone. The satires of New York society seem merely the effort of the literary element to improve the fashionable and aristocratic element. And, apparently, the fashionable element in New York society is not composed even of the best material this country affords for such a purpose. New York is too much a city of commercial speculation for that. Some people stay there to enjoy fortunes, but many others go off into the country, and not many go there for that purpose. Its fashionable society is doubtless, however, much benefitted by the ascendancy of its literary and artistic society.

Southern character and pursuits, as we have shown, are peculiarly calculated to form a fine prescriptive element in society. We have shown the disadvantageous circumstances which affect Southern society. In the only points where it is at all permanent, it occupies an unfortunately isolated position, and is permanent almost to stagnation. The danger is that, at the South, our society may become a mere dead level of aristocratic refinement.

GEORGIA.

E. A. B.

---

○ ART. V.—POLITICAL ELEMENTS.

1. *Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique.* Par J. J. ROUSSEAU.
2. *Political Elements, or the Progress of Modern Legislation.* By JOSEPH MOSLEY.
3. *Representative Government.* By M. GUIZOT.
4. *An Examination of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.* By JEREMY BENTHAM.
5. *Luther vs. Borden Dorr's Rhode Island Case, 7 Howard United States Report.*

In all English dictionaries, and in all European authors who wrote prior to the French Revolution, with the notable exception of J. J. Rousseau, the word Sovereignty had a definite, fixed

meaning. Everywhere, from the days of Aristotle, it meant "The Supreme Power—the possession of the highest power—*supremus-superus*. In some instances it meant the first magistrate of a nation, as a King, an Emperor, but in all cases, that supreme power which gave, or pretended to give laws unto a people. These, says Dr. Johnson, are the true marks of sovereignty. And it has always been held in the American States that the prerogatives of sovereignty are vested in our State Legislatures, except where modified, restrained or prohibited by the Constitution of the State, or of the United States. Government constitutes supreme power. We do not mean absolute power, because in a government, representative in all its parts, power must be limited; for it is always responsible. No matter what is the form of Government, says *De Real*, the Law is the State. (*La Science du Gouvernement*.) It is necessary, says the *Encyclopedie Francaise v. Soverains*, it is absolutely necessary, that in all governments, there should be a Supreme Power, the nature of the thing requires it, and it cannot subsist otherwise, for as it is impossible to multiply power to an indefinite extent, it is necessary to confine it to some degree of authority superior to all others; and whatever may be the form of government, monarchic, aristocratic, democratic or mixed, we must submit to some sovereign authority, or commit the solecism of supposing the governed to be above the governors. This sovereignty is the right to command. The people are the source of power in a republic, and sovereignty is the re-union of the rights of all its members in the government; and *this sovereignty can decide on whatever concerns the safety and advantage of society*. In a state of nature man knows no sovereignty. Government is necessary to society, and such is the origin of sovereignty; and the right to make laws is the sovereign or legislative power. Such are the correct views of the Encyclopedists.

Rousseau was the first writer who assumes that sovereignty resides in the people. The first who speaks of the sovereign people. It is wonderful and mortifying to trace the influence of this mad-man's writings. His opinions are diffused through all literature and all society. Every extreme divergence from sound and orthodox

opinions, in religion, politics, or moral philosophy, more or less, partake of the disorganising principles of this author. We asked a friend lately why it was so? He said it was because there was a proclivity in these principles towards everything that was base, vulgar and wicked, and that they pandered to the natural taste of man. That mankind, naturally wicked and depraved, felt itself flattered and countenanced by the bold and skilful manner with which Rousseau has preferred the bad to the good, and has soiled and bedaubed all the higher qualities of Social Life. The Declaration of Rights in the French Revolution, and all the innumerable constitutions of France since, that have invariably failed, have been imbodiments of the principles of Rousseau. And "such," says Jeremy Bentham, "is the morality of this celebrated manifesto, rendered famous by the same qualities that gave celebrity to the incendiary of the Elysian Temple! The logic is of a piece with its morality—a perpetual vein of nonsense flowing from a perpetual abuse of words—words having a variety of meanings where words with single meanings were equally at hand. In a body of laws—especially of laws given as constitutional and fundamental ones—an improper word may be a national calamity. "Look to the letter you find nonsense—look beyond the letter you find nothing." In the first article are contained four distinguishable propositions, all of them false—all of them notoriously and undeniably false. 1st. That all men are born free. 2d. That all men remain free. 3d. That all men are born equal in rights. 4th. That all men remain equal in rights. *All men born free! All men remain free!* No, not a single man, not a single man that ever was, or is, or will be. All men, on the contrary, are born in subjection, &c. If these rights bear reference to a state of things prior to the existence of government what would the existence of such rights as these be to the purpose, even if true, in any country where there is such a thing as government. All men born free? Absurd and miserable nonsense! Slaves and free at the same time—free in respect of the laws of nature—slaves in respect of the pretended human laws, which, though called laws, are no laws at all, as being contrary to the laws of nature. The anarchist, trampling on truth and decency, denies

the validity of a law he disapproves of—denies the existence of it in the character of a law, and calls upon all mankind to rise up in mass and resist the execution of it.

“The apprentice, then, is equal in rights to his master—he has the same right to command and to punish. The idiot has as much right to govern as anybody. So of the physician or nurse and patient, parent and child, and most of all, of husband and wife, for what is the subjection of a small and limited number of years, in comparison, of the subjection of a whole life? Better a man should starve than hire himself; better half the species starve than hire itself out to service. For what is the compatibility between liberty and servitude? How can liberty and servitude subsist in the same person? What good citizen is there that would hesitate to die for liberty.”

“Such are the notions implied in this, first part, of the article. How stands the truth of things? That there are no such things as natural rights—no such things as rights anterior to the establishment of government—no such things as natural rights opposed to, in contradistinction to, legal; that the expression is merely figurative, that where used, in the moment you attempt to give it a literal meaning, it leads to error, and to that sort of error that leads to mischief—to the extremity of mischief.” We can only give these small specimens of Mr. Bentham’s pamphlet. It is all equally sound and spirited.

When our States became independent and established legislatures of their own these legislatures were thereby and in their very natures vested with the supreme power of the several States. They confederated, carried on war and made treaties, and did whatever they thought necessary for the safety and welfare of the State. They were Sovereign States and sovereignty was vested in the State Governments; and in the articles of Confederation (13th) it is expressly said that *Congress represents the Legislatures*, whose hearts had been inclined by the Great Governor of the world to ratify them, and the sovereignty of the State is especially reserved, so far as not “expressly delegated” by the 2d Article. This part of sovereignty thus surrendered was a part of the powers of the State Legislatures. The State Legisla-

tures established the Confederation and they were represented by the Congress as the articles declare. They were the constituents and the States the elements of the Confederation. As colonies the States had long been familiar with the institutions happily adapted to a free people, and they had only to make such changes as their situation indicated to the able men of that day. They did not believe as Rousseau thought, and most Frenchmen still think, "That the English people think themselves free, but greatly deceive themselves, for it was only during the election of members of Parliament—for so soon as they are elected they are slaves, they are nothing. In the short moments of their liberty, the usage they make of it, merits that they should lose it." For themselves, our ancestors saw no necessity for ranks or privileges beyond what natural laws produce. It was not necessary that they should give themselves superiors in the persons of kings, princes or nobility; but it was necessary that they should have legislatures with supreme powers, the element, the constituent element of their being. It was necessary not only for protection but existence. "Through the whole proceeding," says Mr. Webster, "from 1776 to the latest period, the whole course of American public acts, the whole progress of this American system, was marked by a peculiar conservatism. The object was to do what was necessary and no more; and to do that with the utmost temperance and prudence." A writer in the April No. of the London Quarterly is perfectly right in saying that the American Constitution never meant to give that preponderance to the numerical principle that has been vulgarly attributed to it; and that any opening, however small, however guarded to numerical preponderance is certain to enlarge itself like a *rat-hole in a Dutch Dyke*—to so irresistible and irremediable an extent as to spread devastation over all the interests that the Dyke had formerly protected.

At the formation of our Constitution the principles of Rousseau were but slightly felt in our country. To Mr. Jefferson and Tom Paine we are indebted for the first infusion. It first appears in the Declaration of Independence, when it declares, what was then, and ever has been false—that all men were created equal.

The laws of every State then gave the lie to it. The property then held in every State gave the lie to it. Mr. Jefferson's own estate gave the lie to it. Every election then held in Virginia gave the lie to it. Soon after the Constitution of every State prescribed the qualification of voters, or, in other words, declared who were *the People* of the different States, and excluded all who were not so qualified and prescribed the qualification of office-holders, law-makers and excluded those that were not thus qualified. The Constitutions of New Hampshire and Vermont declare that "all men are born equally free and independent;" that of Massachusetts, "free and equal," and that of Connecticut "equal in rights," and yet these very constitutions also declare who alone shall constitute its voters, and alone shall be qualified to hold certain offices, or to make the laws or to elect those who shall make them. It is worth noticing that these constitutions derive all these imaginary rights from a supposed Original or Social Compact, and are unquestionably borrowed from Rousseau. Qualified voters and *free white men* were then alone considered as constituting "the people," and it was so understood by the framers of our government, and if anything more was intended it was a fraud upon those who adopted them. The Declaration of Independence was only in the nature of a proclamation, and it was enough that all agreed in the substance. No one could have been expected to believe in every flourish, and we have seen how little attention was paid to the preamble when the Constitution was enrolled and adopted. The principal of universal suffrage was not introduced, as Prof. Gervinus supposes, by our Constitution, however countenanced by the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of every State, as well as the Constitution of the United States, denies that every man has "natural rights" of which the learned German professor says, "no form of government can deprive him." And yet it is too true, as Chancellor Kent says, that "the progress and impulse of popular opinion is rapidly destroying every constitutional check, every conservative element intended by the sages who framed the earliest American Constitutions, as safeguards against the abuses of popular suffrage."

The right to define who are its citizens and who constitute the legal people, is a power indispensable to sovereignty, and has been exercised by the purest democracies. The universality of the usage proves its indispensability to the maintenance of good order and the safety of society. "The right of voting," says Judge Story, "like many other rights, is one which, whether it has a fixed foundation in natural law or not, has always been treated in the practice of nations as a strictly civil right, derived from and regulated by each society, according to its own circumstances and interests." Every State has the right and Congress cannot constitutionally deprive it of a right so essential to its well being and safety. The question was debated in the Convention when the Constitution was formed" whether it would not be more fair and equal and more likely to ensure a direct and immediate representation of the popular opinion if a uniform qualification for voting for the House of Representatives were adopted. It was, however, unanimously decided otherwise." This decision proved too important points. First, that our ancestors did not agree that all men are born equally free and independent, or equals, and secondly, that this was not a consolidated government of the people of the United States for the purposes of the Government, or in any other sense, but a confederation or partial Union of sovereign States for certain specified purposes—and that the government thus formed operates on the States and on the people of the States, only so far as the State governments have given their assent; and that we are the people of the United States, and not the people of a State, that has no name; and that the States alone can say who shall constitute its people, or whom they shall reject.

In the Grecian Democracies, the supreme power was retained by the people in their own hands. But people there did not mean every body. In their public assemblies they passed whatever laws pleased them, and they exercised all the supreme powers of the State. But it is admitted, and approved of by Rousseau, that their assemblies were not legal, and had not in their decrees sovereign force, unless the meeting was called according to prescribed rules. Those rules were their constitution, and thus even their authority emanated from the laws. (*Contrat Social*, Liv. 3, ch. 18.)

It is only then, in a legal way, that, even according to the excessively jacobinical ideas of Rousseau, and the practice of the purest democracy the people could, even when assembled, exercise sovereign power. Indeed Rousseau says, that when the people of Athens were legally assembled, and appointed their commanders and cashiered others, decreed honors to some, and imposed fines and penalties upon others, and by various decrees exercised indistinctly all the acts of Government, the people then were no longer possessed of the general will, properly speaking—they acted no longer as sovereign, *but as magistrates*. This, says he, may seem contrary to common ideas, but he only asked time to explain his. He begs the attentive reader, not to hasten to accuse him of contradictions. He is forced to it by terms and the poverty of language—“*mais attendez*,” but wait and we would see! And we do see that he soon after utters the following absurdities and contradictory propositions. That the sovereignty being composed of individuals, could have no interest adverse to the individual, and therefore there was no necessity for guaranties in favor of the subject, and that this power can never be transferred, divided or represented; “for if the people promise to obey, they are annihilated by the act, and lose the quality of people. The instant they give themselves a master they are no longer sovereign—and from that moment the body politic is destroyed.” (Liv. 2. ch. 1.)

We at the South, believe the law is master, and to that master we willingly submit. We acknowledge that power may be transferred, divided and represented, as our State and General Government prove. We cannot, therefore, adopt Rousseau's idea of sovereignty, nor can we believe with him, that the people can never err, “because the general will is always right and tends always to the public welfare.” He proceeds to say that Government is an intermediary body established between the *subject* and the *sovereign*, for their mutual intelligence, charged with the execution of the law and the maintenance of political and civil liberty. “Suppose, he says, that the State is composed of 10,000 citizens. The sovereignty could only be considered in them collectively, and in a body. That each taken separately, in the character of a subject is considered only as an individual; thus the sovereignty is to the



subject as 10,000 is to 1: that is to say, that each member of the State has only for his part the ten thousandth part of the sovereign authority, although he is entirely subjected to it. Then, says he, the subject always remaining as one, the relation of the sovereignty augments in proportion as the number of citizens. Whence it follows that in proportion as the State is enlarged its liberty diminished." Here we see that individually, we are all *subjects*, and must obey the law, but collectively we are "the people" and are sovereign and above the law. Yet he says, "Government may be considered as a new body in the State, distinct from the *people and from the sovereign*, and intermediate between the two. In other words, the people are the sovereignty and of course one and the same, and yet he places an intermediate body between them! Of course it must follow that the people are not sovereign, if his proposition as to Government be true. But he not only confounds "the people" with sovereignty, but *subjects* also, for he says: "The words *subject* and *sovereign* are correlatively identical terms, and are comprehended by the single word *citizen*." (*Liv.* 3d ch. 13.) Again he says, "the moment that the people are *legitimately* assembled in their sovereign body all jurisdiction of government ceases, the executive power is suspended, because, wherever is found the represented there can be no representative." With us there can be no legitimate action of government but through representatives. The constituents never act but to vote for representatives to various functions. Even so in conventions of the people, as they are falsely called, for in truth they are no more conventions of the people than the legislatures are. But, in whatever way it is done, according to Rousseau, the moment that a people appoint themselves representatives, they are no longer free,—they cease to exist,—"*il n'est plus*." "In the first place, the supreme authority can neither modify nor transfer itself, to limit is to destroy it. It is absurd and contradictory for the sovereign to give itself a superior; to oblige itself to obey a master is to remit it to its full liberty." (Ch. 16.) With these premises Rousseau is led, of course, to the conclusion, that "the deputies of the people are not then, and cannot be their representatives; they are nothing but their commissaries or fac-

tors, and can conclude nothing definitely." Hence has grown up the unconstitutional and mischievous doctrine of instructions.

Benjamin Constant, who was himself a rational liberal, said, on some occasion, that he knew nothing more fatal than the eternal metaphysics of the "*Contrat Social*." It leaves no resource against the dominant power of the people, no barrier against the sovereign power, no protection or independence to the individual. Grosser contradictions cannot be found than in the *Discours Sur L'origine de L'inégalité*, and in the *Contrat Social*. This, we think, we have sufficiently shown. Could any other consequences follow such theories but discontent, disobedience, socialism, communism, emeutes, barricades, civil wars, revolutions and social convulsions.

In another place Rousseau says, the political body is called The State when *passive*, the sovereign when *active*, and all associates under the Social Compact, take collectively, the name of the people, and in particular "that of citizen, as participating in the sovereign authority, and subject, when submitting to the law. He had just said before that when they act, they put off their sovereignty and act as government, and people, citizen, subject and sovereign are all confounded in a chaos of confused sentences and contradictory propositions, that must put an end to all law and all government; for says this author of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, no man can be one of the sovereigns if he submits to the law, for if he promises to obey he is annihilated by the act, ceases to be one of the people, and by thus taking upon himself a master terminates his sovereignty, with the body politic. The corollary that must follow from such a proposition is inevitable—that there can be no popular sovereignty where the law governs. And to maintain the doctrine, we must abandon the supremacy of the law, and acknowledge the full force and obligation of the "Higher Law" principle, or of the code of Chief J. Lynch.

With Mr. Guizot, we believe that a man has not an absolute power over himself in virtue of his will: as a moral and reasonable being he is a subject—subject to laws which he did not himself make, but which have a rightful authority over him. "If the

power of the people is indivisible, unrepresentable and inalienable, and they can do no wrong, then they are absolute and cannot be subject to law or government. Which is to say—man cannot live in society! In this country, at least, we all profess to be governed by law and responsibility to law. We can, lawfully, do no act that is prohibited by law, and, as people, merely, can make no law. We are, therefore, subject to the law, and the power that makes the law is superior to us, but is of us, and is placed over us by the body politic for our mutual good and the welfare of the whole. Sovereignty in society can never be in abeyance, or in a state of hiatus or syncope, except in revolutions. Revolutions can only be against the will of governments. If political changes are made with the consent and approval of government, and in a legally acknowledged way, and by prescribed modes, they cannot be properly called revolutions, for revolution means a subversion or upsetting of the supreme law making power, or a part of it, against its will, and in defiance of its power. By the Constitution of England, a part at least of sovereign power is vested in the King, and descends by inheritance. To remove the King and change the dynasty is then a revolution. It was a revolution when we threw off the royal power and denied and resisted the authority of the British parliament. Our revolution transferred all sovereign power from that government, compatible with just principles of representation, into the hands of the State governments, and all subsequent constitutions have been adopted by consent of these State governments, and in every instance, the first legal step taken to consider, prepare or adopt such constitutions have been taken by the State legislatures. They have all been adopted consonant to their will and with their primary consent, and are, therefore, legal changes, and not revolutions; for, otherwise, every change of the Constitution would be a revolution.

Prof. *Gervinus* greatly mistakes when he says that the Americans, at the commencement of their self-government, were “guided entirely by the *instincts of nature and reason* in its simplest consequences, *apart from all existing State organization*,” and that they had “no antiquity, no tradition, no history and experience.” This is a strange mistake for a historian. The learned professor

in his over excited enthusiasm, common to all modern continental reformers or political liberals, seems to have overlooked the whole history of the American Colonies, and to have forgotten that with legislative forms of government we had, from our very foundation, possessed and enjoyed all the great principles of anglican liberty, however underated by Rousseau, and that English antiquity and British history was still our history and our antiquity, and that except in the *personnel* of the supreme power, scarcely any change was made by our revolution in the freedom of our institutions, as the case of Rhode Island proves, and none whatsoever were made in our social relations. The Heidelberg professor was, therefore, wrong in saying, upon a superficial view, that "the theories of Rousseau (which he favors) were first brought into practice in the American Constitution, as the principle of a new code of politics." It would have been perfectly true if said of the Declaration of Independence and of many of the preambles of the State Constitutions, though contradicted by the subsequent provisions in such constitutions. The practice, in no instance, conformed to the theory. But the General Government neither admits nor operates on the numerical principle, nor has it been given the right to bestow or refuse the right of suffrage. Suffrage only comes through the States, and the right to it is only within their legal power. So far from the numerical principle of Rousseau having been adopted by the Government of the United States, it is denied by the clause which provides for counting the numbers of people in the respective States, to be represented in the House, which only includes "free persons" and those bound to service only for a term of years, and excludes Indians, not taxed, and three-fifths of *all other persons*, by which was meant slaves, then possessed by every State in the Union and by every European State that had colonies.

Rousseau says, the idea of modern representation is derived from the feudal governments, which he considers iniquitous and absurd, and that in the ancient republics, the people had no representatives; *on ne connaissait pas ce mot là*: hence he supposes that the instant a people gives itself representatives, they cease to be free. The conclusion is perfectly consistent with the prem-

ises and theory, and those who adopt the theory must expect that conclusions will be drawn which naturally flow from them.

Hence the hopeless struggle which wild enthusiasts are now maintaining, and will long maintain, against the royal governments of Europe, which, bad as they are, promise more peace and protection to the people than the red republicanism of Rousseau's disciples. Hence all the late failures on the continent in their attempts to better their condition. Their excitement and their theories begin to invade our shores, attended with equally bad results. It appears to be distinctly within our recollection when first the idea seems to have obtained among sensible, well-educated men amongst us, not inclined to demagogism, that sovereignty was vested in the people, and not in the supreme power or government. And just in proportion as it obtains, it will be seen that constitutional obligations will be weakened and disregarded, whenever they come in the way of popular wishes or popular, local, or party interests. It will inevitably produce those political *rat-holes* which cannot be filled, and which, sooner or later, must sap the foundations of that constitutional dyke which was intended to protect us from such devastations.

Mons. Laponneraye, in a historical notice of *Robespierre*, prefixed to a late edition of his works, (Paris, 1840,) with the countenance and assistance of the late Armand Carrel, says that Jesus Christ, Rousseau, and Robespierre, ("*les trois hommes*,") were three names that marched inseparably, and were logically deduced the one from the other, as the three terms of the same proposition; a trinity, holy and sublime, which embraces in itself the principles of Equality and Fraternity;—Robespierre the militant, Rousseau the theorist, and Jesus Christ the initiator. Robespierre held that the circle of sovereignty, in its universality, embraced everybody; and that to desire to enter upon the exercise thereof was, in other terms, to desire revolution. And St. Just, whose works have also lately been republished, "the most virtuous of men," as his editor calls the man who proclaimed Terror as the order of the day, early embraced the principles of Rousseau with enthusiasm and profound conviction, and looked upon him, as all their clubs did, as the Precursor of the Revolution.

St. Just, in his Report to the Convention, in the name of the Committee of Safety, (10th Oct., 1793,) says: "A people has but one dangerous enemy, and that is government."—"since the people of France have declared their will, all who are opposed to it are excluded from the sovereignty (*hors le souverain*), and all without the sovereignty are enemies." Such must always be the fate of a minority where sovereignty is supposed to reside in the people, and not in the legally and constitutionally established powers of government. And such are the opinions and course of those who carry out most rigidly the principles and theory of Rousseau.

We by no means deny that the people, legally considered, are the source of all political power, and that it is intrinsically designed for their happiness and welfare; but we cannot say when or how this power was first transferred from the inorganic masses to the hands of legal power. It is enough that we find government acknowledged by all people, civilized and uncivilized, and that society cannot exist without it, and no evidence can be furnished of any original compact constituting government; and we deny that the necessary supreme power can be exercised in any other way, under our system, than by the law, or through the legitimate organs of government; and we contend that the meaning of sovereignty is this supreme power, which has been established for the protection of the citizens, who cannot otherwise be protected in property or person. If something else is meant, a new word should be found for it; and it can only lead to confusion and error if the word is perverted to other uses.

Blackstone says: "By the sovereign power is meant the making of laws; for wherever that power resides, all others must conform to and be directed by it, whatever appearances the outward form and administration of the government may put on. For it is at any time in the option of the legislature to alter that form and administration." The latter part of the sentence is true as to the British Parliament, because it is, as far as human affairs are concerned, omnipotent or absolute, and may alter the form of government, and may put the execution of the laws in whatever hand it pleases. So the Parliament has removed kings

and chosen others; for the king of England, though commonly styled their sovereign, is in some respects really only an institution representing sovereignty, and possesses only in part supreme power; for the full power is there only vested in Parliament, (King, Lords and Commons.)

The American colonies, as we have said, when they adopted their constitutions, were not so inexperienced and unorganized as to be left entirely to the instincts of reason, as Prof. Gervinus supposes; but, while in a state of revolution, supported themselves by means of such institutions as remained to them of their former condition, and had already legislative bodies, and the sovereignty of the States was always maintained by some acknowledged, authorized government at their gloomiest period. They had their Governors and General Assemblies, their Courts, their trial by jury, their habeas corpus, their charters, or other provincial forms of government, and, in short, the common law of England with all its attendant officers and institutions of local self-government; and what was worth them all, but perhaps the consequence of all, the habit of obedience to the laws, devoid of factious discontent and love of change, and free of metaphysical and sophistical theories, that tend to a constant disturbance of society, and always aim at something that is neither attainable or comprehensible. The people no longer owed allegiance to a crowned head, or to the government of Great Britain, but, with the slightest possible changes, formed independent governments of their own, and vested them with sovereign power, called States. In the case of *Dunn vs. City Council* (Harper's L. R. 196), Judge Nott says, speaking of eminent domain, "This power I have already said is an essential attribute of sovereignty. Wherever the sovereign power is lodged, that constitutes a part. In South Carolina, I think it is lodged in the legislative body, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. The legislature, therefore, possesses all the power which the people themselves possess [possessed?] where it is not restricted by the constitution, or where the power is not delegated to any other branch or department of government." Judge Huger, in *Thomas vs. Daniel*, (2 McCord's Law Reports, p. 359,) says that the legis-

lature of South Carolina, as the representative of the people, between the years 1775 and 1789, previous to the adoption of the present constitution, was absolute in its powers. In the course of that time, it had given two constitutions to the State, that of 1776 and that of 1778. In 1790, the delegates of the people, met by authority of the legislature, ordained and established the constitution of 1790. That constitution states that all power is [was] originally vested in the people; and all free governments are founded on their authority, &c. This was no doubt true; for until governments were founded, the *passive* power was originally in the people, and not in the sovereign power, as Rousseau supposes. But when government is established, the power is transferred, or rather arises to the government, and that becomes the active power of a State, and is therefore truly called its sovereign power, because it governs all, and all are subject to its laws. Strictly speaking, there can arise no political or civil power except out of society, and government *ex necessitate*, flows from and is co-existent with society, as soon as formed by man. The element of political power is in man—every man, but it cannot be developed until society renders it necessary, and then, from the necessities and very existence of society, government has its rise, and takes its existence. If any of these elements are unnecessary or dangerous to society, they may be excluded, as the robber and murderer, the idiot and pauper, are excluded. And wo! to that race whose incapacity or character renders it unfit to take equal position with the best, for they that cannot govern must be governed, and they that will not do must be made to do! All men must take their place, and those that are not fit to be placed in society, must be placed under society—those not fit for freedom must be slaves. To man—single man—lonely man—to man in a state of nature, as some will have it, government has no relation, nor does there appertain to him any rights—rights of any sort, moral or civil—though there may be religious rights, as between man and his God. How then can we talk of natural rights and natural equality, when the thing is impossible, all rights arising out of society and government of man's own forming?



By the constitution of South Carolina it is expressly declared that no convention of the people shall be called, unless by concurrence of two-thirds of both branches of the whole representation; and a particular mode is prescribed for amending or altering the Constitution by the Legislature. So that any change may be made in the Constitution by the Legislature that can be made by a convention, provided it proceeds in the prescribed mode. Mr. Webster, in his argument in the Rhode Island case, says: "Of all the old thirteen States, the Constitutions, with but one exception [two as we have shown], contained no provision for their own amendment. In New-Hampshire there was a provision for taking the sense of the people once in seven years, yet there is hardly one that has not altered its Constitution, *and it has been done by conventions called by the legislatures, as an ordinary legislative power.*" And he asks, what State has ever altered the Constitution in any other mode? "What alteration," he asks, "has ever been brought in, put in, forced in, or got in any how by resolutions of mass meetings, and then by applying force? In what State has any assembly, calling itself The People, convened without law, without authority, without qualifications, without certain officers, with no oaths, securities or sanctions of any kind, met and made a Constitution, and called it the Constitution of the State? There must be some authentic mode of ascertaining the will of the people, else all is anarchy." In most, if not all of the States, conventions have been called, and it has been regarded as an ordinary exercise of legislative power. It is a revolution where a convention is held independent of the law, and the government changed, for, as Mr. Webster says, there is a hiatus or syncope in the action of the body politic, and future legislation owes its origin to that revolution. This was not the case in the formation of the present Constitution and Government of the United States, nor was it the case in the States where conventions have been called by their State Legislatures, for effecting changes in their State Constitutions. According to the theory of the sovereignty of the people, the consequences inferred by Rousseau naturally follow, that the instant the people are supposed to be assembled in Convention, the Convention becomes,

as in the French Revolution, an absolute tyranny, holding in its hand all powers—legislative, executive, judicial, military, civil or uncivil, and may become the mere police and scavenger of the streets. This certainly cannot be our understanding of the duties of a convention. In framing a constitution that establishes a government vested with supreme authority, or only a part of supreme authority usual to governments, it cannot be truly said that all power is still vested in the people; but it may be true that all power is *derived* from the people, who constitute and are synonymous with the political society. Nor does it mean everybody, as we have already said, and would not be misunderstood, but such members as constitute elements of the political society, acknowledged and admitted as such. It would be neither good grammar nor good sense in the same instrument that conveys all sovereign powers from the people to their representatives and declares that the people shall never again legally meet in convention, even figuratively, to change, modify, or amend the Constitution, unless by the consent of the Legislature,—to say that all power is still vested in the people. The Constitution does not utter any such Rousseau-like absurdity, for when it does say that all power is *originally* vested in the people, it can only be construed to mean, that all such power *was* originally so vested, before it was conveyed by that same instrument to their representatives, to be administered in justice and truth. It would be more than nonsense to say that one is vested with a right he had in the same deed conveyed to another.

Such is the force of habit that even Judge Harper, in the case of the State vs. Hunt and McMeeken (Allegiance case), and that too after commenting on the inaccurate use often made of this very word sovereignty, and which, he says, persons so often repeat supposing that they understand it, and to which they attach no precise or definite meaning, he himself commits the very same error when he says, "That sovereignty *resides* in the people," though he admits that "all authority is *delegated* from them," while only a few pages preceding he had said, "It is most evident that in every State there must be some authority, whether lodged in one or many hands, or one or more departments, which

controlling all other constituted authorities, is not itself subject to the control of any. Wherever that authority resides, is to be found the sovereignty."

Nor are these representatives or officers of the government *servants* of the people, as they are often professed to be, for the purpose of popular flattery. Where they act as servants to some, they are sure to play master to others. We never hear the phrase used, but we wish to dress up such servant in livery and to adorn him with plush, hat-band, lace and shoulder-knots, and to place him, like a *chasseur*, behind some burgomaster's carriage, or to wait at table on all election feasts. When Mr. Webster speaks of the people as sovereigns, in his argument in the Rhode Island case, he takes care to say, in his sardonic manner, "But, as Chief Justice Jay says, they have no other subjects than a few colored persons, and that it was rather fanciful." This, we suppose, would now be treason in Faneuil Hall.

The powers of the State and General Government are by no means inconsistent or repugnant, where honestly administered according to the Constitution; but should tyranny and misrule on the part of the General Government at any time endanger the existence of the State, and render duty and obedience to both inconsistent and repugnant, then the universal rule applies—our duty to our prior and therefore paramount obligation, for the General Government, in accepting the pledge of obedience from the citizen of the States, well knew his prior existing obligation; and no individual has the jurisdiction to say that his State is wrong, and he will not obey her, after the legal authorities have determined to withdraw her from the Union. Until that decision is made, he is bound by all constitutional laws made by either, and he cannot set up his opinion against the authorities that are authorized and required to expound and enforce the law. Nothing more was intended by South Carolina, when, in 1832, she required an oath of allegiance to the State of all her officers. The constitutions of other States had, all along, required the same, without comment or objection. It was not then a new idea to require an oath of allegiance to the State, while, at the same time, the officer is also required to swear to preserve, protect and

defend the Constitution of the United States as of the State. The objections made at the time arose entirely from the high state of party feeling existing at that time, in which the judges partook as active partisans, some of whom have not lost their bitterness to this day. They were blinded by their prejudices, which should have been rather for than against their State. In drafting that oath, particular consideration was given to the act of 1778, "Enforcing allegiance and fidelity to the State," which expressly places protection and allegiance on the ground of their being necessarily reciprocal and inseparable. The writer speaks knowingly, for he drew the bill and brought it into the House from the Committee on Federal Relations. It required nothing more nor less than the promise to perform the duties arising from our peculiar form of government. We looked upon the United States Government as created by the pre-existing several States for our foreign relations only, and as subsequent in time, derivative and subordinate in its creation, and that it secured the pledges of fidelity from the citizens of the States, well knowing their paramount duty, in case of conflict or separation, to the latter. We agree with Bishop Whately and Algernon Sydney, that allegiance is such obedience as the law requires to the supreme authority of the State, no matter what form it may assume, and that while it may mean fidelity to a prince in one country, in another it may mean conformity and obedience to the law—*ad legem* (*Synonyms*) the supreme power that is above all.

Loyalty is not confined in its meaning to its feudal sense, but means honesty, truth and faithfulness in the performance of all the duties of life; and allegiance means that duty performed to the Constitution and laws of the land. Whilst acting within their constitutional powers, the Government of the United States as to its powers, and the State Governments as to theirs, are sovereign, and there can be no other sovereignty co-existing in the people so long as these governments exist. The contrary doctrine leads to anarchy. The State Governments before the Union, or any Union, and until restricted by the State Constitutions, possessed full supreme power. They gave new constitutions, and might have adopted any form of government they pleased. When they

came into the Union, they agreed, for an indefinite time, to suspend the exercise of some of these powers, and to entrust them to a common agent—the Government of the United States; and that government thus became supreme and sovereign in its legitimate limits. In other words, obedience became due to it, as to any other supreme power, and the States had the right to pledge our obedience to it.

Chancellor Harper says, in the *State vs. Hunt & McMeekin*, that there may be a confederacy having many characteristics of a consolidated State, and he intimates that it would be queer enough if, in our case, the Union should constitute neither or both. “The essential character of a confederacy,” he proceeds to say, “is that the States remain sovereign; and the test of that sovereignty would be to inquire whether, if one State should think proper to withdraw from the Confederacy, all citizens and constituted authorities within its territorial limits would be legally bound to obey and sustain that act, or would owe a higher obedience to some other power. If such higher obedience would be due elsewhere, the State (improperly so called) would be in no degree sovereign—it would be but a department of a larger consolidated State. If the State would be thus entitled, in the last resort, to command the obedience of its citizens and constituted authorities, it is a perfect sovereignty.”

A nation contracting with another not to exercise certain sovereign powers, does not thereby lose its nationality or independence, as many treaties show; and we know of no power which the State may, for special purposes, relinquish, which she may not resume, if she has been defeated by bad faith in those objects, or if the powers relinquished for certain purposes are perverted to others that endanger her existence. Vattel says (B. 1, ch. 1, 54): “Several sovereign and independent States may unite themselves together by a perpetual confederacy, without each in particular ceasing to be a perfect State. They will form together a federal republic; the deliberations in common will offer no violence to the sovereignty of each member, though they may, in certain respects, put some restraint on the exercise of it, in virtue of voluntary engagements. A person does not cease to be free

and independent when he is obliged to fulfill the engagement into which he has very willingly entered." Alexander Hamilton is the only statesman, we remember, who ever denied the sovereignty of the States under the confederation, and at the time they adopted the present Constitution, and who had ever read the articles. The wish was, no doubt, father to the thought with him, for Mr. Madison has furnished us with his scheme of government, which he withheld from the convention, because he well knew it would have met with few or no supporters beyond his own little party. This scheme was to render the States mere corporations, or departments of one great empire, over which he would have placed an executive similar to that of Great Britain, and the States, like the counties in England, would have been honored with lieutenants, the favorites of majesty. This party never ceased in their endeavors to obtain by construction what was denied by the States in convention.

A fact deserves insight which we do not remember ever seeing noticed. On the 6th August, 1787, when Mr. Rutledge reported the first draught of the Constitution, the preamble began with, "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts," &c.—naming thirteen States. We have no evidence of any discussion ever occurring on the preamble. It seems to have met with the general approbation. It became doubtful, however, before the instrument was finally agreed upon, whether all the States named would assent to the new Constitution, and only nine were, therefore, required to establish it. On the 15th September, all amendments having been proposed and discussed, it was ordered to be engrossed, as amended, without one word having been said about the preamble. On the 17th, it was returned as engrossed, the preamble being changed to "We, the people of the United States;" the United States being a generic number, was placed instead of the States severally, it then not being known which States would ratify. The change was honestly made to meet the contingency, and we cannot presume that it was ever supposed, much less intended, to effect a change, a most important and vital change, in the meaning and character of the instrument.

The Constitution can only operate by means of government, and cannot be either enforced or disregarded by the people, as people. The Government, therefore, may be properly called the constitutional sovereign power of the State, and that power is *derived from* the people, and is for their benefit. But a thing *derived is drawn from*, conveyed or transferred, and power conveyed by the people and transferred to their trustees cannot still remain vested and resident in them. The Constitution is the chart by which the Government is to move, and thus the sovereign, as well as the popular will, is checked and controlled, and the great machine of society is made to move with regularity and safety to all. But for these checks, we should stand between Charybdis and Scylla. We confess we dread the one as much as the other.

No man has done more to mislead the mind of the American bar, on this subject, than Judge Tucker, of Virginia. His Notes and Appendix to Blackstone, though very good on constitutional construction and the powers of the Government, are full of Rousseau's and other Gallic ideas, and he adopts the idea of the social compact as the basis of government, and, as a consequence, the sovereignty of the people. Judge Tucker wrote soon after, and under the full influence of, the French Revolution, and continually relies on the authority of Rousseau and Tom Paine. It is well known to what an extent French opinions and French feeling once prevailed with the best people of our country. It was a sort of moral small pox, that has left its mark to this day, on more, we fear, than the face of things. Judge Tucker candidly admits that, in the use of the word sovereignty, he differs from most political writers. Of course, he preferred the authority of Rousseau and Tom Paine to that of Sidney, Lock, Real, Montesquieu, Vattel and Grotius. The Judge, too, falls into the miserable political cant of calling officers the *servants* of the people (2 *Tucker's Blac.*, 146). The effect has been to produce throughout our country scores of those political menials who are willing to do any dirty work to obtain and retain certain places, and already our political household begins to exhibit all those peculiar virtues for which "my man John" has ever been distinguished, and the political larder and wardrobe and store rooms tell awful tales of trea-

sure trove and spoils divided. And Taylor of Caroline remarks, in his *Arator*, that Mr. Jefferson suffered under this French disease, and communicated some of it to the Declaration of Independence and to his Notes on Virginia. Though a sound man on most political questions, who did much for correct principles and putting down bad ones, Jefferson always had a weakness towards popular applause. Hence he is often quoted on all sides, and was often too ready to create sovereigns of Sausage-venders and Knife-grinders.

Judge Tucker, with the usual inaccuracy on this subject, first says that sovereignty resides in the people, and then proceeds to show how some sovereign powers have been distributed to the State Governments and others to the General Government. This reminds us of the old song of the boys, who a-sliding went—"they all got drowned, the rest they ran away." Besides, in Note B. of his Appendix, forgetting his theory, he speaks of the people *resuming*, in certain contingencies, the sovereignty which they had *delegated* by the Constitution to their agents or trustees; and he admits that an attempt on the part of the people to change the Constitution in any other manner than that the Constitution prescribes, or, he might have added, with the consent of Government, is a subversion of the foundation of its authority.

We know of no people now in existence, where it might be truly said that sovereignty resides in the people, unless it can be so said of the inhabitants of St. Marino, that duodecimo republic, perched upon its inaccessible cliffs.

Mr. Mosely, in his *Political Elements*, says: "But assuming, for the present that, in accordance with the doctrines of the jurists, the will and opinion of the people is that *from which* the State *derives* its power, the question arises, how far the people has *delegated* its authority to the State, and, if so, how far it is precluded from interfering in matters which lie within its particular jurisdiction? Has the sovereign power passed to the law and to the State, or does it still remain in the people? According to these authorities, it would appear that the sovereignty of the State is above the sovereignty of the people—that the people has entirely delegated its power to the State. The question depends a



good deal on this, whether the State is the officer, or the mere agent or servant of the people. The great difference between an officer and a mere agent or servant is this—that the former, when once appointed, is bound to act, not according to the will and wishes of the persons who appoints him, but according to the course of law, the custom and practice of his office, and his own discretion; whilst the latter must act according to the will and wishes of him that appoints him. To hold that the State were the mere servant of the public, were, as elsewhere observed, to say that the government of this country was an anarchy; for whether there be no government at all, or there be one that is the mere blind agent or conduit pipe for carrying out the will of the people, is the same thing."

Mr. Guizot appears to us to be the only continental writer who seems to have correct, or even respectable views, in relation to a representative government. On the subject of the sovereignty of the people, he proceeds to show that there is a fundamental difference between the principle of representative government and that of democratic government. "No one," he says, "has ever understood the sovereignty of the people to mean that, after having consulted all opinions and all wills, the opinion and will of the greatest number constituted the law, but that the minority would be free to disobey that which had been decided in opposition to its opinion and will. And yet this would be the necessary consequence of the pretended right attributed to each individual of being governed by such laws as have received his individual assent. The absurdity of this consequence has not always induced its adherents to abandon the principle, but it has always obliged them to violate it. The sovereignty of the people is contradicted at the outset, by its being resolved into the empire of the majority over the minority. It is almost ridiculous to say that the minority may retire from the majority; this would be to keep society continually on the brink of dissolution. On every question, the majority and the minority would disagree, and if all the successive minorities should retire, society would very soon exist no longer. The sovereignty of the people, then, must necessarily be reduced to the sovereignty of the majority only. When thus reduced,

what does it amount to? Its principle is, that the majority possesses right by the mere circumstance of its being the majority. But two very different ideas are included in the one expression—the majority—the idea of an opinion which is accredited, and that of a force which is preponderant. So far as force is concerned, the majority possesses no right different from that possessed by force itself, which cannot be, upon this ground alone, the legitimate sovereignty. As to the expression of opinion, is the majority infallible? Does it always apprehend and respect the claims of reason and justice, which alone constitute the true law, and confer legitimate sovereignty? Experience testifies to the contrary. The majority, by mere fact of its being a majority, that is to say, by the mere force of numbers, does not, then, possess legitimate authority, either by virtue of power, which never does confer it, nor by virtue of infallibility, which it does not possess."

"The principle of sovereignty of the people starts from the supposition that each man possesses, as his birth-right, not merely an equal right of being governed but an equal right of governing others. Like aristocratic governments, it connects the right to govern not with capacity but with birth. Aristocratic government is the sovereignty of the people in the minority; the sovereignty of the people is aristocratic despotism and privilege in the hands of the majority. The principle of the sovereignty of the people, that is to say the equal rights of all individuals to concur in the exercise of sovereignty is then radically false; for under the pretext of maintaining legitimate equality it silently introduces equality where none exists, and pays no regard to legitimate inequality. The consequences of this principle are the despotism of number, the domination of inferiorities over superiorities; that is a tyranny of all others the most violent and unjust. Such cannot be the principle of representative government. Representative government applies to general interests and to the government of society, the same which the good sense of the human race has led it to apply to individual interests and to the control of each man's private life. It distributes sovereignty according to the capacity required for it, that is to say, it only places actual power or any portion of actual power where it has discovered the presence

of rightful power, presumed to exist by certain symptoms or vested by certain proofs."

He goes on to say that the representative system confines power fully and completely to no one. The majority which governs in the representative system is very different from that majority which the sovereignty of the people implies. The latter embraces all individuals because they exist—the representative system seeks for a majority among those who are capable. It excludes the idea that all men were born equal, or equally independent. "It is in this way, in fact, that men have every where proceeded, even where they have been supposed to act according to the idea of the sovereignty of the people. Never have they been entirely faithful to it; they have always demanded for political actions certain conditions, that is to say, indications of a certain capacity."

"The sovereignty of the people sees legitimate power in the multitude; representative government sees it only in unity, that is to say, in the reason to which the multitude ought to reduce itself. The principle of the sovereignty of the people is contrary to all the facts which reveal themselves in the actual origin of power and in the progress of societies; representative government does not blink any one of these facts. Last, the sovereignty of the people is no sooner proclaimed than it is compelled to abdicate its power and to confess the impracticability of its aims; representative government moves naturally and steadily onward, and develops itself by its very existence. Sovereignty of the people is only a weapon of attack and destruction, never an instrument for the foundation of liberty. It is not a principle of government, it is a terrible dictatorship exercised by the multitude—a dictatorship that ceases and that ought to cease as soon as the multitude has accomplished its work of destruction. The true theory of sovereignty, that is, the radical illegitimacy of all absolute power, whatever may be its name and place, is the principle of representative government. The responsibility of power is, in fact, inherent in the representative system; it is the only system which makes it one of its fundamental conditions. Finally, he says, "Man has not an absolute power over himself in virtue of his will; as a moral and reasonable being he is a subject—subject

to laws which he did not himself make, but which have a rightful authority over him." The Northern freesoil, abolition doctrine, we repeat, is the legitimate offspring of the principles inculcated by the sovereignty of the people. Let Southern men look to the consequences of a doctrine they themselves have taught, and they will see their mistake. Their safety depends on the sovereignty of the Constitution, and the laws made in conformity with its provisions and compromises, and not upon the temporary compromises of a fluctuating irresponsible majority.

A State is a body politic, but every body of people does not constitute a State. No inorganic mass, or masses have ever been recognized as a State. Until a people are organized and have a legal existence, a government, *defacto*, at least, and present a probable chance of standing alone, they are never acknowledged by the most liberal governments as standing in the rank of sovereign nations. When people are so organized that they can treat with other States and can make laws and establish forms that will protect every citizen from the mass, and the State from foreign danger it is a State, and its government becomes the sovereign power. Until there is government there can be no sovereignty. Otherwise every assembly or congregation of people might claim sovereignty. Whilst the government exists the people can only express their will through the government, and the will of that government, if it be a representative government, is said to be the will of the people, because *qui facit per alium facit per se*. In no other way can a compact entered into between several governments be considered as the compact of the people, and we have shown from Vattel, that according to the laws of nations such a compact does not render them one constituted people—but each State may still remain a sovereign State. Voluntary restraints may be placed on the exercise of certain sovereign powers and such powers for certain and specific objects may be exercised by an authority mutually agreed upon, and powers so transferred may constitute sovereign powers, and the double sovereignty may act harmoniously without destroying but rather protecting each other. To the first, prior or paramount, we might say, indigenous obedience is due, and the second is a factitious obligation, assumed and accepted with a full knowledge of the facts on all

sides. And, if we are right, a State may, without cause of just offence to the others, withdraw from the Union upon sufficient cause, of which she alone can justly be the judge, and in that case obedience is due to the State, and the citizen must necessarily be absolved from any inconsistent duty to which he may be exposed in such emergency. We believe that the legislature, where not restrained by the Constitution, *may do whatever is necessary to the welfare and safety of the State*; and where the general government, losing sight of constitutional obligations, does what endangers the existence and vital welfare of the State—that the legislature may withdraw from the Union or defend the State from wrong without the necessity of calling a Convention—which would be a mere question of policy—and this opinion was expressed in the late Convention of South Carolina by the Hon. Langdon Cheves, aptly characterized in a late pamphlet as “so pure and so wise.”

This now brings us to that important—that vital question—whether the Constitution of the United States was ratified and established by the governments of the several States or by the people, and if by the latter whether they are thereby created ONE PEOPLE?

That the Constitution was established by the people of America, as we are generally called, and not by the peoples of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c., &c., no one pretends as we have seen. If established by the people, it must have been done by the peoples of the various States, and not by one people. If done by the several people of the several States, it was not done by one people, or the people of one great State, but of many. But the people constitute the body politic of the State, and the body politic is the State, the government of the State; and the terms, the people of the State—the State—the government of the State, are every day used the one for the other, and the people as mere people, and not in the character of government, can do no act that has legal vitality either in a domestic or foreign relation. Then, to say with any legal consequence that a thing was done by the people of a State, or by the State, or by the government of the State, is one and the same. This conclusion is right, or all our premises are wrong.

Be it as it will, if by this Union we are made One, then we are a consolidated people, with a consolidated government, and we would agree with Mr. Walker, that the sooner an amendment is made the better—and, indeed, the sooner we are dissolved the better. We do not, however, agree with Mr. Walker, and shall proceed to give our reasons.

We are told every day that men may be judged by their antecedents. It is only saying that they may be known by their history. The same may be said of constitutions and forms of government. There is always an external and internal history. Neither should be neglected.

At the beginning, it has been asked, why a peculiar name, like that of Columbia or some other appropriate one, had not been selected, by which this great country might have been known. The reason was palpable enough. It was only intended to be The United States, and it was never intended that they should be one people. This is what many of the wisest dreaded, as is evident from the debates on the Constitution, in the course of its progress, and from the Constitution itself, and from the proceedings in the formation and adoption of the Constitution.

Whatever power in the State is exercised by permission or consent, or at the suggestion of the State, is done, of course, by authority of that government. The permission or assent may be directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, and must be such as would raise the implication in the case of a private individual. More or less is not necessary, where no express form is required. According to the meaning of the words, as understood by Aristotle, Algernon Sidney, Lock, Grotius, Montesquieu, Vattel, Blackstone, Kent, Nott, and others of our judges, and by every lexicographical work we can lay our hands on, *the sovereign power* of the State means every department or form by which the legal authority of the State is enforced, or can be exercised, whether it take the name of Convention, Legislature, Executive, Judicial, or any other; and all exercise of power not proceeding from the law is a violation of sovereignty. Hence, we repeat, no meeting or convention, without the authority of the law, can create any new organic law, or do any act that shall have the

force of law, except in the case of Revolution, where necessity becomes the law. *Necessitas non habet legem*, perhaps, should read *habet legem*, for, after all, necessity seems to be the basis of all law, and of all social duties and political rights, for if it has no law itself, it gives law to everything else. It really means that necessity is above all law, and, therefore, makes a law for itself. In no country have the people the right to take the laws into their own hands, except in those parts, as we have said, where Lynch is said to be chief justice, and his code; or the Higher Law, supercedes all others. Being assembled in their sovereign capacity, at least *pro rata*, according to Rousseau, but each in his full sovereignty, according to Chief Justice Jay and Judge Gantt, all government and all laws are suspended, and then steps in Chief Justice Lynch, with his gallows and rope and such constables as Wendell Philips, Theodore Parker and Charles Sumner, or others a little more brave, and the victim is done for, and the slow steps of the vulgar common law is anticipated or defeated, as the fancy of the hour may dictate. If some little mistake is made, and the wrong man hung, shot or stabbed, still it is all in the way of the Higher Law, and of the rights and liberties of a free country, where "all are born equal, free and independent."

In England, a convention is considered but as an unlimited legislature. But according to our system, the political power can never be absolute because it is entirely representative, and the constituent is never present, except at the ballot-box. Such has always been the practice as to Conventions with us. Like the legislature, they are assembled by the law, are elected in the same manner, by the same electors voting in the same way, in the same precincts, and the districts having exactly the same proportionate representation. The people are no more present in it, than in the legislature—no more present than they are at the execution of any function of government, civil or military, legislative or executive. In England, a convention is an extra-constitutional, revolutionary measure. A falling back to a primitive measure or remedy, justified by urgent and extraordinary necessity. With us it is a constitutional and ordinary process, legally performed,

and by no means revolutionary. It should be equally governed by reason, truth and justice, as the Legislature. Like the Legislature, it is only one of the recognised organic modes of the Government, and is used principally to remodel or amend the Constitution, where the Legislature has not been vested with a process for that purpose, as in South Carolina. Its session has no effect on the existing Government, which goes on quietly as if only a county court was in session. The political vessel still remains in the hands of officers, and is not thereby remitted to the care of the crew. The Legislatures of the States, or Congress, can alone propose amendments, because the will of the commonwealth can only be known through those channels. Moreover, two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States, can alone propose amendments, and a convention of the United States can only be called on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States. So much for the sovereignty of the people, or the numerical principle! The United States cannot call a convention at their own will as a people or unit, not even by its government, as can be done in the States. To call a convention does not constitute one of its "ordinary legislative powers." It has no powers not expressly given, and this power is expressly reserved to the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States! Their permission first obtained, Congress, as the common officer to collect the necessary evidence of assent, may call the convention. This proves, first, that sovereignty is not in the elements of government, but in government itself; and, secondly, that the people of the United States are not one people, but the people of many or several States, for a convention especially designed to represent the people, can only be called at the instance of the States, and amendments or alterations can only be ratified by the Legislatures of the States, and not even then by a simple majority, but by nothing less than *three-fourths* of the States, or by conventions of three-fourths of the States, which can only be called by the Legislatures of the States. The only proviso against the power of amendment is rather remarkable at this time, when persons deny property in slaves, and denounce slavery as incompatible with our Declaration of Independence,



viz: That before 1808, no amendment should be admissible to repeal the first clause in the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution, allowing the importation of slaves from Africa, or to prohibit the same, though a duty, not exceeding ten dollars, might be imposed on each. The Eastern States, Mr. Gorham said at the time, had no motive to union but a commercial one; and Governor Morris said, they insisted on a navigation law to protect their shipping and fisheries, and that power given to Congress, and this extension and peculiar protection of the slave trade, constituted at the time the consideration of the bargain between the Northern and Southern States. (Mad. Papers, 1396.) On a motion to strike out the year 1800, to insert that of 1808, which was adopted; the motion was made by Gen. Pinckney and seconded by Gorham, of Massachusetts, and the vote stood seven to four. New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut voting in the affirmative, with Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. (Ibidem, 1427.)

By the fourth clause in the same section, no capitation or other direct tax can be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration directed in the third clause of the second section of the first article—that is, by adding to the whole number of *free* persons three-fifths of the slaves, and each State is allowed one member, no matter how small her population may be. The writ of habeas corpus is secured to *freemen* only; it is denied by the Constitution to the fugitive slave, who must be delivered up on demand. By these provisions, it is clear that whatever may be said by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution does not acknowledge, but on the contrary asserts, that men are neither created or remain equal and independent, and that property may be held in men, and that property protected and taxed for the benefit of the whole; and that this understanding was come to after mature deliberation, and for a full and valuable consideration.

Moreover, when vacancies occur in the representation from any State, the executive of the State, and not of the United States, issues writs of election to fill such vacancies. The Senate of the United States is composed of two Senators from each State, cho-

sen, not by the people, but by the legislatures thereof. And in the Senate the smallest State in the Union has an equal vote with the largest—that is, 87,000 people in Florida and 91,000 in Delaware have the same numerical right, in one branch of the legislature, in making laws, and in the other in voting for a President of the United States, as New York with her 3,000,000 and Virginia with her million and a half. Is this an acknowledgment of the numerical principle of the equality of man or of the unity of our people, even for the purposes of the union? The States are the great barriers against assaults upon the liberties of the people, and we believe our safety lies in numerous small States!

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives are to be prescribed by the State Legislatures; and although Congress may make changes in some respects, it cannot change the place of choosing Senators. Congress can exercise exclusive jurisdiction only in certain places by consent of the Legislatures of the States. On no other condition did it gain jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. No preference can be given to the ports of one State over the ports of another. The States, with the consent of Congress, that is by mutual consent, may lay imposts or duties on *exports* as well as imports, which is more than Congress can do; and even without the assent of Congress, when absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws. With such assent, they may also keep troops or ships of war, enter into any agreement or compact with another or with a foreign power, or even engage in war. Electors of the President and Vice-President are *appointed*, not *elected*, in each State, as the Legislatures may direct; and the Legislature may appoint itself, as in every State was done for many years after the Constitution was adopted, and as South Carolina now does, and we hope will long continue to do. The Legislature may grant the right to the people, to the Governor, or to any other functionary whom she may chose to direct in the performance of this duty.

These electors, then, were never designed to be appointed or apportioned according to the numerical but the federal principle, and upon the principle of the sovereignty of the Legislatures. How can they be regarded as one people, when even the President

and Vice-President cannot be elected from the same State? In defining treason against the United States, it does not say that it shall consist in levying war against *it*, but against *them*, or in adhering to *their* enemies. Full credit, as in the first union, is to be given in each to the public acts, &c., of the others, and without this provision the framers must have supposed that these acts would be considered otherwise as acts of a foreign power, and to be proved as such. Citizens of one State are granted privileges in another; persons charged with crimes, who fly from one State to another, are to be delivered up, and slaves escaping into another State are to be delivered up on claim of the party, in defiance of any law or regulation of the State to the contrary. All these were objects and purposes for which the Union was adopted, but they neither constitute nor prove us to be a consolidated people—a unit. No new State can be erected within the limits of another, nor any State formed by the junction of two or more, or parts thereof, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned. Of course, it can be done with their assent, which proves that the Legislatures are considered as the constituents of the General Government, representing their State. This does not admit either of the unity or numerical principle, and though it may seem a paradox, yet, in this case, the principle of unity and the numerical principle becomes the same; thus proving that extremes often do meet, as we now see in the case of Louis Napoleon.

The powers not delegated to the United States, are reserved to the States *respectively*, or to the people. If reserved to the people collectively, as one people, then it could not be synonymous with the respective States; but the people of the several States are synonymous with the several States, and the people here meant must be the people of the respective States.

Finally, requiring the ratification of nine States, not a majority but three-fourths excludes all idea of unity or of the numerical principle.

If the sovereignty of the people and the equality of men is admitted, then we see no reason why it should not embrace all mankind—black or white, male or female.

We have, so far, relied on the intrinsic evidence furnished by the contents of the Constitution. Let us now examine the extrinsic evidence preceding and attending its adoption.

From what has preceded, we think it can justly be concluded that the substitution of the new Constitution for the Articles of Confederation was not a revolution—a hiatus or syncope in the action of the body politic. On the contrary, it was done not only with the consent, but at the suggestion of the State Governments, and was a legal change of the organic law, made by the organized bodies politic of the States, in the ordinary mode of proceeding. The Articles of Confederation were a “perpetual Union” between certain States, and they were called, as under the present Union, *The United States*. Each State retained in that Union, as in the present, all sovereignty not expressly delegated to the United States. Many sovereign powers of the States were transferred from the State Governments to the Union, under the Confederation, and the new Constitution was only a further extension of the transfer to the hands of the new Government, “in order form a more perfect Union,”—not a Union *ab initio*, but a more perfect one.

By the thirteenth article of the Confederation, that Union is declared perpetual, and all alterations are forbidden unless agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State. The Convention of 1787 was not intended, as Dr. Cooper says, to be subversive, but emendatory. It was first suggested by a Convention held at Annapolis, for the reason that the articles of Confederation “needed amendments,” and a Convention was proposed as the *most eligible* means of effecting these amendments, “because many might suppose that it was betraying on the part of Congress an ambitious wish to get power into its hands,” a ground entirely of temporary policy and dexterous management. No one ever dreamt that Congress might not have recommended these amendments to the State Legislatures as well as a convention. On the contrary, many at the time objected to the Convention as extra-constitutional. Much doubt and difficulty arose, and suspicions expressed that it was intended as an indirect blow at the Confederation,

which of course were met with declarations to the contrary, and the simple idea avowed of amendment and not subversion—but most were lead off, “pleased with it as the harbinger of a *better confederation*.” While it was desired to preserve the Union, many wished to give it the due energy it needed. “The Eastern members,” says Madison, “were suspected of leaning towards some anti-republican establishment.” Some radical amendment was thought necessary, as it might fall into a monarchy, to which many Eastern men inclined, or into two or more confederacies, (Madison’s Papers.) Every State consenting to the Convention declared its object to be only amendment or greater perfection of the Union. And when some plan was agreed upon, it was to be referred back to the State Legislatures for approval or rejection. The Legislatures, then, might have rejected it. They did not do so, but yielded their assent by submitting it to the consideration of Conventions of their own calling. For a detailed account of these proceedings, we refer the reader to the November No. of the old Southern Review, of 1828, where the question as to the formation of the Federal Constitution is discussed, and the facts stated in greater detail, by the writer of the present article. He states the fact that he may not be supposed to be guilty of plagiarism in this.

By the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of New York, in February, 1787, it will be seen that “a firm National Government” was not then considered as inconsistent with a confederation. The Act of Assembly of South Carolina, 8th March, 1787, appointing delegates to the Convention, states the objects to be to discuss “all alterations, articles and provisions that might be thought necessary to render the Federal Constitution *entirely adequate* to the actual situation and *future good government* of the *Confederated States*.” These instructions and authorities were surely broad enough to cover every change that was made, and, therefore, they are entirely consistent with the intentions declared, of preserving the Federal character, and are not inconsistent with a more perfect Union, and with a National Government entirely adequate to their actual situation and future good government. So that the idea of a Confederation is by no means

precluded or negatived by the use of the word Union, or the words National Government, nor consolidation implied by the use of one or both.

The words used are very similar in all the States. In brief, the Convention was called by authority of the 13th article of the Confederation, and was, therefore, not extra-constitutional, as some thought at the time, but in pursuance of the provision expressly declared in that instrument, and was intended to amend and improve the Federal Union, and not to subvert it and establish a different form of government.

Gen. Hamilton himself says, whilst urging upon the States the adoption of the Constitution, in the 9th No. of the *Federalist*:—"A distinction more subtle than accurate has been raised between a *Confederacy* and a *consolidation* of the States. The essential characteristic of the first is said to be the restriction of its authority to the members in their collective capacities, without reaching to the individuals of whom they are composed. It is contended that the national council ought to have no concern with any object of internal administration. An exact equality of suffrage between the members has also been insisted upon as a leading feature of a confederate government. These positions are in the main arbitrary; they are supported neither by principle nor precedent. It has indeed happened that governments of this kind have generally operated in the manner which the distinction taken notice of supposes to be inherent in their nature; but there have been in most of them extensive exceptions to the practice, which serve to prove, as far as example will go, that there is no absolute rule on the subject. The definition of a *confederate Republic* seems simply to be 'an assemblage of societies,' or an association of two or more States into one State. The extent, modifications, and objects of the federal authority are mere matters of discretion. So long as the separate organization of the members be not abolished, so long as it exists by a constitutional necessity for local purposes, though it should be in perfect subordination to the general authority of the Union, it would still be, in fact and in theory, an association of States, or a confederacy. The proposed Constitution, so far from implying an aboli-

tion of the State governments, makes them constituent parts of the national sovereignty, by allowing them a direct representation in the Senate, and leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of the sovereign power. This fully corresponds, in every rational import of the terms, with the idea of a federal government."

A National Government does not necessarily imply a merging of the separate States, or the consolidation of the peoples of the different States, thus united into one people. The republics of Holland and Switzerland, though each had a national name and government, prove the contrary. They had a Union and National Government, yet their States were never merged. Wonderful is the perseverance of the people of New England in propagating their opinions and peculiar notions. We see it and feel it in everything. From the books of Story to the wit of Tom Thumb, from the pulpit to the pedlar's cart—they infuse into every source, and spread abroad into every stream, broad or narrow, their local ideas and feelings on religion, politics and morals. Into every spelling-book, reader, arithmetic or geography, they cover up and convey into the minds of all youth their narrow dogmas and Yankee exclusiveness. For instance Webster, in his Dictionary, who must change the spelling of the whole English language, to Yankeeize it, under the word UNION ingeniously inserts the Northern political idea of our national Union, and Southern youth swallow it. After giving such definitions as are usual in English Dictionaries, he says: "The combining or *consolidation* of two or more bodies. States united. Thus the United States are sometimes called *The Union*," for which he cites Alexander Hamilton, intending no doubt to give the idea that Union implies consolidation—whereas it only means connection in this and in most instances. We admit that the National and State Governments do, by the Union, constitute a sort of Synarchy, or joint sovereignty, acting harmoniously over the same territory, so long as each confines itself to its own limits, but when the general government forgets its duty, and assumes powers not delegated, the State governments may withdraw or resist, and it will be the duty of the citizen to adhere to his State,

and this must necessarily be the tacit understanding under which all political associations are contracted.

But it is said, the Constitution was ratified and established by Conventions and not by Legislatures of the States. If the premises we have already stated are true, the fact, admitted in its full extent would make no difference. The Convention was no more the people than the legislature. Both are only representative bodies, legally constituted. When the Constitution was received by Congress from the Convention, Congress was required by the articles of confederation to submit it to the legislatures of the States for approval, and the fact that the legislatures referred the matter to the consideration of conventions, at the request of Congress, cannot change the legal effect. The alterations of the confederation thus made, and the National Government thus established was ratified and established in accordance with the requirements of the articles, and with the approbation of the State legislatures; for the State legislatures could have refused the proposed constitution, and might have insisted on the continuance of the articles, which had been declared perpetual. If a power has been equivocally executed and a question arises as to its meaning—the just rule is to give it that construction which conforms to the duty of the trustee, for it should be supposed that he has acted in conformity with the powers vested in him. Here the power was to amend, and the amendments were to be authorised in a certain manner, and when there arises a question of performance, such construction will be put upon the manner of execution as nearest conforms to the power, and which is most consistent with the bona fide conduct of the trustee. The constitution, then, amended and made more perfect, is to be presumed was ratified and established as by the supreme law, at the time, was required; for the terms of the confederation, until legally changed, were obligatory alike upon the people and upon the government of the States. People might have committed treason against the confederation, and might have been punished for it. People were compelled to give full faith and credit to the records and judicial proceedings of every other State than their own. People, when called into the general service owed obedience to the officers in such service. In



some degree then the confederation did operate on people as well as on States. Will it be said what extent of such action will remain only a confederation and where it begins to be a consolidated union? Who is to fix the boundary between these two forms of government—where ceasing to be a confederated union, it becomes a simple or consolidated union—in short a unit? Or is there a degree in a National Government, where ceasing to be a confederated, it becomes a consolidated, union? Strange, indeed, is the inconsistency in the opinion of that distinguished man, Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, when he says that “the assent of the States, *in their sovereign capacity* is implied in calling a convention, and thus submitting that instrument to the people”—“but the people were at liberty to accept or reject it; and their act was final. It required not the affirmance and could not be negatived by the State governments,” and that the constitution obtained its complete obligation directly from the people, and not from the State governments. Now, if the sovereign power was exercised in calling a convention, it was exercised by the legislature, and it is an admission that the legislature is the sovereign power, and if it could call a convention, it might refuse to call one, and as no other power existed, whereby a convention could have been legally called, it would have been easy for the legislatures to have rejected the constitution by declining to call conventions. But in calling conventions and submitting the constitution to them, Judge Marshall, is an authority on our side to prove that the legislatures acted as the sovereign powers of the States, and that as such they had given the requisite assent to the constitution. It is strange then that he too should have fallen into the common error on this subject, and to have used words with such loose discrimination when he says that it required not the affirmance and could not have been rejected by the State governments, because it obtained its complete obligation *directly* from the people, whose act was final. Some of the greatest and best men are misled by their party zeal.

“The Constitution,” says Mr. Webster, in his argument in the Rhode Island case (one of the soundest in principle he ever made), “does not proceed on the ground of revolution; it does

not proceed on any right of revolution; but it does go on the idea, that within and without and under the constitution, no new form of government can be established in any State, without the authority of the existing government." This, we will show by and by, has been the decision of the government of the United States, as well as the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States. If Judge Marshall was right in what he said in the case of *McCulloch* (4 Wheaton, 403), the court was wrong in its decision in the Rhode Island case, and poor Dorr has been a martyr to popular liberty. But "no political dreamer," says Judge Marshall, "was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the American people into one common mass. Of course, when they act, they act in their States." In this case Judge Marshall distinctly admits that sovereignty is in the State governments, and that certain sovereign powers have been vested in the general government. The error and inconsistency of the great judge was in admitting that sovereignty was in the State governments, and that the State Legislatures alone could call a convention, and that they had the authority to form a political league or confederation, but at the same time denies them the power to make "a more perfect union," or effective government, possessing great and sovereign powers, which could act directly on the people, unless it came *directly* from them. Now we have shown that it could not come directly from them, and it is a mere figure of speech to say so, at best. It was an impossibility. What people? He says, not all the people compounded into one, but the people of the States. We have shown that the people of the States could only act through their government by their representatives, and, therefore, it is false (we say it with the greatest respect) to say that it comes directly from the people, though all its vitality be derived from a convention; for a convention is not one inch nearer, in fact, to the people than a legislature, and perhaps might well be said to have one link more in its distance from the original stock, for it is begot by the legislature, and is in truth only another and more extraordinary mode of ascertaining the will of the voters by their representatives. It is accumu-

lative but not derogative; accessory, but neither independent, adverse or subversive. Neither in conventions nor in legislatures are the people actually present—they are only figuratively so, and the figure is quite as true in the one case as in the other; in both they only appear by their representatives. Actual presence is at variance with our whole system. A convention with us has not the effect of one of Rousseau's sovereign assemblies—it does not dissolve all government, and, after sweeping away all organic institutions and laws, bear itself as the only life in a world of political chaos and death. "The power," says Mr. Webster, "is with the people; but they can only exercise it by their representatives." A convention is no more in the power of the people than the legislature. It represents the same constituents. The base is no broader, nor is either the numerical or unity principle acknowledged in either, or more favored by the one than by the other. In England the representative principle is only exerted in the House of Commons. In some degree the King is the representative of sovereignty, but he and the Lords constitute of themselves independent elements of their government, and legislate, not as representatives, but *sui juris*, and conventions there have been held in defiance of King and Lords, and is, therefore, revolutionary and subversive, and would seem to be a sort of national acknowledgment that the powers of government, however held, are originally derived from the people—we mean the legal people, not everybody, but such as the body politic recognizes as forming component elements. Ours is the first government that is entirely upon the representative principle, in all its parts, executive as legislative, and hence we very properly say that all power is derived from the people. In England the legislature cannot change the dynasty, or by revolution establish a new government, because Parliament cannot act without consent of King, Lords and Commons, and so long as they agree it is no revolution. Hence conventions are used there for revolutionary purposes, for in convention the kingdom is but one estate, and King and Lords can only enter as representatives of the kingdom—in short it is always an extra-constitutional, subversive measure, and by no means our legal, ordinary mode of organic

action, acknowledged and recognized by the Constitution. Hence it partakes, like all other departments or functions, of the representative, responsible principle. With us there is but one estate, the people, and all power is for their benefit, and is held by their officers or representatives as the body politic, and that body politic constitutes the sovereignty of the State, or THE STATE. So far these officers are responsible to the people, and at certain fixed periods they may be pretermitted, and others substituted by the people in their place, but for all offences, breaches of trust, or other delinquencies or crimes, they are only liable to and are punishable by the law.

The absolute power of a convention was questioned and much discussed in South Carolina in 1882. The nullifiers generally thought that the convention was confined to the consideration of the objects for which it was called by the legislature, but many who were opposed to them at the time thought otherwise. Some of the Union men in the convention endeavored to take up other questions but received so little encouragement that the attempt was soon put down. At the time we did suppose that a convention was absolute, but we have, upon maturer reflection and more thorough examination, abandoned the idea as inconsistent with the representative principle, which recognizes responsibility in every department of government. The whole Court in the case of the State *vs.* McMeekin (Allegiance case) concurred in the opinion that the convention was confined to the consideration of questions for which they were called together, and for which it is to be presumed they were elected. During that discussion Judge Cheves expressed the same opinion. The public mind seems to have settled down to that opinion, and the practice of South Carolina, with which we are most familiar, has been to consider the convention as confined to the specific purposes of the call. The Constitution confines and limits the legislative powers, and the legislature may limit or confine all powers which it may call into exercise at its discretion. Otherwise the creature may destroy the creator against its own will and defeat the very object designed to be effected. Of course we do not consider the opinion of the Court on a mere political question like this as authoritative, but

simply as the opinion of respectable men who have gravely considered the subject.

We think we have clearly proved that Mr. Calhoun was right when he said that the compact was formed by the governments or legislatures of the States, and that it is not true to say that "from the incapacity of the legislatures sprang the necessity of a ratification by conventions, and that the people by conventions authorized the legislatures to elect Senators, &c." The legislatures formed the old Congress which declared our independence, and urged a successful war in defence of it, formed alliances, entered into treaties and caused us to be acknowledged by the whole world to be "free and independent sovereign States."

We think we have shown that Mr. Walker is not justified in saying that two or more peoples cannot be united for specific purposes without becoming as to those purposes ONE PEOPLE; for if his position be true then Great Britain, France and Turkey, now united for the particular purpose of thrashing the Russians are One People—that Union under the confederation did not make us one; and that the word Union can not have the magical effect now only, for it existed then and produced no such result. To unite is to connect, to agree to, join in interest, to join in any act. A unit is the root of numbers; and units constitute the integral parts of a large number. A unit, therefore, cannot be a large number nor a large number an unit. The United States for the same reason cannot be an unit because it is a large number. Each State is a unit. The United States cannot be a unit, because it is composed, as its name implies, of many States which still retain their several characters under the Union. Besides an agreement is a compact between two or more, and to unite is to agree, and therefore, *ex vi termini*, excludes the idea of an unit. The Constitution is an agreement between several sovereign States to secure a closer union, and the union thus made is called the "United States." Why was it so called, if, *quo ad* this government, there was afterwards to be no States, but one State and one people? If but one people, why was not the whole body territorial divided off into districts of equal numbers, having the right to elect Senators and members, and Electors of President and

Vice-President? Because the States composed the elements of the Union and of the National Government, and were thought indispensable barriers against the encroachments of the general and central power. Throughout the whole discussions on the Constitution, the wisest men of the day showed their timely fears of centralization. No one was allowed to vote for members of the House but such as the States permit, or to whom *the right is granted* by the State governments. Besides, how can apportionment, from time to time, be made among several, and yet those several be considered but one? Congress may erect forts and light-houses, and yet Congress cannot acquire one foot of territory in a State without its permission. Why give the power to regulate commerce between them if for all purposes of the Union they are but one? Or why a remedy given between citizens of different States or between States?

It is said that the Legislature cannot grant to the people, but the people may grant to the Legislature. The Legislatures everywhere have granted the right to vote, have constituted citizenship within the limits of its own State, and have granted corporate and municipal powers to legislate, punish and tax. Is the case of *Fletcher vs. Peck* and the *Yazoo Lands* forgotten? The Legislature, we have just seen to our sorrow, may *grant* lands, pensions and patents, and the people even express their grateful thanks to their servants for their bountiful favors. That the servant should become the beneficent master, is only the natural result of popular sovereignty.

The reference to conventions was not made a part of the Constitution. You must look *aliunde* to find the fact. It was an outside suggestion—an afterthought to secure popularity. Nothing more. The vitality was given to it by the Legislatures of the States. The words "we the people" were first stated to be of the States; but not knowing which States, the States were stricken out, and the words retained were mere form, and constituted no substantial part of the Constitution, and the declared requisition that nine of the States should be necessary to ratify the Constitution, is a distinct and unmistakeable acknowledgment that it could only be the act of the States. It was consummated beyond

question, however, by the ratification of the whole number. If doubtful before by the doctrine of relation, that unanimous assent placed the matter beyond question.

Are we one people? Let the fugitive slave law answer. Are we an unit on that subject? Let the proceedings of the Grand Jury at Boston and the sermons of Parker and speeches of Philips, Giddings and Sumner answer; let the acts of the Legislatures of Vermont and Connecticut say whether we are one people or not. A Union for particular purposes does not create fusion; it may make connection, and we have shown that consolidation is inconsistent with the ends designed, or the powers reserved to the States. The Legislature of the States, possessing all State powers, transferred to the United States Government certain powers for certain purposes, retaining in their hands all others; and the States now can alone amend, alter, or, if they chose, dissolve this Government. It is pretty clear, then, that they are not merged or compounded, as Chief Justice Marshall expresses the idea, into one. Judge Tucker considers the first State Constitutions "as original contracts of society," framed and adopted by the people, both in their *individual* and sovereign capacity and character. This is going further than Hobbes or Rousseau. It is the first avowal we have seen, that the people framed our Constitution in their individual capacity!

The only case where the character and nature of our Government and its formation, and the sovereign rights of the States, came directly up for consideration, and were involved in the issue before the Courts of the United and of the State Courts, was the *Dorr, Rhode Island, case, of Luther vs. Borden*. In cases like that of the *Heirs of Fairfax vs. Hunter's Lessee*, (1 Wheaton, 804,) *Barron vs. City Council of Baltimore*, (7 Peters, 243,) *Houston vs. Moore*, (5 Wheaton, 49,) and *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, the theories of Government therein expressed were not necessary to the issue, and are only the political theories of the Judges who delivered the opinions of the Court; and in the case of *The West River Bridge Company vs. Dix*, (6 Howard's U. S. Reports, 539,) Judge Woodbury says: "In decisions of this Court on constitutional questions, it has happened frequently that

though its members were united in judgment, great differences existed among them in the reasons for it, or in the limitations on some of the principles involved." But, as we have said, the case of *Luther vs. Borden* (7 Howard's U. S. Reports, p. 1) is the only case where the questions involved in this discussion came directly in issue before the Courts of the United States for their decision. The opinion of the Court was delivered by Chief Justice Taney. The points of the case are thus stated by the reporter :

" At the period of the American Revolution, Rhode Island did not, like the other States, adopt a new Constitution, but continued the form of government established by the Charter of Charles the Second, making only such alterations, by acts of the Legislature, as were necessary to adapt it to their conditions and rights as an independent State. But no mode of proceeding was pointed out by which amendments might be made. In 1841, a portion of the people held meetings and formed associations, which resulted in the election of a Convention to form a new Constitution, to be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection. This Convention framed a Constitution, directed a vote to be taken upon it, declared afterwards that it had been adopted and ratified by a majority of the people of the State, and was the paramount law and Constitution of Rhode Island. Under it, elections were held for Governor, members of the Legislature, and other officers, who assembled together in May, 1842, and proceeded to organize the new Government. The Court said, that the question, which of the two opposite Governments was the legitimate one, namely, the Charter Government—[which never came from the people]—or the Government established by the voluntary Convention, has not heretofore been regarded as a judicial one in any of the State Courts. *The political department has always determined whether a proposed Constitution or amendment was ratified or not* by the people of the State, and the judicial power has followed its decisions. The Courts of Rhode Island have decided in favor of the validity of the Charter Government, and the Courts of the United States adopt and follow the decisions of the State Courts in questions which concern merely the Constitution and laws of the States. The question, whether or not a majority of those persons entitled to suffrage voted to adopt a Constitution, cannot be settled in a judicial proceeding. The Constitution of the United States treated the subject as political in its nature, and placed the power of recognizing a State Government in the hands of Congress. Under the existing legislation of Congress, the exercise of this power by Courts would be entirely inconsistent with that legislation. The President of the United States was vested with the power, and had recognised the Charter Government; and the State [here the word is used for State Government] might use its military power to put down an armed insurrection, and must determine for itself what degree of force is necessary."



The Supreme Court of Rhode Island decided that the old charter and its legislation were the political powers which they were bound to respect, and the only ones legally in force at the time of this transaction, and accordingly convicted and punished the Governor, chosen under the new Constitution, for treason. The functions of the Courts, Judge Taney says, begins where the political power ends. "Constitutional laws precede the judiciary, and we act only under and after them, and as to disputed rights beneath them, rather than disputed points in making them. We speak what is the law, *jus dicere*—we speak or construe what is the Constitution, after both are made; but we make, revise or control neither."

---

ART. VI.—THE PROSPECTS AND POLICY OF THE SOUTH, AS THEY  
APPEAR TO THE EYES OF A PLANTER—CONSIDERATIONS OCCA-  
SIONED BY THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LATE COMMERCIAL CON-  
VENTION, HELD IN CHARLESTON, S. C.

He who, from a rail car, impelled by a first-class locomotive, beholds the movements of an ordinary wagon, would be very apt to pronounce the latter stationary, if not retrogressive. There is something fascinating in progress. Even the stern Johnson was compelled to acknowledge that he delighted in the rapid movement of a mail coach. How exceeding tickled the old Lexicographer would be, could he enjoy the luxury of locomotion on a railroad! And as our senses are thus titilated by the enjoyment of physical or animal progress, so is an analogous sentiment called up by the consciousness of moral or intellectual development. No word in the English language is so much used as the dissyllable progress. In America we use it so much, that we have made a verb of it. This is an age of progress—a country of progress—a people of progress. Progress is synonymous with enlightenment, and he who falls into the rear rank, is considered recreant to the cause of civilization.

If the age is progressive, it cannot be denied that it is also, in many cases, a tyrannical one. If the arm of the law no longer muzzles the press, opinion is not the less effectually smothered by an overruling public sentiment. No man can now enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. Whatever his fancies or his inclinations may be, he is forced into the vortex of progress; and he who would cheerfully, if let alone, indulge in the repose of Rip Van Winkle, finds himself perforce acting in a crowd of noisy, brawling, roystering *progressistas*. We must needs be progressive, and if you inquire what progress is, the most satisfactory answer you can get appears to be, that it means cotton manufactories and railways. Civilization is measured by yards of cotton cloth and miles of rail iron. To make neither is to be involved in Cimmerian darkness.

Among the multitudinous books which are uttered for the use of children, we have seen an atlas in which the moral condition of each State in the world is represented by a symbol. In this map the countries of Europe north of the Pyrennees, the United States and British America are honored with the radiant star of enlightenment; whilst Italy, Spain, Portugal and their dependencies show no higher type than the cross of civilization. On what principle so large a proportion of Christendom should be deprived of a claim to enlightened refinement, we are not informed, and can solve it only by supposing ignorance on the part of the author, or a recognition of the standard we have just mentioned. If this standard is the test of enlightenment, the Southern States may congratulate themselves on their union with the North; for though we may exhibit a tolerably fair show of rail iron, we are wretchedly deficient in yards of cloth. In the event of a dissolution of the Union, we may expect that some future Yankee geographer for infant minds will hereafter shroud our capitals in the dark cross of civilization, perhaps even in the symbol of semi-civilization, and thus prove conclusively against us a case of retrogression.

Whether, in the original settlements of the States, the emigrants to the different portions of the country belonged to races specifically distinct, or whether difference of position has superinduced difference of habits, are questions not now to be discussed; certain

it is that the people of the North and of the South are now marked by widely differing traits. We remember when leaving home for the first time, thirty years ago, how, even at that early period of our own life, as well as that of our country, these differences forced themselves upon us. Leaving New York in a steamboat, (a sort of vessel then hardly known in Charleston,) we landed at Bridgeport in Connecticut, a small town, which seemed as full of life and activity as the Queen City of the South which we had just left. Twenty miles further on, we found ourselves in the city of New Haven; twenty-five miles further still, we saw the city of Middletown, a port on the Connecticut River; and but fifteen miles further north, we entered the bustling and populous city of Hartford. Thus, in the space of sixty miles, we saw four towns, which, though small, were all teeming with life and activity. The road over which we travelled passed through a populous country, and several villages appeared along the way, in each of which were traces of business. Everybody appeared to be busy. A press was at work, which twice or thrice a week dispensed the news to the public. We felt that we were in a new country, and, young as we then were, we gazed in wonder at this display of activity, and could not but ask the question, which we still ask, what supports these towns? On what do they subsist? Here are ships, what do they carry? What does this country produce to constitute the basis of their commerce? At home we had seen our wharves crowded with cotton and rice, and we knew that the ships came for them; but what does Connecticut produce to tempt the mariner across the ocean?

Returning homeward four or five years later, we travelled by land, and, after leaving Baltimore, felt that we were again near home. From Baltimore to Washington, nothing was seen but the occasional stage house. It was the same between Washington and Richmond, and the same from that city to Charleston, through the towns of Petersburg, Raleigh, Fayetteville, Cheraw, Camden and Columbia. In all of these towns, except the first, appeared the quiet of perfect leisure. There was no bustle, no eager panting after the dollar. The piazzas of the hotels had their groups of idlers engaged in conversation; and though the shops were

open, you really felt unwilling to disturb the repose of the shop-keeper by applying to him to satisfy your wants.

Between the few towns which thus appear in a journey of upwards of four hundred miles, lies a perfect wilderness. Few traces of life are visible. No houses, except the post houses; hardly a human face to remind you that you and your stage-coach companions are not alone in the world; and if you have travelled from Boston, you will easily believe, by the time you reach Cheraw, that you have passed into a totally foreign country.

Sixteen years ago, we visited the Virginia Springs, making the journey in our own carriage. The whole line of road from Charleston to the White Sulphur Springs was sketched out for us by a friend, and every house on the road indicated at which it was possible to procure entertainment for man and horse, with their distances from each other; and many an anxious hour did we spend pondering over the way bill, contemplating the distances between the various resting places, and inquiring whether it were better to make a short day's journey, or risk the straining of the faithful horses by our efforts to reach favorite lodging houses.

The Northern people are essentially an urban population. They crowd towards the cities, and their houses line the highways of the country. The Southern people, on the contrary, are a rural people. They not only affect the country, but they carefully build their houses far from the highways. A stranger may travel over the highways through our best and most populous lowland districts, and believe himself to be traversing a wilderness. The former are, therefore, necessarily more enterprising, energetic and intelligent. With them originates the idea of progress, and they carry the idea into practice. The latter, with occasional exceptions, are less intelligent and informed—more conservative and stationary.

It may be that this difference between the North and the South is radical, and traceable to the Puritanic and the Cavalier spirits which respectively presided over the planting of the several States. But be this as it may, circumstances have conspired to fix their characters, and render them permanent. Of these circumstances, the most effective is negro slavery.

Whenever the North and the South are compared, or rather contrasted with each other, it is usual to attribute the slow progress of the latter to the presence of slavery. Though this is done in a taunting and an offensive spirit, it is nevertheless true, but not true as they who make the taunt would have it. A country with a continually increasing population must be a country of progress. Such a country is our North. And this increase of population is occasioned not only by the natural fertility of the people, but by an annual influx of some hundred thousand laborers from other countries. This influx of population is denied to the South by their concession to the General Government of the power to close their ports to that population which nature declares shall alone constitute her laboring class. The presence of four millions of slaves is sufficient to deter free laborers from offering their services to Southern cultivators; and if they come, it would probably be only to starve. Hence the South can increase only by the necessary operations of nature; and in this respect we believe we may compare favorably with the North. The progress which we have made, therefore, is native and independent of foreign resources. It is positive, and has the elements of stability.

This is not the occasion to criticise the policy which has wantonly laid open the American soil to adventurers from every land on earth. It has unquestionably hastened the growth and development of the country, and placed her at once among the first-rate powers of the earth. But it may be seriously questioned hereafter whether we have done wisely in thus squandering our patrimony to the growth of national vanity; and we may give posterity cause to regret that our haste to be great should have entailed upon them the misery to which a redundant population has condemned so many unhappy Europeans. The political philosopher, too, must regret to see a republic, born and fostered under Anglo-Saxon institutions, converted into a democracy, and uttering all the crudities of every race of Europeans. The country is indeed in a state of progress; but the old conservative elements of Anglo-Saxon freedom have given way to the wild notions of democracy which are entertained by every people of Europe

who have never enjoyed and are unable to conceive the blessings of true liberty. We have closed our ports to those who never could affect our political state, and have thrown them open to others who threaten to destroy us. Had we continued the importation of slaves, our progress would, perhaps, have equalled that of the North. With all her advantages, it is not long since she outstripped us in our career. Had we the foresight to know, and the resolution to protect our rights and our interests, and not committed the glaring inconsistency of retaining slavery as a good, whilst we denounced its origin as a sin, the area of slavery would assuredly never have been limited by the southern boundary of Missouri.

But what is written is written. We have made our decision, and now find ourselves, with a population of seven millions, engaged in the race of progress with a competitor who counts double our numbers. Let us, therefore, calmly examine our position, look the truth boldly in the face, and ascertain, if possible, our true policy and our probable destiny.

The character of our country depends, in a great measure, upon the fact that half of our population is in a state of slavery. Of the territory comprising the Southern States it may be asserted, that at least one-third, and that too, the most valuable portion, would be deserted if not cultivated by laborers of the African race. Whatever, therefore, of civilization, of industry, of enlightened refinement, may be found in that territory, is due entirely to the owners of the slaves who till the soil.

The foreign commerce of the United States, so far as it depends upon the cotton, the rice, and the tobacco of the South, is based upon negro slavery. Abolish slavery, and the rice disappears instantly, and with it the long-staple cotton. Half of the tobacco and at least two-thirds of the upland cotton would be lost to the world. The sugar crop would be lost, and with all these staples would perish the trade and the arts which are set in motion by the labors of four millions of slaves. But we dwell not on this topic, as it is foreign to the question before us. It is sufficient to notice that as Southern staples constitute so large an element in the foreign commerce of the United States, they furnish ex-

clusively the basis of Southern trade. Our planters make cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar, and in exchange for these they receive from every part of the world those articles which minister to the necessities, the comforts, the conveniences and the luxuries of life.

With the political rivalry between the North and the South naturally arose commercial—not rivalry, for between parties so unequally matched rivalry is hardly practicable but—jealousy. A time there had been when the very name of Southron called up the idea of wealth. The Southron visited the springs in all the pomp of wealth, and was everywhere joyfully received by obsequious inn-keepers. The best of the house was at his disposal. He was courted, caressed, fêted, and he returned home with the sense of his superiority flattered, and eagerly longed for the return of the happy season which should enable him to enjoy again the delicious homage. His word was an oracle, his opinion a decree, and he trod the grounds devoted to the worship of Hygeia with the proud consciousness of an arbiter of taste, a moral dictator. By degrees a change came over his career. He found others at these resorts of fashionable elegance, and those, too, from the North, who not only rivalled him in wealth, but actually pretended to as much refinement and elegance. These claims began to be recognised, and before long the Southern despot found himself bowing at the throne of those very Northrons who had but lately prostrated themselves with awful adoration before his wealth.

In the contemplation of their wealth he began to feel that he had lost his own. By the side of their incomes, his appeared meagre, and he naturally inquired what had led to this turning of the scale. Every supposable cause was assigned. A favorite one was, the unequal operation of the laws. The tariffs were made to act a conspicuous part in this operation, and so implicit was the faith which ascribed Southern degeneracy to this source, that South Carolina placed herself on the verge of civil war by her decided measures of resistance to the federal laws. In time the tariff was modified, but the evil went on. Northern wealth appeared daily to increase, and Southern wealth to diminish.

Inquiries are again instituted. The question is daily agitated and discussed. Now we are told that the basis of Northern wealth is commerce, and commerce is accordingly the panacea prescribed as a remedy for our distemper. The whole South is agitated. Conventions are held for the purpose of promoting Southern commerce. These appear now to be of annual recurrence, and as one has not long since closed its session in this city, we propose to append to their discussions a planter's inquiry into the true policy of the South.

Our Southern friend, whom we find at Saratoga, gradually subsiding from the sublime nabob to an ordinary, civil-spoken and well-behaved gentleman, must have observed, that those who have thus cruelly taken the wind out of his sails are all citizens. They come from Boston, or New York or Philadelphia. True, they may possess magnificent villas on the Hudson, on the Delaware, or on some charming site in Massachusetts, but these are not their homes; they are their places of recreation, to which they resort as a temporary relaxation from the toils and excitement of city life. He finds none who are dependent upon the soil, or if any, they are graziers, the extent of whose possessions fills him with amazement. Now, though our friend may register his name as a citizen of Charleston, and claims to represent the refinement of that city, he is, in reality, a countryman, bound to the soil which is tilled for him by his slaves, and conscious that, though he resorts to the city for his pleasure, his home, his business and his affections are on his plantation. Here, then, is a comparison instituted between two parties who do not occupy a common position. The estate of the Southerner, perhaps his patrimony, is vested in a concern, which, though varying in infinite degrees as to the amount of profit, has still a limit to its profits. He has, therefore, no reason to complain, if others, pursuing other modes of industry, should surpass him in revenue. His position is altered relatively, but his capital remains the same, unimpaired. No injury has been done him, even though others have gone before him. He has ceased to be a nabob; his vanity has received a wound, and that is all.

The persons, whose wealth has offended our planter, derive their revenues from the profits of commerce or manufactures.



Their wealth is an indication of the general activity of business in their respective cities, and with the general prosperity of these several cities, their wealth increases or diminishes. With the planter the case appears to be different. He appears to have no special interest in the commercial prosperity of the South, or of any portion of it. From the nature of his productions he is interested (more deeply, perhaps, than any other man) in the prosperity of the civilized world, but is not affected, beneficially, at least, by that of the particular town in which he sells his produce. The great object of the planter is to sell his produce at the highest price, and purchase his supplies at the lowest. His interests are more cosmopolitan than those of any class of men. The productions of his labor being in demand chiefly in the other hemisphere, suffer no variation in price at the different markets at which they are exposed for sale. Their prices depend, not upon the commercial prosperity of any particular city, but upon the ability of the world to pay for them. If cotton commanded a higher price in New York than in Charleston, the latter city would soon cease to sell a bale of that article. Our factors would be merely shipping agents and our planters' accounts would be kept in New York. All the towns in the interior are cotton marts; and it not unfrequently happens that the planters have sold their crops there for better prices than were obtained at the place of its consumption.

We think that before we close we shall go further, and prove that the planter, if he consults his interests merely, would be opposed to the commercial prosperity of the South; but before we proceed to this subject let us notice some peculiarities of Southern civilization, which render nugatory with us all those appliances of progress which at the North and elsewhere contribute so largely to dazzle the eye of the beholder.

It is said to have been an apothegm of Mr. Macon, whose character for wisdom has been attested by so many distinguished persons, that good roads are the union of a country. We have long pondered over the paradox, and though not yet prepared to adopt it, must yet declare that in our judgment they are of very little advantage to our country.

Our staple product finds its way to market either by means of the river whose waters have assisted in its culture, or by wagons. These wagons are not without their use in the economy of a plantation. The teams by which they are drawn are employed during the summer in making the crop; after, and during the harvest they impel the machinery by which it is prepared for market, and when a wagon load is ready they haul it to the market town. The wagon on its return is freighted with plantation supplies, or with goods for a neighboring country store. This was the routine of a planter's economy before railways were constructed in the Southern country; and this continues to be the case in spite of the numerous tracks which now interlace the country. Why make use of a railway to do that which a necessary but unemployed team always has done and may as well continue to do?

It may be urged that by employing the iron road for transportation the teams may be kept at home and made available for the greater improvement of the plantation. This may be true, but it is not universally felt. Besides there is great uncertainty in railway accommodation. For it is a fact now generally understood, that however specious the inducements offered to the agricultural interest, to induce it to interest itself in their stock, the railways naturally and perhaps necessarily regard the commercial interests at their extremities, and regarding the country produce on their lines as certainly theirs, make no special efforts for their accommodation. Produce is, therefore, kept waiting at their different stations until the heart of the planter sickens with deferred hope, and he finds it expedient whenever he wishes to meet a fair market to commit his goods to his old-fashioned, but trustworthy team, and to eschew the seductive steam of the locomotive.

But even then it may be urged, a good road must be an advantage, granted, provided it be not burthened with heavy tolls. Time is not always money. A loaded wagon must proceed slowly over the best road; and the trifling gain or loss of time on a short journey may not be sufficient to counterbalance the additional cost of a turnpike. This requires no illustration from those, who, liv-

ing in the city, know how the rate of freights influence the price of cotton. Good roads are the luxuries provided for travellers; country produce has always made a shift to get along very well over an ordinary road.

The truth is, that our people do not understand the art of making money out of small things; what effects might have been produced by good roads, we cannot pretend ever to determine, but it is certain that our railroads offer no inducement whatever to this sort of economy. When the South Carolina railway was first projected, our people were flattered with the notion that it would fill the city with country produce. It was to give an impetus to rural enterprise of all kinds. Their expectations have not been realized. The Goose Creek trucks and negro's boats of the Islands still furnish us with our poultry. The region of country laid under contribution for this article is not enlarged, nor their price diminished; and our beef market in summer is still as melancholy and as wretched as before the construction of the road. Nor have we derived nearly all the advantage which its passage through a fine fruit country promised. If proper accommodations were furnished, the railway would be lined with orchards from Summerville to Aiken; but as it is, thousands of barrels are said to be destroyed, because of the high price demanded for their freight. A case occurred lately under our own observation which illustrates how completely the rural interest is made to bend before the commercial interest. A friend received by the same train six bales of cotton, which even sold for upwards of a hundred dollars a bale, and two coops of chickens, for which he had paid three dollars. The freight charged on those two consignments was the same. He further stated that at the station where he had purchased the chickens, an immense number of these unfortunate animals were waiting, destined for the Charleston market, but detained there by an embargo, not only in the shape of excessive freight, but by the absolute reluctance of the management to give them transportation.

These facts are mentioned, not in the spirit of complaint, but as an illustration of the position already taken, that the prosperity of Charleston is independent of the rural interest, and uncon-

nected with it. Peaches and chickens can hardly afford to travel over a road which cost twenty thousand dollars a mile. By means of her railroads, the city has laid under contribution a greater area of the staple producing country. As a cotton mart, and as a receiving port, she has increased, but her road has contributed nothing to the homely, every-day comforts of her citizens. Nay, it has contracted them. For while her population, both permanent and transient, has considerably increased, the one from which her supplies are obtained remains stationary, and the increased demand not being met by an increased supply, has led to the present high price of living.

Were it not a fact, which may be easily verified by any one who would take the trouble to inquire, we would be afraid of incurring the suspicion of dealing in romance, when we assert that increased facilities for communication are of no advantage either to the cities or to the rural population. Charleston stands at the junction of two rivers which are navigable for twenty and forty miles respectively. In addition to these by means of the Stono and the Wando, a water communication may be had with the adjacent country in four different directions. But one of these rivers is the source of steamboat navigation. A steamer plies once or twice a week on Cooper River. And if anything is calculated to excite the admiration of our Northern friends it is the history of steam navigation on that river. The charge for freight or passage is the same, whether the destination be Red Bank, ten miles from the city, or Stony Landing, the highest point on the river. There is to be sure a good reason for this. But this is not all. To be allowed to land at any wharf on the river is a favor, and the privilege is sometimes altogether refused. Any one acquainted with New England can imagine how eagerly the owners of land on such a river, would compete to induce the boats to make landing places of their wharves. That which they consider a great good we consider somewhat of a nuisance. And the reason of the difference is obvious. The Northerner looks forward to his farm becoming henceforth a town and hopes to become rich by operating in town lots. The planter has no such expectation, and finds himself exposed to many annoyances from

his situation, which at times become intolerable. And if the curious speculator would examine these Cooper-River boats on their return from the head of the river in order to estimate the profit to the city generally, that is the amount of marketable produce to be sold, his disappointment would be extreme. We venture to assert that in nine trips out of ten, bating an occasional load of cotton, there is absolutely nothing brought down to be sold. The whole freight consists of small plantation stuff for the use of the planters who live in town, and this is brought at a charge so considerable that it is often questionable whether it is not cheaper to purchase in the market of the city than to pay the freight. \* It is well known that in Autumn the rice birds frequently darken the air on Cooper River and are killed in great abundance. Who ever sees a rice bird for sale in the Charleston market? We think it may be asserted with truth that the pheasant is as well known to our people as these little fatlings of our rice fields. Our rivers abound in fish, some of which are unrivalled in flavor by that of any fresh-water in America, but they never find their way to Charleston, while the cod from Boston may be obtained fresh in its season; and if our market abounds in shad in their season, we are indebted for it to Northern enterprise. The lovers of this fish in Charleston may congratulate themselves that every Northern river abounds in shad, otherwise we should have the mortification of seeing the produce of our rivers pass by our wharves on their way to a New York or Boston market.

When facts like these are noticed, they are usually mentioned to the reproach of our planters, and they are accused of want of enterprise. But this is doing them injustice, and is a reproach brought only by those who know not their peculiar position. Let it be remembered that our planters are engaged in the cultivation of great staples, and from long habits of balancing accounts at the end of every year only, lose, in fact, never acquire the habit

\* We remember once coming down with a large supply of watermelons, for which the freight was two cents a piece, and the first sounds which saluted our ears on passing through the market was, watermelons at three cents.

of considering small occasional gains. He who calculates the value of his rice crop by thousands of dollars, is not likely to put himself to any trouble to make a few additional dollars by the sale of rice birds. If success has crowned his labors, he cares not for the small addition ; if, on the other hand, his crop is lost, the loss is too great to make this little saving an object. There is, after all, a great deal of the hazard of mercantile life in the planter's pursuit, and as the merchant abandons to his clerks samples and remnants, so does the planter reject those incidental aids which are turned to a profit by other agriculturists. Again : On Cooper River are to be found immense beds of limestone, excelling, in richness of calcareous matter, any known deposits in the world, and yet it may happen, and we think it likely that it has happened, that lime from Thomaston has been purchased for the use of these plantations. Certainly none is made for sale, and the supply for Charleston continues to come from Thomaston. This appears strange, and tells against the planter's energy. But not necessarily so. Of two mines which lie before us, we naturally work the more valuable. If the planter's swamps, cultivated in rice, yield him a larger profit, than he could derive from his lime pits, would it not argue a strange want of interest if he should abandon the former and devote himself to the latter ? On Goose Creek and Back River it is found to be more profitable to make bricks than rice, and bricks are, accordingly, the staples of those rivers. So, too, when the proprietor of Miphis bluffs shall discover that his lime will be likely to yield a higher rate of profit than his rice fields, the latter will be abandoned, and Miphis lime will be as common an article in the Charleston market as that from Thomaston. When our planters are thus taunted with want of enterprize, because they will not and cannot do everything, it is forgotten that our country is sparsely peopled, and that rural occupations furnish a comfortable living to all. Our people are not yet driven to live by their wits. As long as this is the case great fortunes can not be made. For we believe it is indisputable that the ingenuity of man is more creative of wealth than the cultivation of God's earth. Among the various devices of Northern ingenuity with which our streets abound, none has ever affected

us so much as the little pegs with a slit in them, for the purpose of keeping clothes fast to the clothes-line. Dr. Lieber regards as a sublime idea the making of screws all of one pattern, so that an accident to machinery may be easily repaired in any part of the world. If this obvious suggestion of utility is to be called a sublime idea, how are we to consider that which proposes to grow rich by supplying a homely want of a washerwoman. To us, it appears the *ne plus ultra* of human daring.

Our planters will probably never furnish washerwomen with pins for their clothes-lines, but want of enterprise and sagacity to perceive their interests are not their faults. It is true that their movements must be slow. The investments on a plantation are not readily shifted about; and a sense of interest frequently compels the planter to continue in his old course until arrangements for a change can be completed. Our economical doctors are continually prescribing a variety of occupations as a panacea for our supposed evils; as well might the medical practitioner prescribe a sound state of health to his consulting patient. In all other countries the instinct of capital is unerring in finding its natural operation; and so it is here. The proper occupation of capital in these States is the raising of staple crops; any other diversion of it is unwise, and generally unsuccessful. Every man in these States who has realized a capital, invests it in agriculture. This alone is a proof that though perhaps not the most productive, it is the safest investment. And let no one argue from the failures of planters that theirs is necessarily a bad business. Men are unsuccessful in every walk of life, and he who fails as a planter, would not probably succeed in any other occupation. In fact, the very safest occupation for a man of desultory habits is the planter's life. In a great measure his business goes on without his attention, and though he will not thrive in this any more than he would in any other pursuit, it may be said that he will be longer in coming to his end.

We have thus shown how small is the interest which the planter has in the commercial prosperity of the South, and how indifferent the great interests of our cities is to that of our rural population. There is, however, one feature in the civilization of the

South which we have always regarded with concern, and which we would gladly see improved. It is, that men have no sense of mutual dependence. Absenteeism, which has been regarded as the bane of Ireland, is here felt only as a social loss. Society may deplore the loss of a planter, but his absence or presence does not affect the material well-being of others. In all other countries there is a natural connection and dependence between the rich and the poor, and however artificial may be the grades of society, they are linked together by a chain of connections so imperceptible, that when the middle class only is examined, it may appear to belong either to the upper or the lower sphere, according to the point from which it is viewed. Not so here. The line is marked. On one side lies the planter class, on the other the poor. Individuals may pass over the line, but the transition is abrupt. There are no intermediate resting-places. In other countries, a large estate furnishes employment to all within its influence. To say nothing of laborers actually employed in agriculture, every department of life is interested in the support of the estate. The mechanic finds employment; the small dealer his profits; the small farmer a market for the sale of his kitchen stuffs, and all are called upon to minister in some way to the comfort, convenience or profit of the great proprietor. Here it is not so. Our standard of a well-ordered estate is its absolute independence of its neighbors. A perfect estate contains within itself all the means of conducting itself. It has its own smiths, its own carpenters, its spinners, its weavers. But two persons in the neighborhood feel any interest in its prosperity—the physician and the overseer. To the rest of the world it is absolutely a stranger.

As a matter of course, this kind of perfection is to be found only on large estates, and for the most part in the lower districts. Wherever it is carried out, it constitutes, in our opinion, the great evil, and the only evil of slavery. It isolates classes, and prevents a healthful sympathy from existing between the poor and the rich. That mutual good will exists between the two classes is highly creditable to both, but it places the poor frequently in the condition of recipients of favors, which it would be more to their



real interests to earn by their labor. This class, finding themselves placed in no dependence upon their wealthy neighbors, might become interested in the prosperity of our cities, and even contribute to it, and this is the class which might derive essential benefit from a liberal policy on the part of our railways. They supply our city with fruit and poultry; but, instead of using the railway, they are compelled, when a little money is wanted, or a small supply of groceries, to harness to his chicken truck the half-starved horse, which insufficiently ploughs his sterile lands, and drive from twenty to forty miles to Charleston, passing, perhaps, the greater part of the distance, along the railway, which might so greatly promote his own comfort and that of the people in the town.

The influence of Southern civilization is felt by these people, and though most persons may imagine that they have no interest in slavery, it is an erroneous opinion. From this class come the overseers, who frequently end by becoming proprietors. They have but one idea of the investment of money. Their savings are converted into negroes. But still it appears desirable to give them some more immediate and direct interest in slave property. Legislation on this subject is delicate and dangerous, but it is questionable whether it may not be to the ultimate interest of all parties, if the law should restrict slaves to feudal and menial services. This would at once establish a connexion of mutual dependence between the rich and poor. Every plantation requires mechanics. These would at once grow up in the neighborhood, and an impetus thus once given, other trades and manufactures might also flourish, and the vast amount of money now carried to the north for the purchase of negro supplies might thus be beneficially appropriated to the improvement of our own poor, and the embellishment of our soil.

But it may be objected that this is the entering wedge of socialism. Be it so. Let us not be terrified at a name. Socialism is based upon a sense of a deeply seated evil, and is one of the efforts of philanthropic zeal to provide a remedy. It may be mistaken, it may be chimerical, it may be mischievous, but that it has foundations in benevolence is indisputable. Every extreme development of civilization is attended with a corresponding de-

velopment of the weak side of humanity. Under the civilization of the present day, the helplessness of the less fortunate classes is so great as to suggest the idea of socialism. The development of civilization under the institution of slavery appears to demand some compulsory means of creating sympathy between the poor and the rich.

Meanwhile, until our whole population shall have been fused together by the establishment of a common interest, and a sense of mutual dependance, the South must be regarded only in respect to its planters. They furnish her wealth, the sources of her commerce, and the basis of the whole foreign trade of our common country. If the fusion, which we consider so desirable, should ever take place, we may have to modify, in a great measure, the opinions we have expressed, and are yet to utter. But, under existing circumstances, we form a civilization unique, and distinct from any other known developed civilization. It is a fond delusion which attempts to compare ourselves with others, and a fatal mistake which would lead us to tread in the footsteps of our neighbors and contemporaries. Entertaining these opinions, we have seen with surprise planters constituting so large a body of our Commercial Convention. What possible interest can a planter, as such, have in any of the measures likely to be brought before such a Convention? If, as is not very unlikely, the name is merely a *nom de guerre*, and that these are political conventions, the case is different. But that a planter should gravely sit among real merchants and manufacturers, for the purpose of providing for the prosperity of the whole, is to make an exhibition of the most wonderful abnegation of self at which the world ever stood astonished. Let every Southern man solemnly decide for himself whether our civilization is worth preserving; if he is satisfied with it, then let him act on the defensive, and resist the efforts of those who, dazzled by the splendors of Northern civilization, would endeavor to imitate it. This can be done only by the destruction of the planter class. A moneyed civilization, which would retain that class, and yet adopt the activity of that class, is impossible.

We have shown that what are called commercial facilities, such as railroads, steamboats, &c., either to the planter or his poor

neighbor, and that they have added nothing to the comforts and conveniences of the people of the towns. In many cases they operate to the injury of the planter, and we think we may solve the mystery of Macon's denunciation of good roads, by observing the influence exerted on the habits of our planters. Formerly, when roads were bad and travelling tedious, the planter lived at home. His annual visit to the city was an event in his life, and furnished food for reflection for the remainder of the year. Then you might distinguish in the streets the representatives of the different portions of the State, as they eagerly bent their way to the race course, or walked the streets in search of objects for home consumption. The islander, who came in his six-oared boat, trod the street with his crew at his heels, each laden, or about to be laden, with his master's purchases. The inland planter was attended by his inseparable boy, who, while gazing in mute astonishment at the wonders of the streets, clung instinctively to his master's skirt for protection and guidance. The keen eye of the shopkeeper instantly recognised the country lady as she entered his warerooms with her long memorandum in her hand, obsequiously offered her a chair, and proceeded with alacrity to the display of his goods, with the pleasing certainty of selling a large bill of parcels before she should quit her seat. All this is now changed. The country gentleman has disappeared from our streets—the country lady is no longer seen. All are cosmopolitan. Their dress, their air, their habits, their manners, are all redolent of city life.

Is this change to be regretted? Not necessarily, though, as a matter of taste, we must regret that old, well-defined independence of country habits, which, to a lover of the picturesque, gave interest and character to our streets. Nor should it be forgotten that all this apparent refinement costs money, and that while some may indulge it without inconvenience, many must do it at a serious, perhaps ruinous, expense. The facilities of locomotion, have furnished us new channels of wealth to the planter. They have increased the value of the staples by which his expenses are to be defrayed; have opened no new source of revenue to meet the increased cost of his new mode of life. It was doubtless a fore-

boding of some such result which preyed upon the mind of the wise Nathaniel Macon, when he gave utterance to his memorable but paradoxical apothegm—"Good roads are the ruin of the country."

It may be urged, however, that in some respects the planters gain what they lose in others; that if their expenditure is greater, they receive in exchange a greater amount of intelligence; that their ideas are enlarged by a more extended communication with the world.

That this is not true, we have only to refer to the past history of the South. No portion of the Confederacy has been more distinguished for intelligence, patriotism and public spirit; no portion has contributed such an array of eminent man. All of our Southern Presidents were planters, and it is the planters who have given a character to the South. If the city of Charleston has enjoyed a high reputation in our country for the intelligence, urbanity, hospitality and unaffected refinement of its inhabitants, it must not be forgotten that her society has always been controlled by the large body of planters who form a part of it. It is remarkable, too, that in the South, it is the country which furnishes the great body of our eminent men. What village can boast like Beaufort? At one time, she had two of her sons in the Faculty of the South Carolina College and one in that of Charleston, and of these three citizens, two were Presidents, besides a goodly array of citizens distinguished in the councils of the State and of the Confederacy, and others in the pulpit. Most of our Governors have been planters. At every period in the history of our country, planters have been conspicuous men; and this leads us to the consideration of the apparent paradox which we promised to maintain, namely, that the true interest of the South is opposed to its commercial prosperity.

It is impossible to conceive of the South without putting the planting interest prominently forward. All others are ignored, and must be ignored by the world. Now we have shown that this interest, dependent upon the general prosperity of the civilized world, is little interested in that of any particular portion of it, and just as little on that of the town which constitutes his par-

ticular market. He has a staple to sell, the price of which is regulated by the market of the world. Cotton sells for the same price in Charleston and in Savannah, in Petersburg and in New Orleans. Cotton sold as well when the commerce of the South was depressed as when it received an impetus from the statesman-like measure of General Jackson, in removing the deposits from the United States Bank. There was a time when Charleston did not own a ship, and the price of cotton was governed by the same principles as those which now govern it. The planter regards the market of the world; the particular port in his neighborhood is interesting to him merely as the place where his wares are shipped.

Now, if we look at the Northern side of the Republic, we find a condition of things essentially differing from ours. There the tendency of society is to congregate in cities. The merchant and the manufacturer and the lawyer give a tone to society. Their leading men belong to these classes. The farmer, the tiller of the soil, occupies a subordinate position. It is no reply to this assertion to say, that here and there you find a farmer occupying a distinguished place. These are exceptions, and they will generally be found to be men of enormous wealth, employed chiefly as graziers, and occupying a position somewhat akin to the great agriculturists among the landed proprietors of England. But this is by no means the case with the farmer class generally. In society they are subordinate to the city class. This is shown by the very manner in which they are habitually spoken of. The press calls them "our honest farmers," "our plain farmers," "our sturdy farmers," and a hundred other such epithets are bestowed, all of which, though meant to be respectful and flattering, are indications of a sense of superiority on the part of those who apply them. Such language is never used with respect to our planters. Here it is felt that the planter class gives tone to society, and we no more think of applying to them such epithets than a social circle would think of bespattering itself with self-laudatory compliments. The ruling class at the South is the planting class.

Now what has made the rural population the ruling class in one

section of the country, while in the other it is the subordinate class? Unquestionably, the possession of wealth; wherever wealth is found, there also will be found the best tone of society. Individual and occasional exceptions furnish no reply or denial of this assertion. That class is always the best which, feeling no superior, is at liberty to exhibit itself naturally, gracefully and without conscious imitations. Many persons think they see in our own society marks of degeneration, occasioned by attempts to imitate the fashionable follies of New York. At the North, commerce and manufactures have caused the wealth of their interests to outstrip far that of the agricultural class. Hence these classes have acquired a superior social position.

The agriculture of the South is carried on by means of vested and realized capital. However great the profits of these investments may be, they must be far inferior to the rewards of successful operatives in commerce. No planter can suddenly become rich. This wealth is the gradual accumulation of years. But instances are not uncommon in New York, Boston and elsewhere of men passing in a very few years from merchant clerks to merchant princes. Dazzled by the sudden change in their condition they indulge the play of their imaginations, and wildly revel in the ostentation of wealth, so that their style of living excites the astonishment even of those who have been accustomed to the elegant refinements of European life. To enjoy a high social position, therefore, wealth is indispensable, not to the class, but to the man.

Now we believe it may be said of the planter that ostentatious display has never been his weakness. His luxuries are more solid than showy. The wealthy planter who measures his income by tens of thousands, never offends by any insolent display his neighbor who counts only by hundreds. Indeed, any exhibition of such weakness would only result in his own exclusion from society.

Imagine now in all of our cities a set of merchant princes, such as are found in New York and Boston, and in sufficient numbers to control the tone of society. Where would the planter find himself? Except the fortunate few who enjoy princely incomes

they would be driven from society, become a subordinate class, and inevitably lose that high tone and independent bearing which now distinguishes them. For though it is wealth which gives this class its importance, it is not a class which exhibits the arrogance of wealth. The poor man does not descend because his neighbor is richer than he. They meet as equals, and the intermarriages of their children will, in time, equalize their fortunes. Feeling that his position is an elevated one, every planter strives to maintain it, not only by diligently endeavoring to preserve and increase his estate but by carefully educating his children to enable them to maintain their position with grace and dignity. Our State College is filled with planter's sons and they will be found in every prominent college at the North. The care and expense thus bestowed on their education are totally unconnected with any low utilitarian views, but are regarded as means to an accomplishment suitable to their position. Let the planter feel himself in a subordinate class and all this would cease.

It is impossible to change the whole state of affairs, but it is certain that the controlling influence of the planter class is an essential feature in Southern civilization. As we have before said it becomes every man to determine for himself whether it is worth preserving and to act accordingly. To our view it is clear that if the dreams of our Southern Commercial Convention could ever be realized it would perish at once. Nothing maintains slavery but the influence extended upon it by the dominant class at the South. It is right, because the ruling class declare it to be right. In other parts of the world it is wrong because the fashion of society denounces it. Let the planter class feel itself inferior to the merchant and the manufacturing class and it will no longer dare to defend an institution condemned by them. It will humbly entreat that it will not be ruined, humbly pray for time to wind up their affairs and provide for the impending change. This is no dream of a morbid imagination. Every city is destined to be the seat of free-soilism. It is unconsciously making its appearance in Charleston, and it is destined to increase with every fresh arrival of European emigrants. Whites are driving our slaves from their old employments, and this tendency

is evidently fostered by the efforts of the City Council to raise revenue. The wealthy mechanic is untaxed, while the widow who lives by the earnings of her hired mechanics is heavily burthened to the extent not unfrequently to a twelfth of their earnings. These unintentionally, doubtless, but not the less inevitably operate as entering wedges. The great results will follow in time. It may be that the dreams of our Conventions are to be realized and that slavery is doomed. Be it so. Everything happens for the best. All that we ask is that it may perish manfully and not make faint struggles for existence by means of such gingerly productions as Mrs. Hentz's "Planter's Southern Bride." But go it must as soon as the planters find themselves in an inferior position.

Our civilization is unique. It is not to be controlled by the causes which operate elsewhere. Our destiny lies hidden in the depths of futurity. Whether man is to remain, as many of us fondly hope, a conservative nucleus, around which society may reconstruct itself after it shall have been dissolved by the wild experiments of an unbridled democracy; or whether we are destined to fall into the vortex; assimilate to the other phases of civilization, and be found to reconstruct our own society, are questions to be solved only by the Omniscient. But, be the event what it may, it must be good and right. The wisdom of God rebukes the vain speculations of man.

NOTE TO THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.—We rarely interpose between our correspondents and readers, to urge our dissent to the opinions of the one, showing any undue solicitude about the security of judgment on the part of the other. We disagree, in numerous instances, with our contributors, and would be sorry if required to sanction or justify many of the opinions which we yet deem it very proper to publish. But we conceive that error is never mischievous where truth is left free to combat it; and the paradox which provokes analysis, and the heresy which awakens indignation are, in their uses, of very great benefit to society, since they effect these very results. We rather relish both paradox and heresy, once in a way, since they possess—particularly the latter—a wholesome utility in stirring up stagnant waters, and giving life and animation to the minds of a community, which otherwise would lapse away into the condition of

"That fat weed  
That hugs itself at ease by Lethe's wharf."



In the moral world, a good stirring heresy serves like the thunderstorm, to purify through convulsion! Even where this result is not reached, there is yet a very wholesome benefit in the attrition of conflicting opinions; and, if the object were only the encouragement of independent and original thinking, we should always welcome to our pages the utterances of every well-trained intellect, even though we should quarrel with all its conclusions; as, indeed, one's companion is apt always to be the most agreeable and useful whose opposing thoughts shall stir up and irritate our own minds, and goad them to animating exercise. We should be sorry to have our contributors think alike—to know that their opinions were all cast from the same mould; nay, to hear them utter themselves after a common fashion, even where the model was itself most excellent.

Thinking and feeling thus, we are accordingly quite satisfied to give our contributors all the freedom which is essential in the formation of opinion: assured, as we are, that there is nothing to compensate the deficiency of this independence in opinion;—that this independence and individuality alone confers value and interest upon thought. And we have had no reason to doubt the propriety of this indulgence. We fancy that we see the good and wholesome fruits of it every day, in the increasing facility, force, grace and excellence which our readers—we are pleased to think—discover, with ourselves, in the successive writings of our correspondents. True, there are notions expressed which are more bold than beautiful, more startling than sagacious, more ingenious than authoritative. Sometimes a fancy is confounded with a philosophy, a mere fact is substituted for a truth; and a wandering notion is dignified with the title of opinion! Anon, too, we have a paradox, which, if it could take the shape of a horse, would as certainly upset his owner, in the first canter, as it would any mere usurper getting astride his back; and now and then, we are met by some atrocious heresy in literature or art—possibly morals—which, three hundred years ago, would need to be recanted before Sacred Councils, on bended knees, and perhaps under the application of scourge and faggot! But the offence, with us, only provokes a smile; and, leaving our contributor to time and the digestion of his own philosophy, at his leisure, under his own experience, we satisfy our consciences that the worst that can come of his case will be the temporary provocation of his neighbor's ire, the final result being found in compelling him to do a little thinking also!

And now, even when we take occasion to refer specially to the preceding article, merely to save ourselves harmless from its numerous heresies, we half doubt the necessity of doing so. There is no sort of possibility that the views of one author, so diametrically opposed as they are, not only to all the faith and practice, but to all the experiences of society, will ever persuade one dissentient, or do anything worse than stir the bile in all commercial bosoms. How far this stirring of the bile may work evil, physically, in the case of the parties with whom it shall occur, is, perhaps, the only consideration which made us hesitate in giving place to the article. But, as this publication will not be made 'till October, when the dog days are no longer subjects of dread, our scruples disappear. Were it midsummer, we should still hesitate. We should

doubt the propriety of adding any moral excitant to the irritating causes in the natural atmosphere, even though it has been found that great moral excitements, in midsummer, are very apt to render the season healthy. This may be another argument in favor of heresies in general, as showing the true secret of their wholesome exercise.

We do not propose to go into any review of what we conceive to be the errors of an author, and there are many truths in his contribution which make it proper that it should be read and published. An agricultural community, chiefly because of its sparseness of settlement, is always, in some degree, at the mercy of the cities. The condensed power of a large city will always be more easily exerted, than that of a rural community, whose people seldom meet, and whose minds, accordingly, are less eager, active and exacting. Hence, the abuses of our railroad management, which our author erringly confounds with their uses. The latter are legitimate; and it will hardly need any argument, with those who look at the truth in its entirety, to satisfy all parties that good roads, of any sort, are really not demoralizing in their effects; i. e. where they are honestly and wisely managed. To try to persuade us back to the venerable corduroy, alternating with bush and bog, is, we fancy, a labor taken in vain! Setting aside, wholly, the pains and perils of the antique highways which our contributor so venerates, the loss of time, by the old method of travel, was an evil of much more serious character than he seems to think it. This was the serious error with all our planting population—that they never duly valued time! They were content to waste it. It was, with them, as is too much the case with most people who do not feel any heavier pressure upon their energies than that of the seasons—a sort of public enemy. To get rid of it was the moral necessity; and they were apt to use, for this purpose, the most summary processes! And we do not inculcate this value of time, because of any devout regard to the vulgar proverb—"time is money." This is rendering its value of really small significance. If it were not *much more* than money, or money's worth, we might waste it *ad libitum*, and incur no moral rebuke. But Time is Life! It is almost the only capital, accorded to man, of which the quantity must necessarily be limited. The waste of time is not merely a waste of life. It is the waste of manhood, and of all its noble energies; the waste of intellect, and of all its noble thoughts; the waste of the soul, and of all its saving virtues.

Our author, in his argument against railroads, and in behalf of the old, slow and easy wagon-pace along the common high-ways, such as they were in the South twenty years ago, overlooks entirely the great merit in those inventions of recent periods, which save us from such terrible loss of time in travel as we were perforce compelled to suffer in those days; and time consumed in travel, is usually the least profitable of all modes of using it—generally with no advantage to the traveller, until he gets fairly to the end of his road. It is usually the most tedious, unsatisfactory, least compensative, of all the necessities which adventure and business have to undergo. Of course, we do not consider those persons whose object is the picturesque, and who ought to travel afoot or on

horseback. Any saving of time, in this unavoidable performance, is a great saving from a most unsatisfactory mode of waste. We are the more solicitous upon this point, as it is rather too much the habit with our planters, as with our author, to think lightly of the value of time, and to waste most shockingly this most precious of all mortal possessions. In this one waste, in fact, is involved the whole secret of their inferior progress; their repeated loss and defeat, and the natural advantage which the city possesses over the country, in every trial of strength between their several interests, and there are contests hourly going on between them. This very subject of railway mismanagement is only one of the many forms of contest between the parties, in which the planting population, in consequence mostly of their own indolence, are the only sufferers.

Our author does not include in his argument all the facts in the case. Nay, he repudiates or passes most of them in silence. It is a mistake to ascribe the intellectual greatness, or the political successes, the eloquence, or the virtues of the South, to agriculture exclusively. Agriculture has its peculiar virtues, no doubt—is promotive of virtuous living—but not promotive of eloquence, the arts, political or social, ingenuity, or, indeed, of any intellectual development. Our great men have not been simply planters. Nay, their planting has occupied comparatively, but a small portion of their time. They had plantations and slaves, it is true, and these exercised a wholesome effect upon their hearts and habits; but their mental greatness was due to other studies and objects. The Rutledges, Pinckneys, Middletons, Lowndes, Laurens, Calhouns, McDuffies, Jacksons, in short, far the greater number of our great patriots and statesmen, were trained lawyers or merchants—engaged in a constant strife with *men*—their minds sharpened and brightened by incessant attrition with rival minds. Agriculture was their plaything—their refuge from care and toil—and by no means the field of their trials and their triumphs. There can be no more pernicious error, than in ascribing to their planter life the great merits of their great performances.

But our purpose is not to argue the case with our contributor; only to apprise the reader that we are not to be held accountable for his heresies, and only to account to them for our custom of publishing the heresy, even where we know it to be such. We really hope that our correspondent will so stir the bile of other contributors, as will set them to working out the problem fully. We may hope to get justice for both parties, if we can provoke them both to deliver themselves, and suffer both to be heard freely in turn. Our present contributor, we may add, is one of our favorites, *chiefly because he is usually heretical*. He answers for us in the character of "The Accuser!" He says to the enthusiast, "I doubt—I deny!" and, if he offends the faith, he is yet highly useful in bringing it to the severest tests of the reason. God thus recognizes Evil, as the necessary ministry in the working out the great results of Good.—[*Editor Southern Quarterly Review.*]

## ART. VII.—PETRARCH'S LAURA.

1. *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca corrette sovra i testi migliori.*  
Roma, 1821.
2. *De Lade Memories pour la vie de Francois Petrarque.*  
Amsterdam, 1764.

HISTORY in her records is too often partial, marking with the utmost minuteness the acts, the deeds and sayings of men whose lives she leaves unwritten. As a general rule every particular of their greatness is familiar to every one save that which, perhaps, might have made them great. And this, because unfelt, unknown save to themselves alone, dies with them, or survives in fable, whose every vanity and extravagance moves doubt, even as to the every existence of those it would render immortal.

Poets, it must be granted too, are frequently mysterious, sometimes from choice and sometimes from necessity, yet in the passionate expression of extreme wretchedness or bliss, when feeling becomes too strong for concealment or deceit, and the lips utter what the heart should keep, the true histories of their lives are written; intense happiness or misery cannot be well feigned, and poets after all are nothing more than mortals.

It is here, then, in the simplest interpretation of unguarded words and expressions, without any distortion of meaning, whose very freedom from all reserve and dissimulation bears the stamp of truths, we must look for facts, it were vain to look elsewhere; nor should we suppose them less true, for sometimes not bearing the sober garb of prose, since good poetry is inseparable from deep feeling, emotions must be felt forcibly to be expressed well.

No woman, perhaps, has ever lived about whom there has been a greater variety of opinion than the subject of Petrarch's muse. As if to prove the variations of one sex, the fickleness of the other has represented her under every variety of character and form, rivalling even Proteus himself, until the world ceased altogether to believe that she had ever existed, and Laura's flesh and

blood is sublimated at last into religion, virtue, philosophy and the soul.\*

Nor does this seem strange when her very existence was doubted by one of the poet's most intimate friends, even while she lived. "Your Laura," writes the Bishop of Lombes to him in 1385, eight years after the poet had seen her for the first time, "is only a name which your imagination has created for your pen; but a dream of the laurel crown for which you sigh. Your living, breathing Laura is but ideal, and your songs and sighs are fictions." †

To silence, however, the critic's doubts contemporary authority is not wanting to prove the actual existence of Laura, "and even," says an ecclesiastical writer whose inedited MSS. is quoted by Tiraboschi, "Messer Francesco Petrarca, who is now living, had a spiritual mistress called Laura, and it is she that he names in all that he has written and through her came, he tells us, every honor he has received in the world, and would I not be ungrateful, says he, if I did not make her known who has made me all that I am, not only while she is living but when dead? Wherefore, when she died he became more faithful than ever, and has given her a fame that would make her immortal. But this as to the body; for he has given so much to the poor, and has had so many masses said with such devotion for her soul, that, had she been the worse woman in the world, she would have been rescued from the hands of the devil; but they say, however, that she died well." ‡

If we add to this the minuteness with which the poet describes her—when and where met—the thousand incidents of his passion, from the wildest hope to the darkest despair—his appeal to his paleness, sighs and tears that his passion was real—we can as little believe that a love of twenty years could be feigned as that the being itself for whom it might be conceived could be wholly ideal.

\* De Lade Memoires de Petrarque, tome I. p. 22. preface, who says some went so far as to believe she was nothing more than the virgin.

† The Bishop's letter is unfortunately lost, but we have it quoted in the poet's answer, de Epist. Tamil, lib. II. Epist. IX. ed. Geneva.

‡ Tiraboschi Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tome V. page 449, note.

Nor yet is it less true that the object of our affections possesses always attributes more or less fancied; the deepest impressions are never impartial, and only those we love are perfect. It is to the fancied creations of the brain rather than the truthful reflections of the eyes that we are ever indebted for our strongest attachments; and this imaginative love which makes the object of its adoration the fairest, the most perfect of mortals is the more beautiful as it is the most endearing of all passions, because neither time, disease or death can end it.

It was on Monday of Holy Week, at the first hour of day, on the 6th of April, 1327, that Petrarch saw Laura for the first time. \* Passages in the poet's works put this date beyond the reach of dispute, although the place at which the meeting occurred has unfortunately been the subject of interminable controversies.

A note which purports to be in the poet's hand, written in a copy of Virgil, once, it is said, the property of Petrarch, distinctly states that this meeting took place in the church of St. Claire, at Avignon, but the note itself is pronounced to be a forgery, and the opposite theory is as boldly maintained, that the lovers first met in the country.†

\* The first hour of the day answers to our 6 o'clock, A. M.

L'ora prim 'era il di sesto d'Aprile  
Che già mi strinse, ed or lasso mi sciolse.  
Trionfo della Morte, cap. I.

Mille trecento ventisette appunto  
Su l'ora prima il di sesto d'Aprile  
Nel laberinto entrai ne veggio ond, esca.

Son CLXIV. part I.

Sonnets II. and XLVII. part I. would seem to place this meeting upon Good Friday, their meaning, however, is highly enigmatical, while, besides it has been proved by two astronomical calculations that the 6th of April, 1327, fell not on Friday, which was the 10th of the month, but on Monday as above stated.

† For example, de la Bustie tells us that the discovery of Laura's tomb was made in the church of St. Claire, and on the authority of this most ingenious blunder of his own, he doubts the authenticity of the note, because it says

Both theories cannot certainly be correct; any reconciliation of them would be equally hopeless; it remains only to make choice of the most probable.

In a canzone, undoubtedly written for Laura, while speaking of scenery that can only be applicable to the country, the poet says, "the air was pure, serene, where Love with fair eyes his heart unclosed."\* He calls the time when this occurred blessed, an expression which Petrarch invariably uses to designate the day when first he saw Laura, and therefore it might possibly be supposed to have reference to this precise occasion.

The strongest proofs, however, for assigning a rural character to the meeting, are to be met with in a madrigal, which, as far as we have been able to judge, has not been sufficiently noticed by commentators.

In this our poet tells us he saw, while coursing the banks of a rivulet, an angel descend from heaven, and while gazing at the sight transported, he was taken in a net spread upon the verdure at his feet.† The angel, it may be contended, can signify none

that Laura was buried in the church of the Franciscan friars, at which precisely the discovery was made. D'Israeli classes the note among literary impositions upon a similar blunder, informing us that, according to the note itself, the meeting took place upon Good Friday, when nothing of the kind is to be found in it. Les Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip., tom. 17, fol. 416, and Curiosities of Literature, art. Literary Forgeries. Among the manuscripts in the possession of the writer is a singular letter of de la Bastie's to d'Orville, Professor of Belles Lettres in Amsterdam, in which he bitterly complains of the liberty that had been taken with some of his dissertations, French as well as Latin, inserted in the *Thesaurus novus veterum inscriptionum* of Muratori. He says, in the publication of these pieces, not only his words were changed, but even entire passages had been left out; that his opinions were constantly perverted, frequently obscure, and concludes, if some one wished actually to turn his writings upside down, they could not have succeeded better, as there is not a single line without a blunder. The letter is without date, and never having seen the *Thesaurus* above mentioned, we are unable to say whether the Memoir of the Baron de la Bastie sur la vie de Petrarque is to be found in it.

\* "Aer sacro sereno

Ov' amor co' begli occhi il cor m'aperse."

Canzone XIV., part 1

† Madrigal III., part 1. In particular note the *pescà, vira*. See also son-

other than Laura, and the poem must undoubtedly allude to the time when her lover first saw her. But a single fact against a thousand probabilities is sufficient. The character of both these pieces, it should be especially remarked, are in the highest degree enigmatical, and any particular interpretation of them, however plausible, must not be considered as certain.

Still stronger objections may be urged against another poem.\* The verdure and ice in this may allude to Laura's treatment of her lover, like winter and spring; or else, if we discard an emblematical meaning, we are even more unfortunate, as the rivers may mark the position of Avignon, which lies precisely between the Lorgue and the Durance.

All positive proof in favor of the other hypothesis lies in a note, written, it is said, by Petrarch in a copy of Virgil, once in the Ambrosian library at Milan. What are its claims to being authentic?

To enumerate these briefly, we have numerous transcripts of this document, with dates, which range up to the year 1390, only a few years after the poet's death, and in almost every instance the transcribers have explicitly stated that the original was written by Petrarch himself. Besides this, upon a careful examination, the writing of the note was found to resemble other specimens of Petrarch's hand-writing preserved elsewhere, while the separation of the book from its binding within the last century, disclosed other memoranda undoubtedly written by the lover of Laura, which must place beyond suspicion the authenticity of the note, and establish the fact that the Virgil was the property of the poet.†

net CXLVII., part I., which we would suppose refers rather to a number than any single occasion, and less to the time when, than the means by which the poet fell a victim to his passion. All it unquestionably proves is that the poet had some very tender feelings when near Laura, naturally enough; and it may possibly have reference to an occasion when he heard her sing. Of the absurdity of forming any particular theory from mere allegory, the reader may satisfy himself by reading son. CLVI., part I., on the authority of which it might be contended that Laura died in an open field, under a laurel tree.

\* Sestina III., part I.

† Baldelli del Petrarca e delle sue opere, part II., page 185.



Although nothing can be added to authority like this, yet it does not want confirmation, even from the poet's verse. In a sonnet he tells us, there were things displeasing to Laura both in the place of her residence and where they first met.\* If the country was the place here referred to, the meaning of the sonnet, to say the least of it, would be perfectly absurd. What could be displeasing to Laura in the beautiful fields of one of the most lovely portions of France? Make Avignon the place here alluded to, and the interpretation is simple enough, if we believe only half that Petrarch has written of the spotless purity of her character, and remember the well-known profligacy of this city at that time.

Laura, we learn from her lover's descriptions of her, was in figure slight and delicate, her eyes blue, soft and tender, and her hair, which was fair, floated in ringlets upon her shoulders.† There are none of the portraits that the poet has left us of her, drawn as they are by the hand of genius and love, that are not

\* See sonnet *xxiv.*, part *ii.* Tassoni explains the latter part of this with the passage in the *Trionfi*—

“ In una cosa a me stessa despiacqui  
Ch'in troppo umil terren mi trovai nata,

resting upon it his favorite theory, that Cabrieres was the birth-place of Laura. But the equal vileness of both Laura's residence and the spot where the lovers first met—showing apparently that both places were one and the same—appears to annoy him somewhat. But he put this difficulty off in the explanation, that although the meeting did *not* take place in Gabrieres, it was yet in a meadow so near, that it might reasonably be assigned to this place. See *Considerazione sopra son. xxxvii.*, part *ii.* A reason for so singular an exposition, perhaps, may be found in the extreme horror with which all good Catholics appear to regard any reflections upon the Holy See. As a remarkable instance of this, the attention of the reader is directed to the editor's notes upon sonnets *xc.*, *civ.*, *cv.*, and *cvi.*, part *i.*, Rome ed., 1821, which are given to the city of Rome, abandoned by the Pope, when they are clearly intended for Avignon, then the place of his residence. See further, as decisive of this question, Baldelli del Petrarca e delle sue opere, p. 190, who transcribes a number of memoranda written by Petrarch in the Virgil at Milan, among which is the following: “*Qui obiisse dicitar Babilone seu Avenione de mense maii,*” &c.

† See particularly canzone *iv.*, part *ii.*

pre-eminently beautiful, whether we see her surrounded by her gay and happy companions, sitting alone sad and dejected, standing with all the consciousness of beauty and rank among the rich, the noble and the great, or lying upon the bed of death, when her eyes were closing upon the world forever.

Undoubtedly, much that Petrarch wrote upon the subject of Laura is now irreparably lost, and the destruction of these writings, whether dictated by prudence or caprice, leaves us, too often, in doubt in regard to the most important particulars concerning her.\* Still, despite of all this, these facts, at least, seem certain—her family was both noble and wealthy, and in age she was only a few years younger than the poet himself.†

Nor can the question of her marriage be considered in any way doubtful. The correct interpretation of a contested abbreviation in the dialogues with St. Augustine must be considered conclusive of the fact;‡ to which we may add, that the poet calls her *mulier* or *fœmina*, *donna* or *madonna* always—*virgo puella* or *donzella* never; sang her praises in the *Triumph of Chastity*, not *Virginity*, and has represented her with the crown and garland worn only by the married. He speaks, besides, of the interference of some one both envious and jealous, in a manner which can only refer to a husband.||

Although the birth-place of Laura may, at first, seem involved in some uncertainty, from apparent contradiction in the poet's verse,§ there can be, still, but little doubt that she was a native of Avignon. Certain proof of this, we think, is to be

\* Baldelli del Petrarca e delle sue opere, who says the number of pieces condemned by the poet to the flames amounted to more than a thousand.

† See the III Dialogue with St. Augustine and Sonnet CLXXVIII., part I. beginning—"In nobil sangue vita umile e queta." There is another proof of Laura's nobility noticed by Tassoni. After her victory, in the *Triumph of Chastity*, she returns thanks. "Nel tempio di Pudicitia, non di gente plebea, ma di patrizia." The splendor of some of her dresses and ornaments are frequently alluded to.

‡ Baldelli del Petrarca e delle sue opere—p. 178.

|| See sonnets CLXII. and CLXXV., part I; also sonnets CXIII. and CXXV., together with the canzone xv., part I., and the *Trionfo d'Amore*, cap. III.

§ Sonnets xx. and LXIII., part I.

found in a fragment usually placed at the end of most of editions of Petrarch's poems\*—evidence the more positive, as it can scarcely be said to be contradicted by a passage elsewhere, in which this honor is assigned only more precisely to the suburbs of the city, rather than to the city itself. †

That Laura resided at Avignon, seems evident from two poems, one of which we have but a moment before quoted. ‡ But the sonnet addressed to the river Rhone,|| while it puts an end to Tassoni's hypothesis of a residence at Cabrieres, would still lead us to suppose that Laura was a denizen of the country. But even this is by no means conclusive as to a permanency of residence; if it is, the allusion is still applicable to the suburbs of the city of Avignon, which might very easily have presented all the charming beauties of the country. This supposition, too, is the more probable, as it is sustained by tradition, which pointed to a house near the limits of Avignon, still standing as late as the sixteenth century, which once, it is said, she inhabited. §

\* Dove Sorga e Durenza in maggior vaso  
Congiungon le lor chiare e torbide acque  
La mia Accademia un tempo e'l mio Parnasso  
Ivi ond a gli occhi mili il bel lume nacque.

The juncture of these two streams takes place about half a league from the city of Avignon.

† See sonnet III., part I., and de Sade Mem. de Petrarque, p. 17, at the end of vol. III. De Sade preces justificative, No. x., says, upon the authority of John de Fournes, that the suburb of the Franciscano was the only suburb of Avignon at that time.

‡ Sonnets CCXX. and XXXVII., parts I. and II.

|| Sonnet CLXXII., part I. The Rhone does not pass near Cabrieres.

§ See de Sade Mem. de Petrarque, vol. III., p. 37, and pieces justificative, No. x., who quotes a work of Henry James and a letter of John de Fournes to show that Laura was born precisely in this house. But they both say nothing of the kind, nor anything more than simply "this was called the house of Laura. Dominae Lauræ vulgo nuncupatæ, and la quale si domanda anch ora la casa di Madonna Laura." If we take the abbe's signification of the above words, Domina and Madonna, (and we suppose we may,) we might rather be inclined to believe that Laura resided here after her marriage. The situation of this house upon the banks of a rivulet.

If the character of Petrarch's love, in some passages of his writings, may be considered as doubtful, in others, despite of his constant declarations upon the purity of his passion, it is more clearly expressed. In one poem\* he envies the happiness of Pigmalion; in a second† he mentions Laura's indignant answer to his addresses, which shows, at least, she knew what he meant; while in one of his dialogues with St. Augustine, ‡ he not only confesses he sought favors that could not be properly granted, but that, moreover, he left nothing undone to ruin the virtue he admired—an admission which, however it may exalt the force that successfully resisted, can convey no admiration for the power that attempted its overthrow.

The evidence of a lover, upon the happy fortunes of his love, generally, may be considered as questionable, but when, however, this is not too flattering to personal vanity and the success is merely partial, in the absence of other testimony, it may, perhaps, be allowed.

The poet's passion was not long in making itself known to the object of it. Love, however, deaf and blind, is always communicative, but the result was as violent as it was unexpected, and Petrarch was repulsed with the deepest scorn.||

But Laura, nevertheless, it is certain, afterwards relented, her lover mentions a change of color upon an occasion when he came

"fonte vero omnium rege Sorgia," agrees besides exactly with the locality of Laura's residence.

Mi revedrai sovr 'un rascel corrente  
Ove l'aura si sente  
Ivi e'l cor, e quella che'l m'involò,  
Qui veder puoi l'immagine mia sola.  
Can. xvii., part i.

\* Sonnets LVII., part i.

Pigmalion quanto lodar ti dei  
De l'immagine tua! se mille volte  
N'avesti quel ch'i sol' una vorrei.

† Canzone i., part i.

‡ See the third dialogue with St. Augustine.

|| Canzone i., part i.

to tell her good-bye\* and we have an entire poem propitiatory of her jealousy on the mere suspicion that he admired another, from which we would suppose that this defection was not a matter of the most perfect indifference to the subject of his verse.†

In all his poems upon the subject of his love, Petrarch constantly asserts the severity of Laura's treatment of him.‡ So far the declamations of the poet are positive; the only question is how far may we believe them. It is here evident that our only authority is interested. What lover would represent the object of his affections, while loving, as weak or criminal, when an improper or untimely confession would put an end to any further hope of favor, or would blacken her memory when dead for the only fault of having yielded to his wishes? Besides, does not Petrarch aver to the purity of his affections even while he is comforted by his own words?

A passion, however, that would last for a period of twenty years, without either reward or encouragement, would certainly be an anomaly in the list of human weaknesses, and if the evidence just mentioned may be doubted, for its partiality, it may more readily be admitted, when it ceases to be favorable, even while a peculiar energy of expression confirms its truth. We have here reference to Petrarch's allusions to promises which had been broken; the nature of these, it is true, is but darkly hinted at, yet in terms too

\* Sonnet XLVI., part II.

† Canzone XXXIV., part I. *S'il disse mai*, etc. See in further proof of a reciprocity of feeling, the *Tumfo della morte*, cap II., when the poet makes Laura say—

“ *Fur quasi eguali in noi fiamme amorose  
Almen poi ch'io m'avvide del tuo foco  
Ma l'un l'appaleso, l'altra l'ascose.*

‡ See in particular sonnet CXXIV., part I.,

*O bel viso a me dato in dura sorte  
Di ch'io sempre pur pianga e mai non goda.*

Yet elsewhere the poet does acknowledge the receipt of some favors, but in a manner rather ungraciously, we must allow. See sonnet XLIII., part I.

*E s' i' ho alcun dolce e dopo, tanti amari  
Che per disdegno il gusto si dilegua.*

plain, it must be confessed, for us to suppose them otherwise, than highly criminal.\*

Whether these promises were the outbursts of feeling, in moments of tenderness or weakness, when the idol of the poet felt the passion she inspired, or whether they were given merely to get rid of his importunities, is a question which we leave to the judgment of the reader, to be decided, only, by the love, or indifference of Laura herself.†

But the very existence of these promises, must certainly lead us to suppose, that Laura's love for the poet, was stronger than she would wish the world to imagine. The cause of their non-fulfilment, after they had been given, can only be the subject of plausible conjecture.

In the period of time comprised between the years 1327 and 1348, embracing the pontificate of Clement VI., the Court of Avignon was notably immoral, and indeed the scandalous character of the Holy See at that time forms the constant theme of the writers of the day, when profligacy of manners so far from being discountenanced or restrained, had every encouragement in the lives of even the supreme pontiffs themselves.

There was, then, no enforcement of laws for the repulsion of crime, but in place of this, as a very consequence, private vengeance was substituted; a species of wild justice even more terrible to the evil doer, as it was circumscribed by neither time or

\* See sonnets XLII and CXXXIV., part I., particular the first, in which these lines occur :

Qual ombra è sì crudel che il seme adugge  
Ch' al desiato frutto era sì presso ?

\* \* \* \* \*

Fra la spiga e la man qual mura e messo ?

† The first seems proved in numerous passages in Petrarch's poem, we will quote but one, in this, the poet makes Laura say :

Più di mille fiate ira dipinse  
Il volto mio : ch' amor ardeva il core  
*Ma voglia* in me, ragion giammai non vinse  
Trionfo della morte.

‡ See Villaret Hist. de France, tom. VIII., p. 355, and de Sade Mem. de Petrarque, tom. I., p. 53.

place in the execution of its victim, and fell with the same severity upon the mere suspicion of guilt, as upon the actual evidence of the crime itself. These extra judicial satisfactions to justice, besides were instantaneous, or deferred; in one, the penalty was immediately paid with life; in the other, death, by any means whatsoever, would be considered a blessing, while the unhappy wretch dragged out a lengthened existence, in every horrid refinement of cruelty, such as only the ingenuity of man could invent.

Aware of this, perhaps, from instances which might have occurred among her relatives or friends, and knowing too well the jealousy of her husband, Laura would be forced, from the ardor of her lover, to adopt a character which was not her own; punishing the love she felt herself, almost to the verge of despair, from which promises, constantly broken, always renewed, only could recall it. The truth of this explanation is further apparent in her lover's confession, that she restrained his ardor by flattery, that he might not perish,\* a mode of action even more necessary as Petrarch appears not to have been the most discreet of lovers, as Laura avows her eyes would have been more constantly on him, only she feared his tongue.†

If Laura de Sade was the Laura of Petrarch, and we neither acknowledge or desire the identity, her will, thanks to the industry of a French writer, has been given to the world. But we look in vain through this, for the strength of mind which is said to have characterized the subject of Petrarch's muse, it seems only to display the weakness of one whose conduct as a mother had so little influence in her family, during her life-time, that a daughter was immured for the loss of that very virtue which has made her famous; while as a wife she merited so little the attachment of

\* E l'empia voglia ardente

*Lusingando affreno, per ch' io non pera.*

Son. xx, part II.

† E state foran lor luci tranquille,

Sempre ver te: se non ch'ebbi temenza,

Delle pericolose tue faville.

Trionfo della Morte, Cap. II.

her husband, that he married again in November, 1348; only seven months after her death.\*

Without wishing to add to the wrath of virtuous indignation which has certainly been poured with most unsparing hands upon the devoted head of Laura, we will but notice the opinion expressed by one of her most ardent admirers, that Petrarch could have been famous as the lover of this lady.† If we believe a maxim which is proverbial, the poet took his greatness from his birth, and Laura owed it merely to chance that she was made the partner of it. Besides, one of the finest, if not the very finest, of Petrarch's poems is in its nature entirely political,‡ nor do we owe one half as much to Petrarch, the lover of a single woman, as perfect as you please, as to Petrarch, the restorer of learning to the world.

A word or two more upon the subject and we are done. Laura, from Petrarch's accounts of her, seems to have been exceedingly vain,|| capricious§ and indolent,¶ and; what must appear far stranger than all, she had not the slightest fancy for poetry.\* \*

\* See the will at length apud de Sade Mem. de Petrarque, pieces justificatives.

† Mrs. Jamieson's "Lives of the Poets," ed. Philadelphia, 1844, p. 52, and 64.

‡ See the beautiful canzone XVI., part I.; also the canzone VIII., ed. ultimo, part II.

|| Sonnet XXXVII., and canzone XIII., part I. In the first the poet says she actually wearied her looking-glass admiring herself.

§ Sonnet LXXXVIII., part I.

¶ Sonnet LXXV.

\* \* See *Sestina* VII., and canzone VII., part I. Although Petrarch's assertion is here positive enough, it seems to have been determined that Laura should write poetry in spite of it. Barth. Bonhomme published in 1555, at Avignon, a collection of poems bearing the following title, "Toutes les Œuvres Vulgaires de Fr. Petrarque, contenant 4 livres de Mad. Laure d'Avignon sa maitresse jadis par lui composer en langage tocan et mis en français par Vasquin Philieul, avec brief sommaires." From Brunet Manuel du libraire, it appears that the above was only an enlargement of a work of Vasquin Philieul, previously published at Paris 1548. Neither of these I have seen, but a beautiful volume now lies before me which bears this inscription upon its title-page, "I sonetti, le canzoni, e i triomfi di M. Laura in risposta di M. Francesco Petrarca per le sue rime in vita e



As her lover apparently remained doubtful whether more good or evil was the result of his passion,\* it would be improper in us to give, upon the subject, any decided opinion of our own; the reader can judge for himself, while we conclude in the words of the poet:

“Quinci nascon le lagrime, e i matiri  
Le parole, e i sospiri,  
Di ch'io mi vo stancando e forse altrui  
Giudica tu, che me conosci e lui.”

*Ed. 18. 1842. 52.*

#### ART. VIII.—POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.†

It is undeniable that great evils were entailed on Europe by the founders of the feudal system. But this was reasonably to be expected. The Huns were as expert at scalping as Black-Hawk or Tecumseh, and invariably attached the bloody scalps of their victims to their war-trappings as monuments of their valor. The Vandals are said, in an excursion of two years into Africa, to have destroyed no less than 5,000,000 human beings of every age and sex. The Goths and Lombards had a peculiar relish for the wine they drank out of goblets made of their enemies skulls,‡

dopo la morte de lei pervenuti alle mani del Magnifico M. Stefano Colonna gentil huomo Romano, non per l'addietro dati in luce. A San Luca al segno del Diamante MDLII.” The work is divided into two parts, the first containing Laura's answers to all that Petrarch wrote before her death, and the other, strange to say, to all he wrote after. Crescimbeni, according to de Lade, (*Mém. de Petrarque*, tom. II., p. 473,) assigns these poems to Stephen Colonna, who lived in the 16th century. At all events they are dedicated to Vittoria, duchess of Urbino by Piero Antonio Miero, whom I would rather suppose to be the author of them. Who he was I have been unable to ascertain. Tiraboschi says nothing of him.

\* See canzone VII., part I., with Tassoni's remarks thereon.

† Continued from the last number of the Southern Quarterly Review.

‡ Machiavelli relates a striking instance of this, “History of Florence,” B. I., ch. 2: The ferocious ALBOIN, king of the Lombards, having invaded Pannonia, conquered and slew the reigning king CUNIMUND, when “finding ROSAMOND, daughter of CUNIMUND, amongst the captives, took her to wife, and made himself sovereign of Pannonia; and, moved by his savage nature,

and such atrocities as Attila's murder of his brother as a title to empire, and such diabolical plots as that to which Longinus prompted the ill-fated Rosamond, were not only common but characteristic of the people and the age. Of course, then, we are not to be surprised at the universal love of war, and contempt of honest industry which plunged all Europe for a while into utter darkness. But it is nevertheless true, great benefit has resulted from the system, in spite of these evils. The checks to royal power, and the distribution of political influence through the community, which have resulted from their mode of parcelling the land and of administering justice, are, in fact, the chief corner-stones of modern civilization and representative government.

Military service, being at first the only tenure by which land was held, served, no doubt, to perpetuate the barbarous tastes and warlike predilections of these rude and ferocious people; but it operated no less powerfully in curbing those ambitious leaders who aimed at undue power, and who bent their designs in the direction of national consolidation, and the erection of extensive and despotic monarchies. So that while the manners of the people delayed the consummation of the systems, the very foundations of which they themselves were laying, their crude institutions were nurturing the elements which have combined to establish results far surpassing any previous contrivance of human sagacity or ingenuity. The very conditions imposed erected a sort of *quid pro quo* equality between the prince and the baron, which answered many of the conservative purposes of our modern constitutions. But soon tenure by service, either military or otherwise, gave way to tenure by inheritance, and this, in turn, gave rise to hereditary rank, in which was a strange mixture of the "natural" with the landed aristocracy. The barons became for-

caused the skull of Unimund to be framed into a cup, from which, in memory of the victory, he drank." After making several other conquests, "he gave a great feast at Verona, and having become elated with wine, ordered the skull of Unimund to be filled, and caused it to be presented to the queen Rosamond, who sat opposite, saying loud enough for her to hear, that upon occasion of such great joy, she should *drink with her father*. These words were like a dagger to the lady's bosom, and she resolved to have revenge." The cruel sarcasm cost Alboin his life.

midable to the prince; the common people and townsfolk became threatening to both, and each in turn were jealous and fearful of the others. The result of all this was the refined and perfect development of the feudal system, from the gradual though natural expiration of which sprung the systems of constitutional monarchy, so totally different from the Oriental despotism of the old empire.

During the early periods of this system, the degraded vassal would scarcely dare suggest to his imagination that he was indeed a man, like his lord. But events brought the prince to his rescue. The haughty barons, by their "privilege of union," had reached a pitch which is well explained by the oath of allegiance, or obedience rather, taken by the great nobles at the coronation of the kings of Arragon: "We, who are each of us as good as you, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience if you maintain our rights—but if not, not;" and by the famous answer of Bigod, of Norfolk, to King Edward, when ordered abroad in command of his foreign armaments—"By the eternal God, Sir Earl, you either go or hang."—"By the eternal God, Sir King, I neither go nor hang." Kings, thus infuriated, enlisted the good will of the common people, to humble the barons; and, without intending it, put into the hands of every man a writ of inquiry into the title by which either kings or lords were rulers. The natural propensity of inferiors to animadvert upon their superiors was in this way actively aroused. The invention of gunpowder armed the weak, and the printing-press enlightened the ignorant. Knowledge became diffused throughout the community. Political topics were discussed. Commerce extended itself into new channels. And finally old superstitions vanished like the morning vapor before the rising sun of the reformation, and the bright rays of Christianity streamed over the remains of the feudal system. The evil practices of the dark age were rapidly dispersed, and all the wholesome checks upon arbitrary power were nurtured by the warmth of this new and auspicious state of things.

*Doctrines* now began to be preached, and the thing called *politics* was brought into existence. There was a resurrection of

Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Xenophon. Sir Robert Filmer wrote, and was grappled with and defeated by Algernon Sidney. Locke, Harrington, Hume, Hobbes, Rousseau, and the Abbe Sieyes, leaped up and instructed mankind, ere yet the astonishment at their varied achievements had subsided. The doctrine of the "*jure divino*" right of kings was met by that of original compact, and finally Europe settled down into two grand schools of Liberal and Conservative politicians. There were the Whigs and Tories in England; Revolutionists and Royalists in France; Liberal and Servile in Spain; Arbitrary and Constitutional in Germany; and similar divisions elsewhere. And here, in the New World, was born *Constitutional Republicanism*.

We must observe, however, at this place, and the reflection is highly illustrative of the progressive nature of human affairs, that the doctrine of the Divine Right was scarcely less *fallacious* than that which so great a mind as Locke's opposed to it. But the notion that government originated in a compact between the governed and the governors, which he advanced, though fallacious, was certainly productive of good. And this is one of the rare cases in which false doctrine has brought about true results, owing to the fact that some truth was admixed with the falsity. The great benefit produced was its warning to rulers that they owed duties to the governed, and that they must be careful to regard *their* wishes and interests. The moment the mass of mankind learn that they are *contractors* in the matter of their government, notwithstanding they may be put in a false position, they look about them to discover whether they have received the thing contracted for. In this search, it is needless to say, every variety of conclusion will be arrived at. But in the main, good will result, as we will now endeavor to show.

The only serious evil which could result from this doctrine, would be the danger of overturning government, however inexpedient such a measure may be. To tell men that they have government under contract, when they have been accustomed to regard their rulers as having them under levy, would seem to be the same as urging them to the extreme of fault-finding and discontent, regardless of the real excellence of the system under which

they live, or of the incidental blessings they reap from it. There is a bad tendency in our nature to destroy whatever we suddenly learn we have the power of destroying, and this particularly applies to those artificial barriers, which men are apt to conceive they can displace for the fantastic creatures of their own imagination. Fortunately, however, there are two prevailing principles which neither time nor prejudice can ever destroy. One is, in the physical world, that every thing seeks a state of rest and resists motion : The other, in the world of morals, that Peace is preferable to war. Thus, rest and peace are the great designs of nature. Unreasonable resistance to government would certainly be the consequence of Locke's doctrine were it not for these, but, thanks to the great author of all things, these conflicting provisions in his economy are so truly balanced that the result of their mutual operation is the general advancement of society, instead of that perfect chaos or stagnation which would ensue were either allowed to go uncontrolled by the other.

It is seldom the mere love of change carries men to the extent of overturning government, when there is no good reason for doing so. The operation of the other principle, however, has carried men to the other extreme in every age ; as is strikingly exemplified in the case of the Romans. Here, inertness and effeminacy succeed the most courageous energy and manly heroism the world ever saw. To such a mortifying extent was this the case, that it seems almost a tax upon our credulity to believe, that the same people which conquered nearly all Europe, and whose simple name, "Roman," was a passport among nations, could reach such a pitch of imbecility and baseness, by tolerating gross encroachments on their rights, as not only to submit to the whims and slaughters of such blood-thirsty monsters as Nero, Domitian, Tiberius, but actually to deify them when dead. All this, however, is susceptible of ready explanation.

We may suppose of a government, ever so excellent at its beginning, and the community ever so free, yet it is impossible for its administration to continue a long time without gradual changes of first principles, and imperceptible innovations upon first customs. Since all the affairs of government must be administered

by men, and since all, even the best of men, are imperfect and full of error and impurity, these changes and innovations are self-evident and inevitable. But the very gradual manner in which they are effected, renders it next to impossible for even the most discontented of the community to perfectly identify the wrong which may be alleged to underlie them. It must be something of a *glaring* nature which will be even so much as detected by the generality of men.

This was certainly Aristotle's conviction\* when he declared that "Governments sometimes alter without seditions : by petty contention, as at Heræa ; for which purpose they changed the mode of election from votes to lots, and thus got the contentious parties chosen ; and by negligence, as when the citizens admit to State offices men who are not friends to the constitution ; an event which happened at Orus, when the oligarchy of the archons was suppressed at the election of Heracleodorus, who changed that form of government into a democratic free State. Moreover, they change by little and little ; I mean by this that very often great alterations silently take place in the form of a government, when people overlook small matters ; as at Ambracia," etc., etc. Plato entertained the same idea as the result of his observation and his reasoning—"as every thing," says he, † "which is generated is liable to corruption, neither will such a constitution (his ideal one) as this remain forever, but be dissolved. And its dissolution is thus : not only the vegetable species, but likewise the animal, has seasons of fertility and sterility of soul as well as of body, when their revolutions complete the periphery of their respective orbits, which are shorter to the shorter lived, and contrarywise to such as are the contrary." And how applicable to government is the exclamation ascribed by Herodotus to Solon—"Thus, then, O, Croesus, is man completely the sport of vicissitude!" History, in fact, is so full of the evidence of these gradual imperceptible changes and unobserved vicissitudes, that it remains for us simply to advert to them as constituting one chief source of security to those governments, which are in the process of change from good to bad.

\* Aristotle's Politics and Economics, B. v., Ch. iii.

† Plato's Republic, B. 8.

There is another source of this security, and though what we are about to say was not addressed to this subject by the author, \* it is an excellent explanation of it:

"In whatever way the power came originally to be lodged in one man's hands, or one council's, or one senate's, and be its origin ever so full of fraud or violence, it is actually established, and produces advantages to the community. . It would at first have been for men's interest to agree together and establish some system of authority, and each individual would have found his interest in giving up his own will in order to obtain his share of the general protection afforded by an orderly arrangement, made for the general security against individual violence and foreign aggression. But, although no such agreement ever was made, because in all likelihood each community arose, in very rude times, through accidental circumstances, from very small beginnings, yet the same view of each person interested in good order, dictates the propriety of maintaining the plan or arrangement actually established in whatever way its establishment may originally have been formed. To change it would be full of the greatest danger, and bring on much certain and immediate suffering to the whole people. Therefore, it is better for the people at large to continue obeying the power as it is established than to destroy it and try to make another government; or rather to rebel and attempt to destroy it—a measure which would be dangerous and hurtful. The government established would, of course, resist; some, perhaps many, would take its part civil war would ensue; and the consequences would, after all, possibly be only to give more absolute power to the rulers, or to place a worst government in the stead of the present. General expediency of utility, therefore, the undoubted interest not only of the greater number but of almost the whole of the community, is best consulted by continuing to obey the established government and not seeking its destruction, as long as its dominion is tolerably mild and beneficial, and as long as the people can hope by fair means to mend it. But even in the worst despotisms, and where all improvement is out of the question, there is a duty to obey; because, until such a number concur in resolving upon a change as shall have power to effect that purpose, one or a few individuals throwing off the yoke would only insure their own destruction; and even were they joined by many more, unless the probability of successful resistance were much greater than the probability of defeat, as the country at large would be the losers and not the gainers, by the unsuccessful struggle, it is disadvantageous to all that so considerable a risk should be run except in extreme cases. To encounter small hazards is the interest, and may be the duty, of all men, in even the ordinary management of their affairs; so it may be their interest, and quite consistent with prudence, to encounter great risks where the mischief to be apprehended from the worst happening is not considerable, and the benefit to be expected from success is great. But where the mischief to be apprehended is great—even if the benefit in

\* Brougham's Political Philosophy, vol. i. p. 44. On this point see also the closing sentence of chap. vi. book iv. Aristotle's Politics.

view be great also—we must calculate on both sides, and are not at liberty, in common prudence, to expose the highest interest to even a moderate degree of hazard. No prudent man would think of killing all the dogs in a town in order to prevent even a considerable risk of the influenza breaking out. But when the consequence of a mad dog's bite is a disease of the most dreadful and fatal kind, quite beyond the reach of human art, all agree in the prudence of taking such precautions as shall preclude even the least risk of so great a calamity. So civil war is an evil of the very worst description; it is, indeed, the greatest of national calamities. Therefore, in considering whether or not it is prudent and justifiable to resist an established government, the great probability of vast mischief being, at all events in the first instance, occasioned, must always be taken into account. In truth, it is nearly the certain consequence of resistance. But the resistance may also fail to succeed, the government may remain as bad or even worse than before. Then we have to reckon what chance there is of this last of all calamities befalling us, namely, the evil of civil war with a defeat and more oppressive despotism than ever being established. If there be but a considerable danger of this, we have no right to resist; because there would be no prudence, no common sense in trying the experiment unless we were nearly certain to succeed. So, even if we were nearly certain of succeeding, as the civil commotion is of itself a grievous infliction upon all classes, there is no prudence and no sense in bringing such an evil upon the community, unless the present evils are of a very bad kind. Common reason teaches us that it is far better to bear with much, than to pay such a price for even a successful attempt to change our condition. Therefore, we never can act with a tolerably rational regard to our own interests, or with any regard to our duty to our fellow-countrymen, if we resist the established government, unless its mischief and our sufferings under it and from it are such as to justify us—first, in encountering the certain evils of the struggle, and next in running the risk of a failure. The mischiefs of the existing system must, therefore, have become almost unbearable, and the probability of the resistance succeeding must be very great compared with the risk of its failing, before man can be justified in beginning a resistance. This is the rule of reason and prudence, and this is the foundation of the duty of obedience, even in circumstances so unfavorable that a change of government, could it be brought about safely, would be the greatest benefit to the people.

“In all cases, therefore, both where the existing government is as advantageous as possible to the people—where it is much less beneficial than it might be, but may reasonably be expected to improve in a peaceable way, and where it is extremely bad without chance of peaceable amendment—the duty of obedience is founded upon the same principle, the general interest or advantage of the whole. In the first case the community is interested in things remaining as they are; a change would be hurtful, and it is, therefore, wrong because hurtful to the people to attempt it. In the second case a change would be very desirable, but as the means happily exist of accomplishing it safely and without encountering either evil or risk in the transaction, it would be hurtful to the community, and, therefore, wrong, and indeed irrational to attempt any sudden and violent alteration of the existing order of things. In



the third case there is no hope for the people but in an attempt to change by force; but before it is prudent to make the effort they must be sure that they suffer so much as to make it worth their while, that is worth the while of the community at large to undergo the great evils of civil war; and they must, above all, be sure that, even if it would be prudent to undergo those evils, the chances are much greater of success than of failure in the enterprise. Till then—till both these things concur to justify the effort—it is hurtful to the people, and, therefore, wrong to resist even this bad and unchanging despotism.

"The foundation of government—that is of the duty to obey in the subjects—has by many been sought in what lawyers term prescription; that is to say, in long and indeed immemorial usage or possession. There can be no doubt that this gives great weight and authority to every government and consequently materially strengthens its power. Not only immemorial possession of the supreme power, or the existence of any government for a known long period of time, gives great strength and stability to that government, even the date and circumstances of whose beginning are ascertained. Men have a rational tendency to acquiesce in whatever they find established, and the longer the period of the establishment the more ready and cheerful will be their acquiescence. This disposition has its origin to a great degree in habit and the association of ideas, because we naturally like to lean towards what we have always been accustomed to, and what is mixed up with all our recollections, connected with all our feelings and pursuits, and related as it were to all that belongs to us. But the disposition to favor things long established has another and a more reasonable cause also. When any particular arrangement has been for a course of ages adopted everything also has become adapted to it, and as it were, fitted and dovetailed into it; so that many things have been voluntarily and purposely settled in such a way as to suit it, and many arrangements have been made which would, but for the existence of the old system, have been differently contrived. There is thus a manifest convenience, and indeed real advantage, in keeping up the fundamental system, in preserving the ground-work upon which so much has been built, and not rashly changing or destroying what, if destroyed, must pull down with it much that we have had the labor of making and naturally should desire to preserve. Again, there is always considerable risk in change; and we know the worst of whatever has been long tried, whereas, of what is to be new in all respects we never can for a long time see and know all the imperfections."

There is also the moral influence of government over the minds of individual men, by which the former seldom makes an approach to despotism without, in a corresponding degree, debasing the latter. One after another the petty usurpations are submitted to, till the people become not only reconciled to, but actually advocates of them.

Thus, with the four principles now enumerated, viz: 1. The

gradual nature of the changes in the character of government, which renders men comparatively unaware of them; 2. The moral influence of government in debasing the public mind, in proportion as it becomes corrupt; 3. The expediency and utility of submitting to evils which we know, rather than fly to those we know not of; 4. And the principle of prescription, it is demonstrated that men will seldom resist their rulers, even when such resistance would be morally justified. And it was owing to this that Locke's idea of contract between the rulers and the ruled, so far from producing evil consequences, was productive of great good, in spite of the fallacy it involved.

Hobbes detected the absurdity of Locke's theory, and advanced his own, which was, in one sense, altogether true, but which we hope yet to show has not, to this day, been carried out to its proper and legitimate extent. He declared that all government existed by virtue of an implied or real compact, not between the people and their rulers, but between the people themselves. This is now the accepted doctrine, and will be discussed when the constitution and government of South Carolina comes to be more minutely considered. But this theory of the Philosopher of Malmesbury cannot be said to have originated entirely with him. The idea, we think, seems to pervade many of the chapters of Aristotle, and is almost definitely conveyed when he says,\* "The law is an agreement, a pledge between the citizens, of their intending to do justice to each other, though not sufficient to make all the citizens just and good."

We need scarcely say this has always been the doctrine of South Carolina. The concluding portion of the preamble to our constitution of March, 1776; the enacting clause of the constitution of 1778, and the first section of the declaration of rights in our present compact, fully testify to this.

Let us now recapitulate briefly. Government, we have said, is the result of man's nature, he being a social and a political being. It is brought about by society to perform those offices which require special agencies, and which could not be effectually executed by the mere general consent of mankind. Society is the condition in which man is designed to live, and all who enter it must resign

\* B. III. ch. IX. Politics and Economics.

to its control and that of its agents whatever "natural liberty" they may pretend to be invested with. Since there are various species and races of men, forming different communities and having different social customs and manners, wants and qualifications, there will always be various forms of government; and since the legitimate object of each is the same—the assistance of society in the pursuit of human happiness—no one form can be said to be invariably best, that being alone the best which best adapts itself to a given people. And it is the destiny of every government (as, in fact, may be said of all human institutions) gradually to change its character, if not its form; in view of all which a few collateral considerations present themselves.

In the first place, it seems unquestionable that there can never be a fixed criterion or standard, by which the excellence of government is to be absolutely determined. The nearest approach to this would be the apparent amount of individual happiness and prosperity which is found to exist. But the very nature of these things, precluding any but a *comparative* view, and that only approximate and imperfect, renders it impossible to establish a fixed standard. Neither the stability, permanence, freedom, aggrandisement, tyranny, nor the conquests, the magnificence, the power nor the wealth of which a system is capable, afford us aid in forming this judgment. And no better proof of this can be desired than the gross absurdities into which all have fallen who have attempted to create model constitutions and governments, and the flat contradictions into which all have been led who have attempted to define them. Aristotle, with all his knowledge of the many existing governments of his time, repeatedly contradicts himself when treading on this forbidden ground; and, in spite of his repeated attempts to conclude what State is best, he is forced to admit\* "that it may happen that, though one form of government may be better than another, yet oftentimes nothing prevents another from being preferable to it in particular circumstances and for particular purposes." Witness also the glaring case of "The fundamental constitutions of Carolina"—the deliberate

\* B. IV. ch. XI. See also ch. VIII. same book and B. V. ch. VIII.

work of such a genius as JOHN LOCKE!—in which palatines, admirals, chamberlains, chancellors, constables, chief justices, high stewards and treasurers, as well as landgraves and casiques, and lords of signories, Baronies, precincts and manors, and, at the foot of all, leetmen and commons, are solemnly drawn up, as it were, in line of battle, under no less than one hundred and twenty articles, “every part whereof,” saith the last in number, “shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina forever.” *Carolina!* a distressed colony, or rather company of adventurers, who, at the very time these grand arrangements were making for their unalterable government, would have thought themselves fortunate to command a single regiment of disciplined soldiery and a few small craft to cruise along the coast; the very charter under which they embarked from the mother country being of but six or seven years’ standing. Thus was a system devised for the government of a few thousand poor and suffering colonists, scattered over a comparatively vast and absolutely unexplored territory, which was ten thousand times better calculated to suit some densely-populated and wealthy district of the old world; and this scheme was conceived by a mind of the highest order!

Logically viewed, then, no doubt can remain that it is beyond the province of man to set up an arbitrary standard, whereby the excellence of governmental forms and constitutions can be properly decided. But reason sometimes falls to the ground in the face of *facts*. Let him, then, who will, take the world’s history, and determine, if he can, which form has invariably been best and which worst in its operations and its effects. For ourselves, we are content with a single comparison and a single prominent instance. Guizot\* presents the former; the latter is found in the Italian republics, but more particularly in the Venetian.† The French Secretary makes this forcible reflection:

\* History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe, part I., Lecture VI.

† Dr. Lieber, in his Manual of Political Ethics, (Boston: Little & Brown, 1847; part I, ch. 10,) conveys an idea differing from ours, yet in keeping with and illustrative of our views. “Since government,” says he, “is that

"We may sometimes see governments of apparently the most opposite character produce the same effects. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, representative government raised England to the highest elevation of moral and material prosperity; and France, during that same period, increased in splendor, wealth and enlightenment, under an absolute monarchy. I do not intend by this to insinuate the impression that forms of government are unimportant, and that all produce results of equal quality and value; I merely wish to hint that we should not appreciate them by only a few of their results, or by their exterior indications. In order fully to appreciate a government, we must penetrate into its essential and constituent principles. We shall then perceive that many governments, which differ considerably in their forms, are referable to the same principles; and that others, which appear to resemble one another in their forms, are, in fundamental respects, different."

And for the evidence of history, take but a glance at the career of Venice, a republic which, both for its external and internal features of successful government, has been more celebrated than any in Italy, and, upon a just comparison, surpassed, in many important respects, any power in Europe. Attila's invasion drove many of the people of Aquileia, Padua, the ancient province of

institution or organism by which the State endeavors to obtain and secure the objects of the State, the excellence of government naturally depends upon what these objects are, and upon the people for whom it exists and through whom it operates. People, in this sense, does not only mean the respective individuals, separate and for themselves, but these individuals considered in the various relations in which, according to place and time, they must move. \* \* \* \* \* Each great period in history, that is, each period in which the activity of man is directed with peculiar intensity toward the obtaining of some great end, the realization of some great idea, carries within it its own standard. We become, therefore, in the same degree, unjust, and obtain a distorted view of truth, as we apply the standard of one conspicuous period to another. The legislation of Moses, whose object was to lead bondsmen into liberty, and to manifest the belief in one God, cannot be correctly understood in judging it by the standard of the Spartan constitution. The laws, digested and amended by Lycurgus, eight hundred years before Christ, and for a small State, do not give us the test to try the excellence or badness of the reign of Charlemagne, eight hundred years after Christ, over a variety of discordant and unruly tribes, whose first essential want was pacification. England, under Elizabeth, with a bull of Pius V. hanging over her, and preceded by monarchs so violent as Henry VIII. and Mary, had to strive for different objects than under the administration of an Earl Grey."

Venetia, and others of the surrounding region, from their comfortable and fertile homes to the barren rocks of the Adriatic coast and the unwholesome marshes of the Rivo Alto. Thus did the Venetians spring from a collection of refugees from many different districts of Italy, and, having chosen a home which was both sterile and unhealthy, they were forced to look abroad for the means of subsistence, and consequently became a purely maritime and commercial people. In their earlier times, it is evident they were reared in the strict schools of vigilance and adversity. Withdrawn, in a measure, from the rest of Italy, they escaped the devastations of that distracted country, and were enabled to form regulations for their own government and prosperity. They were never entirely subdued by the barbarians, and when, at one time, all Italy was enslaved either by the Pope, the Emperor of Greece, or Pepin of France, the Venetians gave obedience to neither, but were alone in the enjoyment of their liberty. From such a people, one might well look for a government of their own choice, and of a permanent and stable character, which in fact they had. They survived to bring their system to perfection, and to become the terror of the seas, the dread of all the Italian States, and even, it would seem, to be feared by the ultramontane princes.

Until near the close of the seventh century, the government of the Venetians was simple and local, but, at this time, when they were threatened with the united invasion of Lombards and Slavonians, it was strengthened and consolidated under a Doge and General Assembly. After the lapse of a hundred years, they were forced by the Carlovignian prices to abandon their capital and change the seat of government. Venice was now built. At the close of the tenth century, their Dalmatian conquests were complete. The crusades then, by the great stimulus they imparted to the commerce of Venice, resuscitated her energies, which had been sadly enervated by the desperate Morosini and Caloprini struggles, factious commotions not less vindictive and hurtful than those of the Guelphs and Ghibellines of Italy, or of York and Lancaster, of England. Thus revived, another hundred years witnessed in Venice the most rapid strides in wealth, power

and fame. The popular assemblies of the Pregadi were established, which proved initiatory to the erection, at the close of the twelfth century, of the "Republic" and grand council. Out of this sprung a hereditary aristocracy, and finally, the no less infamous than celebrated, "*Council of Ten*," with all its secret and diabolical proceedings. This Council, notwithstanding the remarkable fact of its constantly refraining from making itself hereditary, as all admit it may easily have done, soon absorbed all the powers of government, and became in effect *the Venetian government*. A government which survived in its might nearly four hundred years, and only met its downfall in the great scourge which the French Revolution inflicted on all Europe. A government whose senate, like that of ancient Rome, became a model for other States, and whose very politicians, counsellors and generals were the envy of other powers; under whose *protection*, to say nothing of patronage, existed the most civilized people on earth, and the arts and sciences, as well as commerce, flourished to a surpassing extent; and withal, one which had not only the fear of those who could be dangerous, but the respect and good will of those who could be serviceable, as a certain test of its power and its permanence.

No government was ever more stable or more free from rebellions and revolutions, nor has any ever exerted a greater proportion of foreign influence, when the population is considered. Rome is always cited as the great mistress of nations, and the lasting monument of the extent to which conquest may be carried; but Rome, except in one or two instances, never was called upon to cope with a power equally advanced and skilful with herself, whereas, Venice, upon all occasions, had to grapple with equals at least; and we must remember she once kept all Italy at bay, and such were her strides, that Austria, France and Spain, headed and blessed by no less a personage than the Pope, had to ally themselves to check her conquests. England is constantly pointed to as the embodiment of colonial aggrandizement and maritime wealth, but it is well known that Venice, with a population never equal to that of South Carolina, perhaps hardly more than half as great, has had to subject her—and her Council of Ten—

nearly four million of men, a proportion of provincial subjects, fully five times as great as that of England at the present day.

It is of no matter that the commercial wealth of Venice enabled the Council of Ten to effect such astonishing results; the profound though unprincipled policy of the Council, and the rapid though murderous execution of its plans ensured success. It was a strong, stable, wealthy and victorious government, yet who will say it was such as would be best for all nations? While it united with its stability and vigor, the happy facility of developing the resources of its citizens, and retaining the good will of the common people, who always loved the government, it nevertheless was the most contemptuous of principle and justice, and the most ruthless and despicably cruel of any power recorded in history. The grand carnivals of the monster Nero are to be regarded as evidences of the degradation of the Romans. But the proceedings of the Council of Ten were the recognized policy of a republic in no wise behind the age or degraded from its former advancement. Nero was also the exception, the Council was the rule. And could such a system be held up for the adoption of mankind? Who has forgotten the fate of Carmagnola, the great captain of his age, whose excruciating tormentors tore open the half-healed wounds he had received in *their* service and in *their* defence, and who, with a gag upon his mouth, was executed in public as a common felon?—all this the reward of greatness! The work of ten envious friends, ennobled with the name of Counsellors and Republicans. The secret strangling of the Carrara family is another, and the brutal treatment of the Foscari, still another evidence of the unscrupulous viciousness of the Council, which, let us remember, was not even hereditary. To this, then, must he inevitably come, who seeks to set up a standard of excellence for government—he must return to the very point from which he set out, and ask, what, after all, is human happiness?

This portion of the subject may be dismissed with the reflection, that after everything is said and done, since government is but auxiliary to society, it is not to be expected to afford primary benefits to mankind. It is to the every-day events of society, it



is to the moral curbing of human passions and the gentle suasion of civilization and Christianity which *society* fosters, that men must look for those enduring comforts and securities with which they desire to be blessed. In government there must always be more to lament than rejoice in; and even in the best code of laws we must look more for error than perfection.

There is a difference between States and Governments which we propose now briefly to consider and explain, for it is one which should be thoroughly understood by the political reasoner, but which, unfortunately, is but too seldom duly appreciated; and this unaccountable ignorance on the part of otherwise enlightened masses of people is, we are induced to believe, one of the most fruitful sources of the false doctrines and mad theories of the day. Having already stated the nature and principal functions of government, our present object will be fully accomplished by a similar course of remark in relation to the thing called State; the difference will then be apparent.

What is a State? has been a standing question since the world began, for widely different ideas have been attached to the word at different periods, and by different philosophers. Some have sought to destroy individuality, and blend, by physical means, the entire community into one absolute moral being; others have gone a step further, and sunk, not only the individual, but the family and property, into the monstrous conglomerated ONE. These were the doctrines of some of the ancients. Rousseau, also, seems to have been, with many other moderns, tainted with them. On the other hand, by moral and imaginary perversions of physical facts and laws, individuality, family and property have been indeed recognized, but only as subordinate and by sufferance, under the divine majesty of one man. This is the basis of monarchical absolutism; the former, that of the socialists and communists of France, and of democratic absolutism everywhere. These, however, are differences in theory only, and will always subsist, if not in a practical form, at least in the imaginations of frenzied or misguided men. The practical and historical differences of meaning which have been attached to the word are far more important to the serious thinker.

It may at first sight appear a thoughtless or even reckless assertion to say that *States*, in the sense in which we now use the term, never existed till modern times ; that they were totally unknown to the ancients, and only existed in their germ during the middle ages. Yet there would be no lack of truth in the assertion. Ancient States were *cities* with conquered provinces attached and subjected to them ; modern States include vast territories as one of their most essential elements. It is true, Paris and London, from their antiquity and population, are formidable points in the geography and strategy of France and Great Britain. They are the capitals of those States ; and the Bastille and the Tower of London have each served as terrible depositories of despotic vengeance. So also have the mobs of Paris and the London populace made important turns in the scales of empire and power ; but what is Paris or London now, in the face of a few districts of either France or England, with the deadly implements of modern warfare in their hands, and the dreadful blight of famine, which they may always add to the other horrors of a siege ? When the Genoese first used the then recent Dutch invention of *artillery* in laying siege to Venice, they struck a greater blow against the iron rule of great cities and the enslavement of provinces, than any one physical cause we can at present call to mind ; and, perhaps, next to the art of printing, the use of siege trains, and of all heavy ordnance, has contributed more than any similar physical cause to the development of our modern system of States. Walled towns were once the pre-requisite of States, but now the huge mortar and the deadly Paixhan are sufficient to thunder forth the requiem of any city in Christendom. It is said, the cackling of a few geese once saved the " Eternal City ;" but in modern times, a continued shower of bomb-shells and rockets would raise such a din and commotion, that even a Caesar would fain depart from his seven hills, and stake the fate of his empire on the open plain. But we are digressing, and must beg, by way of atonement, to return directly to the subject, in the words of another, whose writings are *never* irrelevant, " Had the ancients possessed other free states than *city-states*, they would have been forced out of this position," says Dr. Lieber,

in discussing a subject not altogether disconnected with our own,\* "but there were no states in antiquity, if we take the term in the adaptation in which we use it, when we mean sovereign political societies spreading over extensive territories, and forming an organic legal whole. Even the vast monarchies of ancient Asia were conglomerated conquests with much of what has just been called a city-state. Nineveh, Babylon, were mighty cities that swayed over vast dominions as mistresses, but did not form part of a general State in the modern term."

"There was no State proper in the middle ages," he continues. "The feudal system is justly called a system; it was no State," &c., &c. What, then, let us inquire, do moderns mean by State?

In the act of 1777, establishing an oath of allegiance to South Carolina, we read, "I, —, do acknowledge the State of South Carolina is, and of right ought to be, a free, independent, and sovereign State," &c. In the similar act of 1778, "I, —, do swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the State of South Carolina," &c., and that I will, without delay, report "all plots and conspiracies that shall come to my knowledge against the said State," &c. And the 10th article of the amendments to the federal compact reads thus, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." What now, in all these and a thousand other recurrences in our constitutional documents of the word *State*, is meant? This is the true question to be put and answered by the political student of this country. Ancient nations are only of incidental importance in this regard; for, since it is obvious that, in former times, very different ideas were held from the present day, it is plain that moderns, and particularly we of the United States, whose institutions are comparatively *sui generis*, are competent to give our own definition of so prominent a term in our political nomenclature. We cannot refrain, however, from quoting a few passages of Aristotle, as strikingly illustrative of this:†

\* Civil Liberty, &c., vol. 1, p. 68.

† Aristotle's Politics, B. III., ch. 1 and 9.

"Every one who inquires into the nature of governments, and what and of what kind are its several forms, should make this almost his first question, what is a State? For upon this point there is a dispute; for some persons say, the State did this or that; while others say it was not the State, but the oligarchy, or the tyrant. We see, too, that the State is the only object which both the politician and the legislator have in view in all they do; but government is a certain ordering of those who live as members of a State. Now since a State is a collective body, and, like other wholes, composed of many parts, it is evident that our first point must be to inquire what a citizen is; for a *State* or *city* is a certain number of citizens.

"Whoever has a right to take part in the judicial and executive part of government in any State, him we call a citizen of that place; and a State, in one word, is a collective body of such persons, sufficient in themselves for all the purposes of life.

"It is evident that a State is not a mere community of place, nor established for the sake of mutual safety or traffic, but that these things are the necessary consequences of a State, although they may all exist where there is no State; but a State is a society of people joining together with their families and their children, to live well, for the sake of a perfect and independent life; and for this purpose it is necessary that they should live in one place, and intermarry with each other. Hence in all cities there are family meetings, clubs, sacrifices, and public entertainments to promote friendship; for a love of sociability is friendship itself; so that the end for which a State is established is that the inhabitants of it may live happily; and these things are conducive to that end; for it is a community of families and villages, formed for the sake of a perfect independent life; that is, as we have already said, for the sake of living well and happily. The political State, therefore, is founded not for the purpose of men's merely living together, but for their living as men ought."

Let us now enquire what is meant by State in our constitutional documents. In the first place, powers are mentioned as being reserved to the "*States*," or to "*the people*;" and from this it is evident that "*the people*" are not "*the State*." It is also clear that the "*government*" is not "*the State*;" for, says the preamble to the constitution of South Carolina, "We, the Delegates of *the people of the State* of South Carolina, in General Convention met, do ordain and establish this Constitution for *its government*." From this we see "*the State*" existed before the government was ordained and established; hence "*the government*" cannot be the State. But, says the federal compact, "*the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof*;" while "*the*

House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by *the people* of the several States." Senators, then, may be said to represent the State, and Representatives the people of the State. The State is the constituent of the Senator, the people are the constituents of the Representative. Now, though the Senators are chosen by the Legislature, they do not, properly speaking, represent that body alone, for it is a part of the government. and we have just seen that the government is not the State. Do they then represent what the Legislature represents? If so, the Legislature represents the State. But what does this body represent? It represents the people and their property; for one half the members of one house are apportioned according to taxable property, and all the members of the other represent arbitrary divisions of the territory. Do the Senators represent this? It is now evident that, by this course of reasoning, we will never reach any but a negative conclusion. Let us, then, adopt another.

The graceful imagination of a poet has undertaken to define a State. "What constitutes a State?" it is asked :

• "Not high-raised battlements, or labor'd mound,  
Thick wall, or moated gate ;  
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd ;  
No ! Men, high-minded men,  
Men, who their duties know ;  
But know their rights; and knowing, dare maintain.  
These constitute a State !" •

But this has merit only as a fine sentiment happily expressed. It is, indeed, admirably calculated to impress on men's minds that *they* and not their *rulers* constitute the State; and it is a refreshing antipode of the youthful unction of Louis XIV.—"*L'Etat c'est moi*"—but it leaves us only a vague apprehension of the truth. It is, in fact, a poetical summary of Bacon's essay on "The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," in which he says,\*

"The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure, and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under com-

\* Bacon's Works, London, 1824, vol. 2, Essay No. 29.

putation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate.

"Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery and the like: all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself, in armies, importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage: for, as Virgil saith, it never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.

"To conclude: no man can, by care taking, as the Scripture saith, add a cubit to his stature, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For by introducing such ordinances, constitutions and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession."

But neither the poet nor the philosopher thus leave us a definite idea of what a State may correctly be defined to be.

In the *Encyclopedia Americana* a State is defined—"A body politic; an association of men for political ends, the object of which is well expressed in the term *Commonwealth*—i. e., common good. Experience as well as reason shows that the isolated individual can attain but very imperfectly the ends of his being, and instinct early leads men to form unions for promoting the good of each by the power of all. Such a union is a State," &c.

But, with all deference to the learned authors of that truly valuable compendium, we still need a more precise definition. We have to inquire, what is a body politic? what a commonwealth? &c. And if a mere association of men for political ends be a State, then the political parties of the day may in a certain sense be called States; for they are such associations for such ends. But, even regarding the explanation there given in its general sense, we venture to say it is a better definition of *society* at large than *State* in its proper sense, or in the modern sense at least. The latest work of the principal editor of the *Encyclopedia*, however, conveys the precise idea of a modern State, and for fullness combined with concise expression, is probably the best explanation we can give:\*

\* Lieber's *Civil Liberty*, &c., vol. 1, p. 51.

"The State is a society, or union of men—a *sovereign* society and a society of human beings, with an indellible character of *individuality*. The State is moreover an institution which acts through *government*, a contrivance which holds the power of the whole, opposite to the individual. Since the State, then, implies a society which acknowledges no superior, the idea of self-determination applied to it means that, as a unit and opposite to other States, it be independent, not dictated to by foreign governments, nor dependent upon them any more than itself has freely assented to be, by treaty and upon the principles of common justice and morality, and that it be allowed to rule itself, or that it have what the Greeks chiefly meant by the word *autonomy*. The term State, at the same time, means a society of men, that is, of beings with individual destinies and responsibilities, from which arise *individual rights*, that show themselves the clearer and become more important as man advances in political civilization."

From this may be seen the importance of a clear understanding of the term *State*. It has so many bearings, and is to be viewed from so many different points, that a thorough comprehension of them all is indispensable to him who desires a knowledge of political philosophy; and this is particularly the case in the United States, and when our reasoning is to be directed to the institutions and politics of this country.

The State is a *society* and an *institution*. It is a society, because it is an association of individuals for a common end. It has its foundation in the human heart; it originates always in the same idea of reciprocity and justice; it is invariably developed apace with the principal relations and responsibilities of man; it combines, associates and unites all the elements of human progress which, but for its being essential in our nature, would otherwise come in conflict and destroy each other, or remain inactive and useless. It is an institution, because, though it must exist in spite of man, it may yet be characterized, made eventual, and even instituted by man, and it has as one of its essentials, the self-sufficient principle of existence—the independent organic vitality—which must belong to at least every cumulative institution. As a society, it has been most appropriately termed *jural* indicating its object to be right and justice. As an institution, it is supreme or sovereign, being above all other institutions, inasmuch as it exists before all, and is, in fact, co-existent and co-extensive with humanity. It is a *power*, from the very necessity

of its existence. And this necessity of existence imposes at once the attributes of supremacy or sovereignty and completeness; qualities, in fact, which are inherent in the State. But, since it is organic, it must have a plurality of functions as well as of members; and since it is a power, its action must be harmonious and in unison with its end and object. Hence the members are organized, and the functions performed as a unit. This unit, the unavoidable consequence of these necessities, is the subordinate institution called *government*, of the nature and object of which we have already endeavored to give some explanation. Thus we are brought to the conclusion that government, though not the State, is an unavoidable, indispensable, and essential element in the State.

Let us now inquire what are the members of the State, and what its objects.

If those elements, without which it is impossible for a State to exist, can be called members, a very considerable number may be summed up. Population—that is, men, women and children, whether bond or free, or both—territory, property, laws, officers, armies, navies, courts, &c., &c., are all essential to the existence of States. Are they, on this account, members of the State? Air, water, &c., are indispensable elements of support to the animal frame; are *they* members? The human mind, and the instinct of brutes, are utterly essential; are they members of the body which they serve to control and preserve? Man, being an organic body, the co-operative functions of which are manifestly divisible into two grand classes, mental and physical, it follows that his mind is as truly a part of him as the matter which forms his visible body. Besides, the preservation and development of the latter are just as necessary to the continuance of the former, as the healthful existence of the former is to the well-being of the latter. In this respect the mind is the active, the body the passive agent in the organic whole. The one wills, the other performs. And so it is, we think, in the State. Its members may be classed into active and passive agents; Man and Law being active, the rest passive. The former *will*, the latter *perform*. Society, that is, man and the laws he makes, either conjointly



with or directly through government, *directs*; the rest *obey*. Bonaparte, the representative of the French State, directed the conquest of Europe; his armies executed it. The General Assembly of South Carolina, embodying the authority of the State, enacts laws for the protection of property, of reputation, or of life, or of liberty, industry, &c.; the passive agents obey; prosperity, peace and security result. Again: is the Amazon no important part of the empire of Brazil? Or is the land lying between the Atlantic Ocean, Georgia, and North Carolina an insignificant member of the *State* of South Carolina?

As to the *objects* of the State, it is plain that they are those of society. The State protects the individual and his property; but, in order to do this, it *must protect itself*. Hence its power and right to hang the traitor, and to confiscate the property of its enemies. But, enough of this. We fear our reader is even more tired of our jargon than we are. Hence we beg permission to define the term *State*, as it will be intended to be understood in the sequel.

As soon as a large body of men find themselves associated upon coterminous territory, with common interests and common dangers, a series of common impulses, objects and aims, wishes, enterprises, schemes and withal vices spring up. In addition to these come a set of customs, rights, privileges, manners, conventional forms and an endless string of results which are universally recognised and established. All these together constitute what is called the social system. And the tacit and universal assent to them, which is, in fact, co-extensive with them, is the thing called the "social compact." The community thus brought together and united and bound by this system and compact into one body, having, as a natural consequence, a common policy in view, is appropriately styled the "body politic." When we add to this the occupation of land immediately adjacent, that of one man to another, of one family to another, and of one tribe or clan to another, we have a very good idea of the elements of a State. There is, however, another which must crown the whole before the idea is complete. Every element just enumerated may be perfectly blended and yet a mere *province* be the result—a mere

tributary or dependent district. The grand cardinal element in the structure of States is the exercise of power from which there is no appeal save that of arms. There must be a power inherent in the community from which no State or individual can find a human tribunal to appeal—a power supreme. Let this crowning condition be added and the idea of a State is completed. That which was dependent becomes independent, and what was provincial is now *sovereign*. With this brief explanation let us understand a State to be—an association of men upon coterminous territory, for their mutual security, good conduct and protection from each others violence as well as their common defence against outward dangers and the general protection, preservation and promotion of individual interests, happiness, rights and privileges; having within itself the supreme source of political power and the control of its own affairs through the agency of government.

The “social compact” is another term the import of which is frequently misunderstood and will be explained at this place. We have said that the tacit and universal assent which mankind gives to a multitude of practices, customs and policies is called by this name. It remains to show the appropriateness of the term and its true signification will become evident. Compact means in general terms “an agreement or covenant between two or more persons, in which each party binds himself to do or forbear some act and each acquires a right to what the other promises.” It is not always that such agreements are written, nor is it always necessary that they should be formally made to be morally binding. “Natural law requires that if one person accepts from another a service he should render something in return whether this be expressly agreed upon or only implied from the nature of the undertaking. Mutual promises also are binding; at least by natural law, if one of the parties has thereby been induced to act; for if he does not receive the thing stipulated for, he suffers wrong.” From this it appears that compacts may be divided into two grand classes—one being express agreements, the other agreements by fair implication. Thus, if we go to a market and stipulate with a vendor to pay a certain price for a certain article the terms of agreement are expressed; but if we receive the article

without any price being agreed upon, the implication is that we should pay the *customary* sum. It is under the latter class of agreements that the social compact falls. It is indeed of an infinite number of these little implied agreements that the "compact" is in part made up. But further, there are mutual obligations which, without partaking the nature of even a promise, are pre-eminently binding among men. It is not enough that men should do those things only which they have promised; for, in the first place, it is evident no one can foresee the events and circumstances which lie concealed in the future, and, in the second place, to do nothing but what one has promised would be to confine human existence to the dull routine of mere machinery. There are, in fact, a series of obligations of the utmost importance not only to the existence of society but to the preservation of the race which could in no event take the form of a promise, but which in every case it would be considered criminal to disregard. The mariner at sea can not have promised upon a certain day and at a certain point to rescue a suffering crew from their impending destruction, but when the time and place is reached, if he discovers a sinking ship, is his obligation to save the crew a bit the less because they are all strangers and he has never promised to come to their assistance? Nature has planted in the human heart not only the sympathy which urges us to the help of those in peril, but a very keen perception of consequences which teaches us to propitiate others lest in our day of need there are none who will aid us. These truths are so generally recognised among every people that a sort of claim exists for those things which were never promised and those services which were never contracted for. This claim, falling mutually to the lot of all men, systematises a sort of code from which every man may read the duties he must perform to his fellow and the claims he has upon them. Both he and they, having thus a system of obligations established between them, stand in the true light of contractors. They expect from each other certain things and feel that they have a right to them, notwithstanding there has been no formal stipulation. The drowning man feels that he has a right to the assistance of those who surround him, and they, if they fail to render it must

ever be conscious of having omitted a most solemn and important duty. On the other hand, the condemned murderer having violated the dearest right of a fellow man in taking his very life, is placed beyond the pale of those motives which induced the rescue of the drowning man, and instead of having help he is gibbeted without remorse and receives only the commiseration of the surrounding multitude.

Upon these and like considerations it is at once seen how well applied the word compact is to the social code. But there is another view which illustrates the difference between the social and all other compacts. In the every day intercourse of life, in all our social relations, it is absolutely essential, both to the existence of society and the realization of our common ideas of justice, that a very considerable degree of confidence must be reposed by every man in his neighbor. There are a vast number of natural or social laws which look to the *opinion* of society alone for their execution and these go to make up the social code or compact. And the great difference between this and all other compacts is that in this there is a degree of obligation beyond the reach of all arbitrary or conventional law, and can only be enforced by the public opinion of society as developed in the social intercourse of the community; while in all others this involuntary obligation is not the grand essential element, but conventional law is sufficient to enforce the contract. The penalty of violating a great international law, or the severity of the civil code may ensure the strictest observance of a compact between the parties to which there is no confidence or sense of moral obligation whatever. It is true, in the progress of civilization, it has become the duty of legislatures to "provide for special cases, to establish certain forms, and to fix according to rules founded upon experience the effects of each promise;" but legislation can do no more. The law may require a certain ceremony before marriage but it is an obligation beyond the reach of all human law that alone can effect the observance of the contract. The law may give the parent ample authority over the child and require the strictest filial obedience, yet it is purely that engrafted principle of our nature, which is refined by our social intercourse, and

guarded by the public sentiment of mankind, which forces the wild, turbulent, and impetuous youth to regard the commands of his feeble and helpless old mother. Like these are those sentiments which bind men to their country and convert the mere citizen of yesterday into the brave patriot of to-day. Like these are those noble principles of allegiance and loyalty which draw the faithful subject closer and still closer to the side of his sovereign as adversity, danger and perplexity gather in sombre gloom over his State. Like these are those startling impulses of reckless daring which hurry men through the hazards of the bloodiest field for the romantic honor of a flag, or light up the torches of a Moscow for the expulsion of a conquering foe. Like these, in short, are all the ties and principles of the social compact—immutable, unalterable and far above the mere drudgery of obedience to laws and observance of promises, which only at great risk we can venture to violate. In fine, we must understand by the social compact not a mere regular agreement in which all the individuals of the community have assembled together, and given their hand and seal as gages of their acquiescence—but a system of obligations, recognitions of right and establishments of duty, which has thrust itself upon mankind independently of, and even in spite of arbitrary law.

The word "Sovereign" has perhaps more than any other been indiscriminately misapplied by political writers. It is that which at this day should be most thoroughly understood, at least in this country. The "sovereign" means the source from which all acknowledged political power emanates. Sovereignty is, humanly speaking, supreme power. A power from which there is no appeal—over which there is no supervisor—and between which and another there is no arbiter. Every community having within itself supreme power, together with the other essentials enumerated, has already been described as a State, but since the commencement of the American Revolution, the term "Sovereign State," has got into common use, as though a State, properly speaking, could be otherwise than sovereign. "Free, sovereign and independent" State, means nothing more than the simple word State. They are beautiful pre-fixtures to be sure, and were

copiously used, as they now are, to impress upon men's minds the fact, that what were once King George's *Provinces*, have now become States, and are, in consequence, free, sovereign and independent. They are not necessary, and only objectionable on the ground that their use would seem to imply the existence of States which are not free, sovereign and independent, just as the expression, cold, frozen ice, would induce the enquiry, whether there was any ice which is not cold and frozen. Sovereignty, abstractly speaking, is that power by virtue of which a community "may adopt whatever laws it pleases for the regulation of its domestic concerns, and as to its external relations, is not bound to acknowledge any superior." The result of civilization and Christianity is a wholesome tempering of this supreme power; and States are now considered as "having duties to perform, as well as rights to enforce, and are bound to the observance of the great principles of justice, which are applicable to the relations which subsist between each nation and its own subjects, and between each nation and every other nation."

In States like ours, where the supreme power is in the hands of the franchised men—the people—and which are significantly called *popular sovereignties* in contradistinction to monarchies, the people have the inalienable right to exercise supreme power over themselves and whatever belongs to them, without responsibility, under the limitations mentioned above, to any other people. Such exercise of power cannot rightfully be questioned, unless it occasions manifest injury to the people or government which undertakes to question it; and in such an event there is no common arbiter, for all sovereigns are equal, from the very nature of their existence, and inasmuch as there is no earthly power superior to any. And this brings us to the consideration of the abuses of the word which so many have fallen into.

We constantly hear of "domestic sovereignty" and "foreign sovereignty," the sovereignty of government, and even of government being partly sovereign and partly not. These errors all flow from a mistaken notion of the attributes of supremacy—from the idea that sovereignty is a thing capable of subdivision and qualification. Sovereignty must, from its very nature, be indivisible.

It is true, powers must be delegated in trust to governments for the preservation and development of society, but we must not forget, they are delegated for certain purposes only, and are not taken from the sovereign, the great source of all legal power. So far from these being a division of sovereignty, the delegated powers remain under the immediate supervision of the sovereign, and revert back whenever the term for which the agency was granted has expired, the purposes have failed to be accomplished, or, in any other case, under the circumstances of which, the sovereign sees fit to recall them. But it is not even optional whether the supreme power in States shall be indivisible. It would be as idle to attempt to demonstrate the propriety of separating a man's heart from his lungs in order that he may live and be better for it, as to attempt to show how sovereignty can exist in fractional parts. The very supposition of a division is irreconcilable with the meaning of supreme power. How can anything be supreme which is not complete, and how can anything be complete which is divided? Besides, if a division is possible who is to set limits to it? We have seen, and our senses admonish us, that all sovereigns stand upon a footing of perfect equality; and we must remember, if sovereignty can be divided in one respect it can be in another. If one part can be sundered forever so can another, and if two parts can be taken away and the sovereign continue upon the same footing of equality with those whose parts have not been taken away, there is no reason why a third part could not be lopped off and the equality be still preserved. This process may be continued till all the other parts are gone except one and the result would be a State with but one part of sovereignty equal to others which have all the parts, or again: Let us suppose a State to have divided its supreme power into two equal parts with the same care and precision that a yankee fisherman would divide one of his mackerel in the curing process. Whatever becomes of one half, the other remaining with the State, continues equal with those which are entire. But suppose the other half given to a company of men. Since one half is always equal to the other, this company must be as sovereign as the State. But we have just seen, upon the es-

established principle of equality between States, that this State, with its half sovereign, is equal to all others, and since "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other," and we have the company equal to the State, and the State equal to all other States, it follows, the company is equal to any State in Christendom—a proposition quite as absurd to the political reasoner, as it would be to the fisherman that his half mackerel is equal to any of the whole ones he has in his assortment. But the absurdity would not end with having two parts, each equal to the whole. By the same process these halves may be divided into quarters, the quarters into eighths, and so on, *ad infinitum*, until the unprecedented result is attained—an infinite number of parts each equal to the whole. The idea of divisibility is thus clearly reduced to an absurdity, and it follows thence that no *part* of sovereignty can be taken from a State without annihilating the equality it had, virtually divesting it of its *entire* sovereignty. In short sovereignty is indivisible.

It was the result of this conviction when Alexander Hamilton declared, in the Federal Convention, "Two sovereignties cannot co-exist within the same limits," and when Governor Morris, before the same body, said, "In all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only." Mr. Calhoun says, "There is no difficulty in understanding how powers, appertaining to sovereignty, may be divided, and the *exercise* of one portion delegated to one set of agents, and another to another; or how sovereignty may be vested in one man, or in a few, or in many. But how sovereignty itself—the supreme power—can be divided, how the people of the several States can be partly sovereign and partly not sovereign—partly supreme and partly not supreme, it is impossible to conceive. Sovereignty is an entire thing—to divide is to destroy it." Rousseau goes a step further: "*La souveraineté ne peut être représentée, par la même raison qu'elle ne peut être aliénée; elle consiste essentiellement dans la volonté générale, et la volonté ne se représente point: elle est la même, ou elle est autre; il n'y a point de milieu. Les députés du peuple ne sont donc point ses représentans, ils ne sont que ses commissaires; ils ne peuvent rien conclure définitivement. Toute loi que le peuple en personne*



*n'a pas ratifiée, est nulle ; ce n'est point une loi.*" And though we are not disposed to receive the doctrine of the last-mentioned writer, that of the three American statesmen will be found to rest upon the true basis, and to be the only foundation upon which States can be erected.

E. B. B.

---

ART. IX.—NORTHERN PERIODICALS VERSUS THE SOUTH.

1. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* August, 1854.
2. *Putnam's New Monthly*—a Magazine of Science, Literature and Art. September, 1854.

THE subject of politics appears to be a tempting theme to every branch of the American press. The daily journals certainly consider themselves its appropriate and peculiar exponents, and at liberty to issue column after column, of any complexion which their readers will endure ; but many weeklies are equally as much engrossed, and to the literary monthlies and quarterlies alone have we been able hitherto to turn with the certainty of not being greeted with extended tirades against opinions, the very fact of declaiming against which serves only to irritate their advocates, and change into obstinacy what before was only firm conviction.

But alas for conservatism ! Even the so-called literary journals, failing to draw the distinction between questions purely social and those involving politics in their bitterest phase, have at length entered the arena, and undertaken to animadvert upon the views and practice of an entire section of the American Union.

Nearly five years ago, the Messrs. Harper, the most enterprising and wealthy publishers in the country, gave notice of their intention to issue a *literary* magazine, which should meet the wants of the "American people, rather than those of any particular class or profession," and politics were especially to be eschewed. When the first numbers appeared, many were disappointed, but most were pleased ; there was a great lack of originality, but there was also a considerable fund of amusement. The publishers had not secured any great proportion of their country's

talent for their contributions, but they had presented a very readable work, and men were satisfied. The publishers' notice upon the cover did certainly allude, as a feature of the magazine, to editorial articles, in which the leading topics of the day would be considered with ability and independence; but no one, at least at the South, supposed that the "leading topics of the day" were to include political subjects, on which the two great sections of the country were engaged in a continual controversy, so heated, as to threaten civil disruption. Nor was it imagined that the editor's "independence and ability" would bring him into conflict with nearly half his countrymen, by his denunciations alike of their principles and their practice, and his support of views which, if carried out, would render their social and political situation insecure and dangerous.

This the South, which forms an important portion of that "American people," whose taste the publishers profess to have so carefully studied, could not anticipate; and it was neither desired nor intended that it should be anticipated. The time for that had not yet come; the magazine was young; public favor in all quarters was to be propitiated; people and press, South as well as North, were to be enlisted; it was to "take"—to be an old, as well as a welcome visitor, before liberties could be attempted; it was to become, by custom and habit, a necessity of literary life, and not a mere luxury, or even a comfort; it was to become so essential to the relaxation of the student and the stock-in-trade of the gossip-monger—to the lay hours of the clergyman and the existence of the boarding-school miss—to the traveller's equipage and the lawyer's intermission from study, as not for "light and transient causes," or even for grave ones, to be cast aside. All this it was to have been, before it would be safe to pervert it into a vehicle for the circulation of social and political poison, by its "impartial and independent discussions" of subjects which it was implicitly pledged never to touch.

Bearing so fair a countenance, the "New Monthly Magazine" met with rapid success and a constantly increasing circulation. Southern editors lauded, and Southern citizens patronized it, until the publishers' hope of its becoming a literary necessity seemed

far advanced towards realization. Even when its sole (or chief) editor, without relinquishing his connection, assumed the conduct of an acknowledged free-soil daily paper, Southern confidence, although slightly alarmed was soon restored. Indeed, there was no change in the tone of the "monthly," and hence, no reasonable ground of objection to the editor. The time had not yet come. Whether, in the number which heads this article, the publishers thought the time had come, or not, we are unprepared to say; but certain it is, that the editor's "UNION SAVING" article of that month was a serious blunder. If they really desired, in good faith, not to offend against that spirit of "uniform approbation and encouragement," which the Southern, as well as the Northern, portion of the American people had accorded to their periodical, the article cited was simply a great and unpardonable error. If, on the other hand, their plan was, as we have suggested, to create and secure the confidence of all sections before violating that of any, they have grossly deceived themselves. True, they had confidence; but it was not a confidence of that stamp which believes that "the king can do no wrong," nor is our attachment to the work so strong as to admit that we had "better suffer the evil than part with the cause." They have been premature in exposing their contemplated course; their poison is too abruptly tendered; it is not insidious enough, for, although not labelled, it is only too perceptible. It is not like the deadly drug that adds a zest to the viand which contains it, but a dose given boldly and in goodly quantity, to be succeeded by other doses, with intervals, of course, but equally bold and deadly, each of which will probably find its victims.

The article in question contains various comments upon the present state of affairs, in the usual "trimmer"-like tone of affected moderation. But the editor's real sentiments are given in various expressions which, if they convey the truth, ought to render him, for the sake of consistency, a sympathizer with the abolitionists, instead of being, as he pretends, a denouncer of their doctrines. He "shares, and warmly shares, the common feeling of the North," with regard to the Nebraska bill; he alludes to what he is pleased to consider "the many dark features of slavery

as it now exists," and concludes his article by giving three positions, one of which "the practical philanthropist" must advocate. To wit: "1st. Servitude, with its rights as well as duties, defined by law, instead of being left to the individual will—a servitude made as humane as legislation, and the social circumstances of mankind, can possibly render it, and with an eye to the moral and physical good of the serving race, as well as to the profit of the master—we may even say with a special regard to the former, as more imperatively demanded by the inferior and dependent condition. Such is the only form of slavery, in which it can possibly be shielded from the reprobation of every enlightened conscience.

2nd. Political freedom, with social degradation, arising inevitably from the antagonism of two races on the same soil, with social jealousies and contempts unmitigated by the ties of social dependence.

"If we cannot bear the first," he continues, "if a true regard for human dignity makes intolerable the thought that *perpetual* servitude, even in its mildest form, should be the lot of any portion of the human race—if our souls still more revolt at the second, as presenting the worst evils of slavery, without any of its more humanizing counteracting traits; there is, then, but one condition left. We have to choose—

3rd. The separation of the two races, and the exodus of one of them, at whatever expense of toil and treasure it may have to be accomplished. Removed to Africa they might acquire, from mere change of locality, a social and political energy that would make them the civilizers of that vast continent. Remaining where they are, they are a cause of degeneracy, and that too, to both races. Whether in servitude, or in a nominal and degraded freedom, they have all the vices of civilization without any of the energies or virtues of barbarism. The only remedy, then, that reaches the very core of the evil is, that which is the reverse of the original wrong; in other words, the separation of races so unrighteously and so unnaturally combined, and for this there is needed the continuance of the American Union. If there were no other reason this alone should secure for it the best counsels of every patriot

statesman, the most ardent exertions of every enlightened philanthropist."

Truly, the South must appreciate the editor's reason for desiring to preserve the Union! The article is by no means an able one; it contains no sentiments or views original in themselves; they are original only as appearing where we did not expect to see them, and where, we must think, the editor had, in good faith, no right to express them. But what else can we look for? Have we not really been a little too blind and confiding? Ought we to expect Mr. Raymond, of Harper's Magazine, to continue writing very differently from Mr. Raymond of Harper's Free-Soil N. Y. Times? We know the latter to be by no means impartial or independent; and we know that he entertains certain opinions hostile to us, of which his newspaper is the avowed advocate; is it then reasonable to conclude that he can long restrain his pen in the "monthly," especially when he has the public permission to "consider the leading topics of the day?"

In similar bad faith, with greater virulence, and with less excuse, are we and our institutions denounced in the September number of the other notable monthly, which appears at the head of our article. We say with less excuse, because, in Harper's department for the "Record of Current Events," political occurrences were admitted as items of news, but without comment; whereas, Putnam had no provision for political matters, either in his title or in any of his departments. The work has been received and patronized at the South, as one treating of "Literature, Science and Art;" and we maintain that it is a violation, alike of good faith and good taste, to insert in it an article full of the coarsest invective against slavery, slave-holders, and every one having the slightest connection, or acting at all in concert with the South and her interests. The author indulges in expressions which neither aid his arguments, nor embellish his diction; not even the great apostle of abolition, the New York Tribune, has often equalled his unqualified abuse. He professes to have an "utter contempt" for many things, and among them, we suppose, he includes truth and decency; but we insert extracts from some of his precious paragraphs, and do him no injustice by the selection. Hear him:

"The leaders of this pro-slavery party, perceiving, at an early day, that they should play a losing game, if they attempted to stand alone, trusting to the ordinary means of success—to the natural supremacy of talent, to the growth of numbers, and to the rectitude of their cause—hit upon the available expedient of identifying themselves with the popular party of the North; and then, having accomplished that, of gradually directing that party to the defence and spread of their peculiar doctrines. Not satisfied with the concession, which every intelligent and judicious Northerner was then glad to make—that slavery was a system exclusively within the control of the States—it first insinuated and then insisted that slavery was not to be discussed at all at the North, because a moral interference was quite as intolerable, they said, as a direct political interference. This pretension, which was just the same as if Russia or Turkey should insist that the principles of absolutism should not be discussed in the United States, because Russia and Turkey had commercial treaties with the United States, yet found merchants sordid enough to instigate mobs against those who questioned it, and politicians wicked enough to entrench it behind the laws. Yet the labor of sanctity did not stop there, but was drawn around regions in which all the States were clearly and equally interested—as the District of Columbia and the public lands; while the Post Office, common to all, was forbidden to carry 'incendiary documents,' as every argument or appeal against the system was called, and petitions to Congress, referring in the remotest manner to it, were treated with contumely and the utmost disdain. It was reserved, however, for an eminent leader of the South—for Mr. J. C. Calhoun, while acting as Secretary of State—to engage in an official defence of it before the tribunal of the world, and to disgrace the nation (we do not use too strong a term) by representing the Federal Republic as the apologist and defender of the most mean and most offensive species of despotism.

"This point once reached, it was easy to take a bolder stand, and to clamor, with all the vehemence of partizan heat, for the introduction of slavery into those new and virgin territories which Providence had opened on our Western borders, as we had fondly hoped, for the reception of the outcast republicans of Europe, and for a new and grander display of the beneficent influence of republicanism. And this impudent claim—a claim which had no validity in law nor sanction in humanity—the pretence that a local institution, existing entirely by municipal usage, and without an iota of validity beyond that, should override all considerations of justice and policy, under a threat of civil war, in case of its disallowance—was not too much (not to put too fine a point upon it, as Mr. Snagsby says in *Bleak House*) for the forbearance of the North, in its ardent devotion to the peace and the Union! Ah! how one submission begets another, until the chains of a crushing servitude are riveted around the necks of the victim! The Southern party, thus triumphing in the territories, demanded, in the next place, that the free States should be made a hunting-ground for slaves; that every man at the North should be compelled by law to do what no gentleman of the South would do for himself, or could be, under any circumstances, forced

to do for others, i. e., put himself on a level with bloodhounds, and become a slave-catcher; and the law was passed!" &c., &c.

We might give also his concluding paragraphs; but enough has been here inserted to show the scurrilous tone of the article, and we could do no more by giving the manner in which he rings the changes upon the "hateful domination," "the dirt of adherence to slavery," "the shameless debasement and depths of infamy" into which, according to his enlightened and complimentary view, the country in general with the South in particular, is almost hopelessly plunged. Shame upon the writer, and double shame upon the publisher who suffered him thus to traduce, insult and injure those who, to the work in question, had been liberal and unsuspecting patrons!

Now we ask the people of the South how long this state of affairs is to continue, how long do we intend to give thousands to Northern publications to defame us and undermine our institutions, when it is notorious that our periodicals are languishing for the want of hundreds? We need not fear our enemy, but let us at least not give him free admission to our quarters. The necessity of checking these things cannot be undervalued; no writer of the present day, on politics, society and religion can slight the fact that the press is the most important and powerful lever afforded by civilization for any moral purpose, and certainly the most potent of all agents for affecting hardy results. Although the visits of a monthly journal are few compared with those of a daily or weekly, yet there is a weight and influence about the contents of the first which, other things being equal, neither of the others can sustain. There is presumed to be a greater degree of deliberation of maturity and of dignity in any article, appearing where it will probably be bound and preserved by many, than if it appeared on a flying sheet, printed to be glanced over and destroyed, or filed by not more than one in a hundred of those who peruse it. We have often complained that Northern publications circulated at the North gross misrepresentations of men and things with us; but is it not a far more dangerous evil that the two most popular publications in the country, having obtained a foothold among us, are

made the agents for circulating throughout our own section, in a form which renders them accessible to all, sentiments which must in time, if not counteracted, produce a deleterious effect upon many who read them? There is ever a modicum of truth mingled with misrepresentation and error, and it is not every mind which can, on all occasions, separate the one from the other. There are many men, of very moderate pretensions to literature, who yet read Harper and Putnam, and perhaps nothing else except their newspapers. Such men are apt to be influenced by articles like those we have quoted. They imagine that their local editors write in accordance with Southern sentiment, as a matter of interest, or of pride, if nothing else; while a quiet, dignified, metropolitan, *literary* monthly, with an infinite variety of subjects from which to select, must have a good and powerful cause to tempt it into the arena of politics.

But apart from the evil it must produce—apart from the urgent necessity of protecting our own interests, do we owe nothing to pride, nothing to dignity, nothing to self-respect, nothing to the cause of Southern literary progress and independence? Are we ready to yield to the North the palm of superiority in every or in any department of human exertion, mental, moral or physical? Can we not, by adopting the proper means, achieve results equal, and even superior, to theirs? Is the modern Tyre to be our only source of literary as well as commercial advancement? Are we to draw our intellectual sustenance from the bosom of a distant and imperious relative, instead of from a mother? Are we always to import the means of a reputation and profit to others, instead of bending our energies to the development of native talent and enterprise?

If we examine the circumstances of Southern periodicals of past and of the present time, we will find that their *value* has increased with their *patronage*, but the former always in more rapid progression than the latter. Talent we have and energy, but a periodical of any merit cannot be sustained upon small paying returns. Harper boasts of the monthly sales of one hundred thousand copies, which must yield him nearly one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to defray expenses for contributions, (?)



illustrations, paper and printing. Now we say fearlessly that one-third of that sum, centered annually on almost any Southern monthly or quarterly, would insure a better work than Harper and Putnam together—a work which would combine more amusement with more dignity and more instruction, with a perfect assurance to the South of freedom from insult and denunciation.

---

## ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Chesney's Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828 and 1829.* Redfield.—To those who desire to understand the true relations between Russia and Turkey, the aims of the former and the resources of the latter power, there can be no more admirable volume than this of Col. Chesney. It bears every mark of the writer's candor, and declares equally for his ability to explain, decide and conjecture. The history of the war between the two powers, twenty-five years ago, will be found very much the parallel of the present between the same powers, with little difference in the relative conduct of the belligerents—no change in the motives of the one, and but slight in the forbearing and inoffensive deportment of the other. The complaints of Russia, and the replies of Turkey, find their most perfect illustration in the old fable of the wolf and lamb. But, according to Col. Chesney, there is a wide difference between the resources of Turkey under the present Sultan, and under his father, Mahmoud. The latter was unpopular with a large portion of his subjects, had destroyed the janizaries, and had not yet organized an army in their place, when Russia took advantage of the confusion in his affairs to invade the country. Even then, however, under all disadvantages, the Turks compelled the respect of their powerful assailants, by the constancy and valor with which they maintained the conflict, fighting as it were hopelessly. No where on equal terms, yet frequently with great successes, Mahmoud's defence of his empire was continued through two campaigns, in which his people were discontented, his pachas treacherous and hostile, his army totally disorganized, his fleet destroyed by that brutal blunder of France and Britain at Navarino. But the present Sultan finds his people rising spontaneously as one man; a sacred enthusiasm pervades the ranks; his people clamor for the war; his enlisting organization is effective, if not thorough, and France and Britain are his allies, and not his foes. We have seen, thus far, how bravely his troops have borne themselves, and but for the blunders of France and Britain, he would probably not have suffered a single disaster, either by sea or lands. The Western powers have tied his hand, without using their own, while his unprincipled enemy continued to smite him in this position. It is hoped that their future energies will make amends for their past imbecility. The reader will find in this volume all that he desires to know of the *morale*, the argument, the *personnel*, the *materiel*, of the hostile powers; and, from its well-detailed history of former campaigns,

may be enabled to form a reasonable estimate of the sort of promise held out by the future. The work is well illustrated by maps, showing all the points of country in dispute.

*History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain.* Translated from the Spanish of Dr. J. A. CONDE. By WM. JONATHAN FOSTER. London: HENRY G. BOHN, 1854.—The History of the Arab Domination in Spain constitutes one of the most picturesque of all romantic histories—a brilliant episode in the march of national progress. The readers of such histories will be grateful to the publishers for this accession to their libraries. Conde's work is the only authority in respect to this history which can be relied on. He is infinitely beyond all other writers, of this period and region, in the truthfulness, the simplicity, and the ample possession and study of his materials. All others were, more or less, superficial, ignorant, misjudging or corrupt. Conde had the necessary learning, the Arabic, and had access to all the authorities in the collections of Spain. He seems to have pursued his investigations with an equal eye on all points, to the Arabic as well as the Spanish sources of intelligence. He has weighed them both with astonishing fairness and calmness, and, which is more, with no such blind, unreasoning Christian prejudices, as have governed other writers; making them unjust to the generous, noble and brilliant characteristics of the Arabic chiefs and conquerors. We commend this history to the confidence of our readers. It is a subject of wonder that we have never before had an English translation; and that we have been content with the bald, extravagant, unjust and basely prejudicial narratives of writers, on this history, who had neither the knowledge nor the material for a proper presentation of the subject. The edition before us (of which we have one volume) will consist of three volumes; and, when complete, will afford one of the most interesting and exciting of all the chronicles of human progress, conquest and civilization.

*Life in Abyssinia:* being notes collected during three years' residence and travels in that country. By MANSFIELD PARKYNS. Two volumes. New York: Appleton & Co., 1854.—Commend us to all such travellers as Parkyns. He is a rough scorner, but an honest one; a John Bull, as full of saliency as any of his race, but to be relied on. We have no doubt that he tells the truth of the Abyssinians, however scandalous the record. He has seen them in all situations, and does not hesitate to show them up, even before they have made their toilet. He rather likes the Abyss-

sinians, and it is very certain that he has permitted himself to try all of their nice little customs. To some of them, we probably should not ourselves object. We are not quite sure that any of them has gone amiss with Parkyns. We suspect, he adopted their extremest customs—nay, their extremest fashions—even to the trial of the most limited costume tolerated by refined society, and to all these he *cottons* with an ease and grace, and coolness, which are characteristics of Parkyns only. He is much more catholic than ourselves in his tastes ; we confess that we cannot, like him,

“ Eat, with an appetite, dry bread,  
Yet spread with butter all the head,”

an Abyssinian practice, which they unctiously delight in, and which he readily adopts and honors ; but we are far from quarrelling with him because of his stronger stomach, and more accommodating moral. To some other of his opinions and practices, very nice people may take exception ; but Parkyns, we take it, has not written for such people. Our readers will believe us, when we say, that Parkyns is, in his way, a first-rate travelling companion ; cool, shrewd, unaffected ; fond of sight-seeing ; who goes everywhere ; thrusts his nose everywhere, and makes due report for all the senses.

*The Poetry of Science, or Studies in the Physical Phenomena of Nature.* By ROBERT HUNT. London : Henry G. Bohn. 1854.—It is the vulgar notion that science has stripped poetry of many of its provinces, by rendering certain those truths in nature which were previously unknown, and of which the surfaces only were in possession of mankind. The appearance for the real was erroneously assumed to be the principal domain in which the imagination could confidently work. But the apprehension is idle. The truths which conduct us to new knowledge but open new paths for still other discoveries, and all that we acquire amounts simply to the development of other uses, resources and prospects in nature, in approaching which, poetry, as is her chief mission, still serves as the pioneer. The author of the volume before us is not unconscious of this truth. His labors serve to show how poetry can avail herself of philosophy, even as philosophy owes her original suggestions to poetry. He shows, very happily, how beauty unites herself to, and is, indeed, the preservative property in all truth, and that beauty, its pursuit and delineation, is one of the peculiar aims of poetry. His work is thus happily conceived to render science popular, by clothing it in those gar-

ments of attraction, which may at once persuade and gratify the student. It is the error of merely scientific people to strip science of its colors, its winning properties, its hues, its scents, its grace, its magic, leaving it a dry skeleton, and not as it would appear, if unfolded according to the laws of nature—the fruit, the flower and the leaf together. It is poetry that properly possesses this faculty, and thus it is that her processes of instruction—are a source of delight as well as knowledge,

“ Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But as musical as Apollo's lute.”

The reader who, hitherto, has regarded science as a bundle of dry and sapless sticks, will here find it budding, even as the staff of the prophet. He will be lured to truth, through pleasant ways, and will be surprised to perceive how beautifully the profoundest studies in philosophy may be made to harmonize with pleasant fancies and grateful associations.

*Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, with the continuations, by Peter G. Blois, and anonymous writers. Translated from the Latin, with notes, by HENRY T. RILEY, Esq., B. A. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1854. These old monkish chronicles have been, until recently, so many fountains sealed to the popular reader. The enterprise of Mr. Bohn deserves the most frank acknowledgement, for opening the seals. His collection of this class of books already includes numerous volumes; Bade, William of Malmesbury, Richard of Dervises, and others of like character, which are equally rich and curious; full of instruction and interest, conveyed in a quaint, piquant manner, which will charm the reader on, through chronicles, which, at first, are apt to seem repulsive. *Ingulph's Chronicle of Croyland*, though ignored as history by the antiquarians, must yet be a source of much information, in respect to English social history. In this point of view, and its importance must not be under-rated—it belongs to an invaluable class. By Palgrave, the narrative is considered as an historical novel. Even as such, how important must it be, when it relates to a period when history itself is all a doubt, and one half of it a fiction. There are very few early histories of England—perhaps of any creation—which should properly claim to be more than fiction, infused with historical details. Considered from any point of view, the volume before us, and the class to which it belongs, should be welcomed by the American reader in especial, as putting us in possession of treasures, whether of history or fiction, which, hitherto, were shut up from all but the very learned or the antiquarian.

*Russia.* From the French of the MARQUIS DE CUSTINE. New York : Appleton & Co. 1854. Our Marquis is a courtier who has seen no little of the world. He knows how to accommodate himself to the odd-fellowships which the traveller must necessarily encounter, and he is wise enough to shut his eyes upon what he cannot help but see. His wisdom is not lessened by his forbearance to quarrel with that which offends him in what he sees. He can smile graciously, yet preserve his eye-sight ; nay, more—employ a courtly flattery, without surrendering an honest conviction. He keeps the truth in reserve, and suffers her to show herself and speak, when—the road is clear. Thus, he finds it easy to converse with Czar Nicholas, and say pleasant things *à la Paris*, without forgetting that there is such a place of refuge as Siberia. He will tell you all about it, as soon as he has made his bow to the Czar. Briefly, our Marquis is a shrewd, sagacious observer, whose courtesy was made to pay for his privileges of sight, and whose moral avenges itself upon the necessity of complaisance, by making a clean breast of it as soon as the necessity of complaisance is at an end. The Marquis had a good opportunity for seeing Russian society ; and a picturesque order of mind enables him to make a lively presentment of it. He is a little too fanciful in some of his philosophies—has evidently shared some of the attributes of Chateaubriand and Lamartine—and is a little inclined to speculate while in reverie. But he thinks, and sees, and evidently means to speak the truth, and his book on the world of Russia is a very interesting one.

*The Orator's Touchstone ; or Eloquence simplified :* Embracing a comprehensive system of instruction for the improvement of the voice, and for advancement in the general art of public speaking. By HUGH McQUEEN. New York : Harper & Brothers, 1854.—The terrible gift of public speaking, which seems to be conceded to be a special American endowment, is one from which we cannot hope to be relieved by any degree of personal sacrifice, by any form of prayer or penance. It is a constitutional infirmity, from which there is no escape. This being the awful and inevitable truth, we look with patience—nay, with satisfaction—upon every attempt, which, professing to make the gift perfect, holds forth some prospect of a modification of the evils. Mr. McQueen tells us in so many words, if we are doomed to hear the orator, let us try to render his voice musical. If there is to be a torrent of eloquence, let us break the descent by some such piles of pebbles as Demosthenes crammed into the chasm when he attempted his own cure. If the flood of rhetoric is to be endless, let us at least try and shape its course so that it

shall not utterly drown our senses. Really, we think well of Mr. McQueen's idea. He gives us hope ; and we commend his lessons, which are well conceived and judicious, to all persons who feel themselves incontinent of speech. He will help them in the struggle which, as Christians, they are supposed to be honestly making, to regulate and sustain the evil, which, even as Christians, it appears, they have not the power wholly to overcome.

*Orr's Report on the Indians.*—This report, made last session of Congress to the lower house, has raised the reputation of our representative in Congress, as a thoughtful and philanthropic politician. We are inclined to think that his plan for serving, if not saving the red man, is about as sensible as any that could be supposed by human wisdom. We have no idea, however, that they are to be saved. There was one process, that of full subjection, as slaves, to the superior people, and the only one by which their existence might be prolonged, if not perpetuated ; but we know not that, in the case of such a people, the susceptibility of improvement was sufficient to warrant the experiment. We are of the mind, that God has ordered, in respect to the races of men, as seems to be the case in a forest growth of trees. One race fulfills a specific purpose, and disappears for another. The end of its existence attained, its uses cease. It has fulfilled its mission ; and seems incapable of further development. It appears to be the law that the success of continued existence, is to be found only in the continued development—a progress which unfolds new germs of intellect, we mean not that which merely urges a common march over a familiar route. But we are willing that our politicians should play philanthropist with the red men as long as they can ; and we really regard Mr. Orr's scheme, which seems to contemplate their final amalgamation with the superior race, as one of the most eligible of experiments.

*Lectures on the True, the Beautiful and the Good.* By M. V. COUSIN. Increased by an Appendix on French Art. Translated by O. W. WIGHT. New York : D. Appleton & Co.—There is no discussing such a volume as the present in a paragraph ; and to attempt its discussion, unless after long meditation and study, would be simply a vulgar impertinence. The subject, if not the author, forbids the folly. M. Cousin, we need not say to our readers, is confessedly at the head of French philosophers. What rank French philosophy itself shall take, in the estimation of philosophers, is a matter which by no means invalidates the claims of our author to profound respect and the most painstaking consideration. We

do not promise that we shall be at any time able to undertake the examination of this volume, with the view to a report upon the merits of the philosophy or its maker. Our employments scarcely suffer this. Yet we long for the chance to make the attempt, and *may* do so, events permitting. Meanwhile, it will answer to say, that to those who incline to the study of the true, the beautiful and the good—and the class should include all people who read at all—these Lectures constitute a body of literature which they should by no means *ignore*—which will compel the thought, even if it fails to satisfy it.

*Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the years 1850, '51, '52, and '53.* By JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT, U. S. Commissioner. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854.—The political interest of the question of boundary between Mexico and the United States, which gave rise to the commission of which Mr. Bartlett was the head, is necessarily absorbed wholly in the recent Gadsden treaty, which established a new boundary line, in the acquisition of a vast body of new territory. But the interest and value of the work before us in no way depend upon the political question between the two States. It is to be read as the report of an accomplished, well-educated and scientific traveller; one well prepared, by his experience, good sense, general intelligence, and peculiar studies, for the work of exploration in new regions. Read with this regard, the reader will undergo no disappointment in the perusal of these volumes. They are crowded with interesting facts in natural history, morals and society, delivered in a style clear, expressive, unambitious, and illustrated with maps and numerous engravings, which greatly facilitate the comprehension of their details. We need scarcely add, that coming from the press of the Messrs. Appletons, they are well printed and handsome publications.

*Twenty Years in the Philippines.* From the French of PAUL DE LA GIRONNIERE. New York: Harper & Bro. 1854.—These genuine adventures, picked up somehow by M. Dumas, the novelist, have been for some time doing duty in the service of that rare and prolific *raconteur*. M. de la Gironniere has at length reclaimed his property, and reduced the exaggerations of fiction to the sober limits of the actual. But his adventures read very much like fiction still, and we are half inclined to suspect that he owes almost as much to the novelist as the novelist to



him. But whether he has used the traveller's privilege or not, he has given us a lively and piquant narrative. Believe as much of it as you please, you are not disposed to quarrel with the narrator whose invention is so capable to supply the deficiencies in his fact. Of course, at the close of the book, you are left in doubt whether the author swallowed the crocodile, or the crocodile the author. But what matters the very worst result, when you find that the traveller has been allowed to make his testament?

*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. New York: Harper & Bros. 1854.—The fourth volume of this interesting series has just reached us, containing the continuation (begun in a previous volume) of the Life of Marie Stuart. This biography does not conclude with the present volume, and will probably require another, the second here bringing us down to the Queen's marriage with Darnley, and the period of his unkind and sullen separation from her. It is probable that this history of Miss Strickland will prove more satisfactory than any preceding ones, for the simple reason that it promises to be more thorough. The author has searched the chronicles with a degree of industry and judgment which puts all previous biographers to shame. As might be expected, she inclines favorably—perhaps partially—to her subject, and we shall be curious to see the closing summary, under new lights and evidence, of a case that has puzzled the historians so long. Darnley's murder and the marriage with Bothwell, constitute the main difficulties in the case of Mary Stuart, and we sincerely hope that Miss Strickland may make such a case as will relieve us of these difficulties. But—how?

*The Feathered Tribes of the British Islands.* By ROBERT MUDIE. Two volumes. Henry G. Bohn. 1854.—These two pleasant volumes have long since had a sterling reputation among our British authors. It is now, for the first time, that we have an American edition, in the popular library of Mr. Bohn, combining, as is the case with all his books, cheapness with elegance. The present edition has had the benefit of the revision of W. C. L. Martin, of the Zoological society. Mudie's volumes are admirably designed for popular use. If less minute than the books of professed ornithologist, particularly in later days, they are far more attractive as books for reading. If less crammed with science, they are made more agreeable by art. They are written with grace,

spirit and a love for the subject, that does its objects with a hearty sympathy, and delights to make them familiar through their most pleasing characteristics. As a hand-book for the wanderer among fine scenery, there can be no more agreeable or instructive publication.

*Report of the Trial of Matt. F. Ward* New York: Appleton & Co. 1854.—Bad laws, bad manners and very doubtful justice are to be found, in any degree, in this pamphlet. Let the reader take nothing but the evidence, and then look at the result, and he will take courage, assured that if he cuts his neighbor's throat, skewers him through the bowels with a bowie-knife, or brains him with bludgeon or bullet, his chances of escape are liable to few embarrassments from justice. Here are men who deliberately plan together an assault, deliberately arm themselves with deadly weapons, go to the house of their neighbor, force a quarrel upon him, and shoot him down like a bullock on his own hearthstones, yet the jury decides that the crime is done in self-defence. We repeat that the criminal has no future reason to fear, after this specimen of law and justice. The prospect is exceedingly encouraging to all that class of offenders who possess money in sufficient quantity to cover aggression. Moloch has but to call in the aid of his brother Mammon, and the sons of Themis will secure him immunity; nay, prove the butchery to be only a proper sacrifice, rather religious than otherwise in character, and eminently creditable to the nice sensibilities than resent an offence to vanity with murder. As for schoolboys, they may take heart hereafter, when they would deal with exacting teachers. The empire of birch is over! What sort of rule is to prevail hereafter, is sufficiently figured out in these pages.

*Notes from the Letters of Thomas Moore to his Music Publisher, Jas. Power—the publication of which was suppressed in London. With an Introductory Letter of Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., F. S. A.* Redfield. 1852.—A curious little volume, supplying some deficiencies in Moore's Memoirs, and, with the letter of Mr. Croker, showing two things besides, which it is not grateful to the public to perceive, viz., that the writer of Moore's Autobiography has not dealt wisely with his subject, and that the subject has dealt still less wisely with himself. Both seem to have been ungrateful and unjust to Mr. Power. Apart from this question of the relations of the several parties, leading to a very pretty quarrel among the survivors as it stands, these fragments contain a good many *ana* which the literary reader will be pleased to

have. The world did not need this volume, or the *Diary of Moore* itself, to show that, with all his genius, he was a mere creature of society, not proud enough to reject patronage and rely upon his own genius,—not noble enough to sink in the quiet student and the thoughtful poet, the petty ambition of the well-dressed gentleman about town—the dandy hanging upon the skirts of a society which used him only for its own petty vanities.

*De Quincey's Theological Papers*, just issued from the press of Ticknor & Fields, constitutes another interesting contribution to the American library, from the pen of one of the most piquant of British writers. De Quincey, as a metaphysician, is perhaps more suggestive than satisfactory. He is, at all events, eminently provocative. His analysis of details is sometimes very delicate and exquisite. Of the subject generally he rarely cares to take much grasp. In plain terms, his defect as a philosopher consists in his desultoriness. He prefers guerilla to regular warfare; and his sudden dashes upon an advanced post, or to the capture of a detachment, are exceedingly brilliant, like a glorious charge of cavalry. Of course, we attempt no discussion of his special views on any subject. They cover too much ground. They compel a degree of study which no results to the reviewer would well justify, for the simple reason that there is nothing in his writings, however bold and brilliant, which is likely to affect, in any degree, the present working of human affairs. He will delight and inspire the student and imaginative man. But to men of mere affairs, he is a book shut and a fountain sealed.

The word "Eternal" occasioned the dispute between the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, of the Theological department of King's College, and the Principal of the same institution, which led to the ejection of the former from his professorship. This gentleman has written a letter on the word in question, which now lies before us, from the press of C. S. Francis & Co. The distinction upon which he insists, in frequent cases of biblical use, between the words "Eternal" and "Everlasting," occasion the whole difficulty; the Professor being assumed to incline to Universalism, because of the distinction which he makes in certain cases, between the two words. The theological difficulty does not lie within our province to discuss; but the use made of it, in this controversy, involves a very serious question, as to the degree of knowledge which we are required to possess in respect to the future purposes of God, to be sure that we have a faith at all! In other words, our faith in

Christianity is thus made to involve the necessity of a settled body of opinion, as to the mode in which the Deity will adjust the affairs of men in eternity—the exact period of his judgments, and the duration of our pains and pleasures. At this rate, Faith itself will need to be swallowed up in absolute knowledge, and opinion must be sworn to !

*The Myrtle Wreath, or Stray Leaves Recalled* (Scribner,) is not a volume to be recommended to very exacting readers. It is easy enough reading, but not calculated to satisfy the hungry appetite, or to task the digestive functions. We cannot even affirm that it is calculated to tickle the taste, nor will it vex the temper.

*The Constitutional Text Book.* Edited by Lemuel Blake, and published by C. S. Francis & Co., New-York. It is the Constitution, as expounded by Daniel Webster, that Lemuel bestows upon us in this copious volume. Here Webster's commentaries are made to precede the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and Washington's Farewell Address. The work is designed as a class book. Of course, it will have no uses in the South ! The Southern reader will do well to have *all* of Webster's writings in his library ; but we protest against all such wretched manufacturing as this, in which we are furnished with Webster's commentaries upon, and replies to rival statesmen, whose remarks and answers are never given, and who are thus set up as so many wood-pins to be bowled down by this redoubtable player at his own leisure and pleasure.

*Poems*, original and translated. By SEMLAN. Charleston : John Russell. 1854. A very prettily printed volume, doing credit to the publisher and the Charleston press. But our young author has been precipitate in the publication of his verses, a practice not to be encouraged, because of its unwise frequency. The writings of young poets are rarely anything beyond an exercise in language ; the first object being to acquire such freedom and ease of expression, as to render future thought perfectly malleable in their hands. Such is not the case with Semlan. He will need a much longer practice before he can compel the nimble fancies, and the fairy creatives of the Muse, to glide gracefully about in the golden fetters of harmony and song. But practice will enable him to do this. He has the ear, the taste, and the talent. Frequent exercise, and the study of the best models, will enable him to do the rest. There is considerable encouragement in his volume, and it rejoices us

much to perceive his direction is toward the classics. His translations are numerous, speak well for his diligence and success, and it needs only that our young author should use the proper pains-taking to render his success as honorable as grateful.

*Blackwood's Magazine* maintains its ground, with strength and spirit, though the wizard staff of Kit North has been broken. No more "Noctes"—no more of those glorious rights of eloquence, poetry, keen wit and irresistible force. John Wilson had gradually withdrawn from *Blackwood*, before he withdrew from life. Will old *Ebony* supply his work? Not in his vein certainly. In other respects, *Maga* shows no deficiency, and it is still to be read—however erring in its politics—however diseased in its prejudices on the subject of *our* institutions—with satisfaction and improvement. In this connection, let us briefly acknowledge the general merits of the British Quarterlies, which seem to furnish, at this day, the very best productions of the British mind, and to be, in fact, its best representation. Like our own, British literature seems on the decline. The foreign reprints of these periodicals, issued by Scott & Co., should be in the hands of all readers who would keep pace with current literature and European progress.

*The Bohn Libraries.*—We are indebted to the attention of Messrs. Bangs and Brother, for three new volumes, lately added to the fertile libraries of Henry G. Bohn. These are :

1. The works of John Locke—volume I., containing the famous essay on the "Human Understanding."

2. A History of the Church, from A. D. 322, to A. D. 427. By Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus ; and from A. D. 431, to A. D. 594, by Evagrius, with memoirs of the authors.

3. The Poems of Catallus and Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. These elegant trifles are here given to us, not only in the metrical versions of Lamb, Grainger, and other translators, but in a literal prose translation, also, with copious notes, by Walter K. Kelly.

Of these productions our space will permit no further notice at present; nor is this necessary. The works are well known, and of established character. We can only express our thanks to the publisher, for his continued and laudable attempts to place within the hands of the general reader so many admirable volumes, in such excellent style, and at a price so moderate ; and so many others, as curious as excellent, which have, hitherto, been quite inaccessible to the unlearned.

*Shelton's Chrystalline*, (Scribner).—Something between the tale and the allegory. An old story, that of the thieving magpie, re-wrought upon a fanciful plan. The author has erred, in the endeavor to make a legend, originally fanciful enough, still more so. The artificial takes freedom of the natural, which, in such fabrics, it should never entirely do. Still, the fabrication is quite pretty and shows good taste and delicacy. A slight domestic tale, called "Clarence," follows, in this volume, but it calls for no remark, beyond the simple one, that it belongs also to the fanciful. Our authors would do wisely to attempt more earnest performances.

*Addison's Works*.—The fine edition of Putnam, of the works of Joseph Addison, in five volumes, is completed by the publication of volume five, which is wholly taken up with the concluding portions of the *Spectator*. This edition of Addison is not only the only complete American, but we are inclined to think the most complete of European, editions. At all events, the editorship of Professor Greene renders it one of the most valuable. He has done his work faithfully, with good judgment and a competent knowledge of his subject, and all its literary relations.

*Foot Prints of Famous Men*.—One of these volumes, which serve admirably in the hands of boys, to stimulate a manly industry, and a generous ambition. A collection of the biographies of famous and self-made men, whose greatness survives in moral monuments, and who, through great public services, to their own age, have left an indelible impress upon posterity.

*Influence of the Mechanic Arts*.—Two Lectures, delivered by CHAS. GAYARE, before the Mechanic's Institute at New Orleans. These lectures are written in the ardent vein of the author, well-known by his highly interesting lectures on the History of Louisiana. For popular discourse no style is preferable to that of Mr. Gayare; copious, warm, passionate—its exuberance and fancy enable him to convey to his audience, with emphasis and effect, the gravest propositions. In dealing with the simple subject before us, the merits of his manner are admirably shown.

*Washington's Virginia Constitution of 1776*.—A discourse delivered before the *Virginia Historical Society*; by H. A. WASHINGTON, showing thought and study and provocation of both. The same thing may be said of

*Burnap's Democracy in America*—its origin and causes—a discourse by GEORGE W. BURNAP, before the *Maryland Historical Society*.—The question of democratic progress is, in fact, the great question of the age, involving all others, and not to be dismissed in a sentence—not to be approached, indeed, unless with great care, study, circumspection. It has in its care a truth and a terror—a virtue and a danger, which should compel wisdom to prayer, and humble the highest talent to the necessity of fervent thought.

*Chemistry of Common Life.* (Appleton.)—The second number of this useful series contains, as subjects, "The Bread we eat," "The Beef we cook," and "The Beverages we infuse." These are subjects of which we should know something, and of which this pamphlet tells us much; but, of course, the reader understands that is a proper policy to read such books only *after* dinner.

*Utah and the Mormons.* By BENJAMIN G. FERRIS. New York: Harper & Bro. 1854.—Mr. Ferris is a good witness on the subject of the diabolical absurdities of Mormonism, having been secretary of the government of the Utah territory. His work, in plain style—which is not always plain English—gives us a summary history of this miserable and filthy superstition, the government of Mormonism, and the doctrines, customs and prospects of the Latter-Day-Saints—a six months' personal residence among them having not effected the conversion of the author to the faith, while it has enabled him to provide a very pretty scandalous chronicle for the benefit of outsiders, for their amusement or loathing, as they severally incline. We confess to a sufficient knowledge already of what the Mormons are, and really do not care for any increase of intelligence. To those who know nothing of them, this volume would be amply sufficient.

*Farmingdale.* By CAROLINE THOMAS. New York: Appleton & Co.—A domestic story, little details and long dialogues, after a fashion particularly introduced by "The Wide, Wide World," and the "Queechy" of Miss Warner.

*The Hive of the Bee Hunter, &c.* By J. B. THORPE. New York: Appleton & Co. 1854.—Quite a pleasant and sketchy series of pictures, chiefly drawn from American life in the South, by a well known and highly successful sketcher. These include agreeable variations, illus-

trative of character, customs, scenery and rural sports—the writer shewing equally a personal knowledge of the customs of people and places, natural and human history. The narrative is helped throughout by frequent wood engravings, mostly very spirited, of the scenes and events described in the text.

*Smith's History of Greece, revised, with an Appendix.* By GEORGE W. GREENE, A.M. New York: Harper & Bro. 1854.—We are of opinion that no better history of Greece, for the use of schools, could be provided than this of Dr. Smith, who is already well known to us by several excellent and popular works of this order. The author bases his work, very judiciously, on that of Grote. He accordingly teaches from the republican point of view—the only true standard in considering Grecian history—instead of insidiously perverting the history, as Gillies and Mitford have done, to the purposes of a selfish political supremacy.

*Farm Implements, and the Principles of their Construction and Use;* an elementary and familiar treatise on mechanics, and on natural philosophy generally, as applied to the ordinary practices of agriculture. With two hundred engraved illustrations. By JOHN J. THOMAS.—We have no reason to question the excellence and utility of this snug handbook, which, Mr. Downing tells us, ought to be hung up in every workshop, tool-room and farmer's book-shelf in the country. It is further commended to general use, as chosen for publication by the New York State Agricultural Society. A neat volume, teeming with engraved illustrative figures, which must greatly facilitate the labors of the student.

*Wensley.*—A good moral story, "without a moral," from the press of Ticknor & Fields, was originally published in Blackwood's Magazine. It is a well written and interesting narrative.

*Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions, the Pursuit of Truth, and on other subjects.* By SAMUEL BAILEY. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1854.—A reprint from the English; a very instructive collection, highly provocative of thought, and most usually right in conclusion. We commend the volume as one likely to be popularly useful in a high degree.

*The Dietetics of the Soul.* By ERNEST VON FEUCHKISLEBEN, M. D. New York: Francis & Co. 1854.—A volume that will be read with some curiosity in this era of spiritual manifestations. It consists of a



series of essays, medical and psychological, of a character too desultory to be satisfactory, but conveying clues and suggestions which the mataphysician may peruse with profit.

*The Report upon Public Schools and Education in Rhode Island*, for 1854, is a thick pamphlet of mixed argument and statistics, which we commend to the examination of those who are looking to the conditions of our own schools in the South. The popular features of the two sections are quite unlike in many respects; but there are certain features, common to both, which may render the discoveries of one of importance to the development of the other.

*New Novels.*—Mrs. Marsh's "*Aubrey*" is a sombre story, in the well-known manner of this writer—a manner which does not commend itself to our tastes, and which, in the present story, appears to still worse effect than ever. The tale is one rather too full of vulgar sentimentalities, and sentimentalizing vulgarities; of an atmosphere at once artificial and offensive, with as little of wholesome nature in it as possible.—"*Leather Stocking and Silk*" is the absurd title of a magazine story which one may dawdle over without absolutely sleeping. The author is neither a deep-diver or a high-flier; but skims along among the flowers, butterfly fashion, without using the butterfly alembic. His distillations will fill no Cologne bottles.—"*The Quiet Heart*" is the title of a cool domestic narrative from Blackwood, faithful enough in portraiture in a certain but limited province—healthful enough, too, but without any strong interest, and wholly without variety. These volumes are all from the press of Harper & Brothers.

*Sir Jasper Carew.* By CHARLES LEVER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854.—A stirring and interesting narrative, the variety of which is obtained at the cost of much desultory, and some purposeless wandering. Not altogether satisfactory as a story, too inconsecutive, in fact, and frequently defective in the matters of propriety, symmetry and poetical justice—it is yet a narrative which will equally fix attention and persuade curiosity. Lever is a writer who cannot wholly fail in any subject which he undertakes; and though the present is not quite so clever a book as the "*Dodd Family*," of which he has recently made a copious report. It belongs to the same class of writings, and is productive of a similar interest.

*Improvement in the Navy.*—The speech of Hon. S. R. Mallory, of Florida, in the Senate of the United States, June 20, in reference to the condition of the navy, and the necessity for its radical improvement, contains some good suggestions, which we trust will meet with due attention from the proper quarters. The necessity of a "*retired list*" is becoming daily more and more exigent. The vast importance of higher grades, so as to enable our Captains and Commodores to take rank with those of foreign service, and many other concerns more or less vital to the interests of our navy, need to be discussed and settled before we can hope to put it in a condition to be adequately useful. An increase of the armament is another necessity. The naval arm of a country, to be of proper use, requires to be made strong in due degree with the mercantile marine of that country.

*The Message and Documents* from the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Third Congress, (Part iii.) comes to us through the polite attention of Senator Butler, in a copious volume of 800 pages. The contents of this volume are sufficiently various, but too well-known to need description, however much of them may provoke discussion. One thing, however, may be suggested to our readers. These volumes, very freely distributed as they are, are not sufficiently valued. They are but rarely preserved, when but a moment's reflection would suffice to show that they constitute invaluable materials for future history. It is time that our people should exercise more care in the preservation of public documents. Congress itself might do something towards prompting this care, in a more improved style of publication.

The *Address* of Aaron V. Brown before the Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, last May, is devoted to a rapid but comprehensive review of the progress of the United States, in government, employment, science, the acquisition of territory, and in moral and material respects generally, all of which our author traces to education. The discourse is simple of style, unaffected, shows reading and reflection, and may be described as a performance of good sense and general propriety of thought, without any effort at eloquence, or any ambition of profundity.

*The Iron Cousin.* By MARY COWDEN CLARKE. New York: Appleton & Co. 1854.—The woman whose love and patience have given us the Concordance to Shakspeare is, of course, no ordinary one. The in-

geniunity which could illustrate Shakspeare's female characters by demonstrative biographies, must possess no ordinary ingenuity. We are not, therefore, surprised to receive from her hands a volume like the present, so grateful from its general good taste, and very happy moral and mental characterization. Its interest is happily sustained throughout, and its whole tenor and tone of the wholesomest sort. We trust that she will make other stories as pleasantly moral as the one before us, and as gratefully instructive.

*Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, '12, '13 and '14; or the First American Settlement on the Pacific.* By GABRIEL FRANCHERE. New-York: Redfield. 1854.—

This pleasant narrative of adventure, by a simple, sensible and honest voyager, who had a first hand in the establishment of Astoria, is translated from the French, in good style, by J. V. Huntington. The interest of the narrative will be heightened to the reader, who has already made himself acquainted with Irving's agreeable account of the same establishment. Franchere corrects sundry errors into which Mr. Irving has fallen, chiefly in consequence of that gentleman's natural tendency to impart a picturesque and humorous coloring to his portraits and events. The present work is illustrated by several spirited engravings.

*The Hundred Boston Orators, appointed by the Municipal Authorities and other Public Bodies from 1770 to 1852, comprising Historical Gleanings, illustrating the Principles and Progress of our Republican Institutions.*—The reader must not alarm himself with the notion that we have here this whole body of Boston orators, on public occasions, from the Revolution to the present moment. Heaven forefend. The editor has done his work more judiciously; and has just given us such samples of the orators as will suffice for a taste of their quality. These samples are coupled, each, with biographical sketches of the speakers, with brief notices of their talents and performances, given with proper heed to a discriminative criticism. We do not answer for the justice of the editor's judgment in all cases, nor for the general propriety of his political opinions. Nor is it necessary that we should. The object of the work, as shown on the face of it, is sufficiently clear, and it will quite suffice if we know that this copious volume affords a very good and general idea of the public eloquence of Boston for the last eighty years.

*The World's Temperance Convention* affords us, in pamphlet form, the proceedings of the first General Convention, and an address urging their arguments against strong drink. The Maine Law, in especial, meets their hearty "Well done." We are afraid the world will get heartily sick of the discussion before they get quite full of the drink, and must express our own poor notion that the "well done" is quite too frequently overdone. What is done, is but too frequently done in a wrong direction. But, not satisfied that our zealous conventionists are working after the wisest fashion, we certainly entertain the hope that the result may be the increasing temperance of drinking people. The abuse of the good things of earth is the true offence, and a proper heed to this point it seems to us, would be more productive of good than the course now pursued. Time will show. The zeal which is itself intemperate rarely contributes much to health or healing.

*Africa and the American Flag.* Appleton.—An interesting sketch of the slave trade, and of the condition of the colonial settlements of Europe and the United States, on the Coast of Africa, from the pen of Commander Andrew H. Foote, of the U. S. Navy, and Lt. Commanding Brig. Perry, on the Coast of Africa, in 1850–1851. We do not concur, in all the views, moral and ethnographical, of our 'Commander,' who is something ambitious as a philosopher, and something of a partisan; but we find pleasure in the additional proof which his volume gives us of the daily increasing intelligence, science, skill and refinement, on the part of the officers in the sea service. His narrative is quite readable and instructive. It is illustrated by numerous engravings.

*Apheila and other Poems.* By two Cousins of the South, MISS JULIA PLEASANTS and THOMAS BIBB BRADLEY. New York: Charles Scribner. 1854.—Literary partnerships, particularly in poetry, are almost unknown since the days of Beaumont and Fletcher. Such partnerships have still more rarely been known in the case of the two sexes, the respective natures of which seem to require a much more intimate union. Yet why should there not exist mental marriages? How pure and exquisite should be such communion. We see no good objection to it, though it may conduct to others, and these might tend, in some degree, to qualify the more felicitous condition of the simply mental bond. Without speculating on the problem, any way, it is quite enough that the book before us shows a very pleasant partnership of two minds of different sexes, the respective qualities of each seem nearly level, and of

highly sympathetic character. Miss Pleasants and Mr. Bradley seem to think and feel in unison. Their talents appear to be nearly of the same order. Her verses are new to us. His we have seen before. Both writers are polished, pure, graceful of sentiment, and fanciful; neither is boldly distinguished by imagination or original thought. Like all young writers, they are mostly imitative, the wing not yet being self-poised, not confident of strength, not attempting yet to go alone. Of course, this confidence of strength, this independent will and courage to go alone, constitutes the great essential of permanent life in poetry. The verses of our young authors must therefore be considered simply as preparatory exercises, as those of young birds—short flights—in which they barely exercise the wing, almost without aim or motive. The first great necessity is to learn the uses of the wing, or, to drop the figure, to acquire a perfect command of rhymthical language, so as to be able to embody the future thought as it grows and expands with every day's experience. Our young authors have made considerable progress in this exercise, and have reached a very fair degree of facility in giving expression to their sentiments. It now remains to them, having the medium of thought, to see that they have the thought. The next book should show them *thinking* as well as *rhyming*; for in poetry as in prose, it is after all the *thinking* that establishes the just claims of the poet upon posterity. We give a favorable specimen from each of our authors. The first is from the pen of Miss Pleasants. The reader will please see with us the grace and boldness of the lines.\*

One specimen, from the pen of Mr. Bradley, is in a less ambitious vein, but one in which he usually succeeds best. The reader will find the sentiment as sweet and tender as the verses are musical.

\* NOTE BY THE PUBLISHER.—The editor having omitted to send the volume of poems with the manuscript, and our inability to procure it from any other source at the present moment, has unfortunately prevented the publication of the passages referred to above.

*The Undying One, Sorrows of Rosalie, and other Poems.* By the Hon. Mrs. NORTON. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1854.—The fortunes of Mrs. Norton have been of a painful and humiliating character, and her griefs and trials have given a very sombrous character to her poems, adding unnecessarily to the saddening effect which most poetry of the sentiments and affections must inspire. The farther effect is to render them monstrous. But, in spite of this, she has achieved a wide

reputation as a popular poet, taking the place in England—somewhat below it, perhaps—which was formerly occupied by Mrs Hemans. The muse of Mrs. Norton is not ambitious, or capable of startling flights. She never soars very high, never passes out of sight. She sings, after the fashion of the night-bird, where she broods, close in the tree, or swinging slowly from the twigs, balancing her wing just above the earth. The plaint is uniform, of under tone, soft, pleading and persuasive. In sad moments, which may be sweet moments also, the young heart will find pleasure in her subdued, faint, creeping undersong. Her fancies will please, in spite of her small invention, and of a too protracted vein of musing in which she too much indulges. We have space only for a short lyric, which is a fair specimen of her miscellaneous poems. These, by the way, are much more agreeable than her narrative pieces.

“WE HAVE BEEN FRIENDS TOGETHER.”

We have been friends together,  
In sunshine and in shade ;  
Since first beneath the chestnut trees  
In infancy we played ;  
But coldness dwells within thy heart,  
A cloud is on thy brow ;  
We have been friends together—  
Shall a light word part us now ?

We have been gay together,  
We have laughed at little jests ;  
For the fount of hope was gushing,  
Warm and joyous, from our breasts ;  
But laughter now hath fled thy life,  
And sullen glooms thy brow ;—  
We have been gay together—  
Shall a light word part us now ?

We have been sad together,  
We have wept with bitter tears,  
O'er the grass-grown graves, where slumber'd  
The hopes of early years ;  
The voices which are silent there  
Would bid thee clear thy brow ;  
We have been sad together—  
Oh ! what shall part us now ?

*The Speech of Hon. James A. MacDougall, M. C. from California,* in advocacy of the *Great Pacific Railroad*, is a sturdy assertion of the rights (?) of that young and promising sister of the Confederacy. In

respect to the argument of the orator in behalf of the Pacific Railroad, we need say nothing, at present; hereafter we may possibly make some remarks on the discussion of the subject. But we may reasonably express our regrets that the honorable member did not confine himself simply to his argument, and forbear that tone of denunciation and hostility which threatens us with the withdrawal of our young sister from the Confederacy, in the event of Congress not acceding to her wishes. We have no doubt that California will set up for herself as soon as she can do so with safety. She will not wait upon mere propriety. She will get all she can from the Confederacy, meanwhile. There is no reason why she should not withdraw—much reason why she should—in process of time; but we submit that the threat is in bad taste at present—a little premature—and the charge of neglect quite unfounded. When all the facts in our relations are considered, the Government has probably done quite as much for California as it could, without disparaging utterly the claims of other States and sections. To increase the taxation enormously, for the special wants of California, is no part of our policy. As for protecting such a frontier as that of California from the Indians, the thing is clearly impossible. It would consume all the resources of the Confederacy. Government cannot protect the frontiers of Texas—could not—though in fulfilment of a treaty pledge—protect the Mexican frontier; and to make this neglect, in the case of California, a plea for growling, is out of all reason. Our orator speaks of the millions of tribute paid by California. Where is it? The returns to the treasury of the U. S., from this quarter, as opposed to the outlay, do not show one dollar to fifty. California thus far has been an expense to government. The people of California send us gold, which, as a people, we pay for in breadstuffs, and clothing, and implements, and shelter. There is no tribute, on either side, in all these exchanges.

*Calavar : or the Knight of the Conquest.*—A Romance of Mexico. By ROBERT MONTGOMERY BIRD. Redfield, New York : 1854.—Calavar was originally published about twenty years ago, and at once impressed the public with the grand, stately, Hidalgo-like genius of the author. His sonorous periods, gorgeous descriptions, highly elaborate scenes, compelled the instantaneous conviction of the reader, that he was a writer destined to take very high place among our native authors. Nor did he fail to realize this promise. Dr. Bird's novels deserve an honored place, and must find it, in all American libraries. His impressive novels—a

handsome collection, "The Infidel," "Nick of the Woods," "Hawks of Hawk hollow," "Sheppard See," (originally published arrangements) with several others, contributed, at each successive issue, to confine him in the high place which he had won in his very first attempt; and now, since his premature death, while still a young man, they assert their former place in our collections, and will always appeal with interest to our minds. The pictures of scenery, portraits of men, descriptions of events, in this volume, are as complete, truthful, impressive and ingeniously elaborated as in any of our authors. Dr. Bird's career was begun with the drama. He is the writer of some of the most successful of American plays, such as, in the hands of Mr. Forest, still keep attractive place upon the stage; such are the Gladiator, Orallowa, the Broker of Bogota, etc. To those who have libraries, and who feel a patriotic interest in the development of American genius, we commend these very interesting and artist-like legends of Bird.

*Armenia : A Year at Erzerroom and on the frontiers of Russia, Turkey and Persia.* By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON. New York : Harper & Brother, 1854.—Curzon will be remembered by most readers as the author of a very pleasant volume, discriptive of a visit or visits, to the monasteries of the Levant, where he sought chiefly old manuscripts, and found and described some curious, if not valuable ones. The work before us is hardly so well written as the first, though, we suspect, that its materials, in the present condition of the great powers of the East, will be thought even more interesting. It is a slight and stately miscellany, giving us equal glimpses of present life and past history, in the countries which he visits, and a more detailed, but still very sketchy picture of Armenia, a few, brief biographical touches, lively and new, giving us a very good idea of life in Armenia, constitute the most attractive portions of the volume, which, by the way, is illustrated with maps and woodcuts.

*Harper's Gazetteer of the World.* This work is designed to occupy some ten parts, each of near 200 pages, royal octavo. It is to be enriched by seven new and accurate maps, illustrating the several divisions of the earth. The compilation is confided to J. Calvin Smith. An examination of the first number assures us that his labours will supply a greatly pressing statistical want in our libraries. The world grows so rapidly, in speed if not civilization, that a Gazetteer of ten years ago, is completely outgrown, and is of much more mischief than use. No doubt the one before us, will report amply our present statistical knowledge, and will



serve its purpose for the next decade. After that—but let posterity look to its own affairs. If men and arts will prove thus prolific, they must not murmur at the cost of a new *Gazetteer*, at frequent periods.

*A popular account of the ancient Egyptians*; revised and abridged from his larger work, by Sir J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D. C. L., F. R. S., &c. In two volumes. Illustrated with 500 wood cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854.

The great work of Wilkinson, in the English edition—and we doubt if there ever has been one from the American press—was quite too expensive to be within the reach of the popular reader. This abridgment will enable him to compass a work which is recognized as one of the most sterling authority on the highly interesting subject of Egyptian antiquities. We do not see that there have been any omissions here, of very material matter. Of course the student will require the original work in all its fullness; but the omissions of this edition will not be felt, as causing any loss, to that large class of readers who are content with a general knowledge of the subject. To such as these, the publication before us will be at once quite ample for instruction, and a grateful acquisition.

*Washington Christian Association.* An active and efficient society, the first annual report of which is before us, showing us worthy designs, prosperously begun. We trust that the association will realize all its proper objects.

*Cooper's Works by Southey.* The Bohn Library gives us the three first volumes of this admirable collection of the complete works, prose and verse, correspondence and translations, of William Cooper, edited by Robert Southey—the only complete and correct edition. Cooper was the dawn of a literary revival in Great Britain. His works are valuable in a twofold respect—as those of a greatly endowed poet, and of one who began a very great literary revolution—rescuing Great Britain, in fact, from the sway of French taste and authority in letters. This new edition is a fine one, and illustrated with choice engravings.

*The Knout and the Russians; or the Muscovite Empire, the Czar and his People.* By GERMAN DE LAGNY. Translated from the French. Harper & Bros. 1854.—We are beginning to tire of the scores of volumes, relating to Turks and Russians, which the press is spawning forth in monthly shoals, in consequence of the existing trial of strength

between the countries of these respective people. The volume under notice, however, is confined chiefly to the delineation of the social aspects of the Muscovites, though it does not withhold from us any necessary information touching the resources, civil and military, of the empire. It is very full in social details, and will agreeably employ the attention of the reader. Numerous plates are used to illustrate the costume of all classes, the architecture of the chief cities, and the manners and employments of the people.

*Atherton and other Tales.* By MARY RUSSELL MITFORD. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1854.—The reader is always secure of a pleasant and wholesome story at the hands of Miss Mitford. This veteran lady (?) has an old, well-worn and often-tried reputation, which criticism will not idly venture to disturb. Her writings are pure throughout and interesting, without rising, at any time, into the higher regions of romance. She is not largely imaginative, nor is she eager and passionate; but she has fancy and invention, uses ordinary materials with considerable art and ingenuity. The story of "Atherton" is a very pleasing, if not powerful, sketch from real life. The collection of tales and sketches which follow it, afford a very grateful interest, and will serve to while away the summer hours agreeably.

*Kip's Catacombs of Rome.*—The last and wonderful cities of the silent, which underlie the "Eternal City"—their curious avenues, their unknown extent, their mysterious history, "as illustrating the Church of the first three centuries," are all matters of which American readers in general know nothing, and only vaguely conjecture. This little volume will contribute considerably to their enlightenment. It will, at all events, furnish proper clues to conjecture, and supply adequate *data* and *criteria* for this exercise of thought. It attempts nothing further, and this we regret. How much more of those three centuries of mysterious conflict, trial, scourge, persecution, martyrdom—hope, fear, sacrifice—divine love and noble triumph, might have been made to contribute to the interest of these pages! But they would have swelled them to a monstrous volume, and that might have been fatal to the objects of the writer. Little books are the only sort to be tolerated by a people in a hurry; and this, which is nicely got up, with plans of the catacombs and engraved specimens of the tombs, vaults and inscriptions, will answer for the present.

July 1870

## CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.

---

**M'CARTER & CO.**

*Wholesale Booksellers and Stationers,*

CORNER PINCKNEY AND MEETING STREETS.

Publishers of South-Carolina Law and Equity Reports.

---

**S. G. COURTENAY,**

*Bookseller and Stationer,*

3 BROAD-STREET.

Depot for Cheap Publications, Periodicals and Newspapers.

---

**JOHN RUSSELL,**

*Importer of Foreign Books, Stationery and Works of Art,*



251 KING-STREET.

---

**WALKER & EVANS,**

*Manufacturing Stationers,*

101 EAST BAY.

Periodicals, Music Books and other Printed Books, bound in every variety of style in general use, and  Paged when required. 

---

**A. E. MILLER,**

*Book and Job Printer,*

NO. 3 STATE-STREET.

---

**J. S. & L. BOWIE & CO.**

*Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods and Clothing,*

122 MEETING-STREET.

---

**SUSDORFF & LEIDING,**

*Importers and Wholesale Dealers in German, French, English and American Fancy Dry and Millinery Goods,*

141 MEETING-STREET.

---

**BATES & MITCHELL,**

*Wholesale Clothing,*

118 MEETING-ST., NEAR CHARLESTON HOTEL.

CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.

**CHARLES D. CARR & CO.**

*Drapers and Tailors,*

30 BROAD-STREET.

---

**EDGERTON & RICHARDS,**

*Drapers and Tailors,*

32 BROAD-STREET.

---

**D. H. KEMME,**

*Draper and Tailor, and General Clothing Store,*

39 BROAD-STREET.

---

**J. BUCKLEY,**

*Draper and Tailor,*

80 MEETING-STREET.

---

**D. A. AMBLER,**

*Manufacturer and Dealer in Hats and Caps,*

161 MEETING-STREET.

---

**P. V. DIBBLE,**

*Fashionable Hat and Cap Establishment,*

37 BROAD-STREET.

---

**E. B. STODDARD & CO.**

*Wholesale Shoe Dealers,*

165 MEETING-STREET.

---

**B. FORD,**

*Importer of Boots, Shoes, Trunks, etc.*

NEAR THE POST OFFICE, 3 DOORS SOUTH OF BROAD-STREET.

---

**R. A. PRINGLE,**

*Wholesale Dealer in Boots and Shoes,*

30 EAST BAY.

---

**BAILIE & LAMBERT,**

*Importers and Dealers in Carpetings, Oil Cloths, Curtains, &c.,*

219 KING-STREET.

---

**H. F. STROHECKER,**

*Direct Importer of Hardware, Cutlery, Guns, &c.,*

151 MEETING-ST., OPPOSITE CHARLESTON HOTEL.

CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.

**BUCK & LUCAS,**

*Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Hardware, Cutlery, Guns, etc.*

273 KING-STREET, NEARLY OPPOSITE MERCHANTS' HOTEL.

---

**S. & E. M. GILBERT,**

*Manufacturers of Carriages and Buggies, at the old stand of  
S. & J. Gilbert,*

35 AND 40 WENTWORTH-STREET.

---

**A. ROULAIN,**

*Carriage Factory,*

MEETING-STREET, OPPOSITE THE THEATRE.

---

**THOMAS E. CLYDE,**

*Wholesale and Retail Grocer,*

CORNER OF CUMBERLAND AND MEETING STREETS.

---

**GEORGE ABBOTT & CO.**

IMPORTERS AND WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN

*English and American White Lead, Paints, Oils, Burning Fluid,  
Window Glass, and Lamps of every description,*

97 EAST BAY.

---

**GINDRAT & DUNCAN,**

*Dealers in Drugs, Chemicals and Fancy Goods,*

215 KING-STREET.

---

**STONE & WILTBERGER,**

*Retail Apothecaries and Druggists,*

245 KING-STREET.

---

**W. M. & J. C. MARTIN,**

*Exchange, Banking and Collection House,*

9 BROAD-STREET.

---

**FORD & LLOYD,**

*Brokers, Auction and General Commission Agents,*

7 BROAD-STREET.

---

**T. S. & T. G. BUDD,**

*Commission Merchants,*

76 EAST BAY.

---

**HENRY MISSROON,**

*Agent of the U. S. Mail Steamship Line between Charleston and  
New-York,*

CORNER OF EAST BAY AND ADGER'S WHARF.

---

CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.

**SHEPHERD, M'CRRERY & CO.**

*Staple and Fancy Dry Goods,*

No. 135 MEETING-STREET.

---

**HAZELTINE & WALTON,**

*Boots, Shoes, Trunks, etc.*

No. 137 MEETING-STREET.

---

**CONDICT, JENNINGS & CO.**

*Saddlery, Coach Hardware, etc.*

No. 165 MEETING-STREET.

---

**WALKER, WILLIMAN & CO.**

*Paper Commission Warehouse—Agents for Type, Presses & Printing Materials,*

No. 82 EAST-BAY.

---

**J. S. RYAN,**

*Broker and General Commission Agent,*

No. 22 BROAD-STREET.

---

**JOHN CALDWELL, SR., & SONS,**

*Upholsterers and Paper Hangers,*

No. 22 KING-STREET, opposite Browning & Leman's.

Keep constantly in store a large and general assortment of Upholstery Goods, Curtain Materials and Paper Hangings. Also, make to order, Bed and Window Curtains, Cushions, Carpets, Feather Beds and Mattresses. Rooms, etc., Papared in the best manner.

---

**Z. B. OAKES,**

*Broker and Auctioneer,*

No. 7 STATE-STREET.

---

**B. MORDECAI,**

*Broker and Auctioneer,*

No. 5 STATE-STREET.

---

**ADAMS & CO.'S**

**Northern, Southern and Western Express**

---

Goods forwarded to all the principal cities in the world Bills and Drafts Collected. Bank Notes, Gold and Silver transmitted with safety and dispatch. Office No. 20 BROAD-STREET.

W. T. J. O. WOODWARD.

CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.

CAMERON, WEBB & CO.

*Importers of China, Glass and Earthenware,*

145 MEETING-STREET.

---

H. W. SHIFFER,

*Wholesale and Retail Dealer in all kinds of India Rubber Goods,*

AT THE INDIA RUBBER WAREHOUSE, 270 KING, COR. WENTWORTH-ST.

---

GEORGE S. COOK,

*Daguerrean Artist,*

235 KING-STREET, OPPOSITE HASL.

Stock, Instruments, &c., for sale.



E. W. KIMBALL,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

STOVES, TIN, COPPER, SHEET IRON

AND

JAPAN WARE,

125 Meeting-Street,

CHARLESTON, S. C.

GENTLEMEN'S

*French Opera,*

*Travelling,*

*Fishing, Hunting*

*and Dress*

CAPS.



CHILDREN'S

*Fancy*

HATS AND CAPS,

OF

*French & American*

DESIGNS.

**SOUTHERN CLOTHING EMPORIUM,**

288 KING, COR. OF SOCIETY-ST., OPPOSITE MERCHANTS' HOTEL.

**B. J. & G. J. LEVY,**

*Manufacturers of Gentlemen's, Youth's, and Boy's Clothing, at  
Wholesale and Retail.*

MANUFACTORY, 75 WILLIAM-STREET, N. Y.

---

**JAMES E. SPEAR,**

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

**Fine Watches, Jewelry, Silver Ware,  
Fancy Goods, &c.,**

No. 235 KING-STREET, OPPOSITE HASEL,

**Charleston, S. C.**

THE subscriber respectfully invites the attention of purchasers to his stock of fine WATCHES, JEWELRY, SILVER WARE & FANCY GOODS, all of the latest styles and importation, which he has selected himself with great care, and feels confident that his stock will compare favorably with any other in quality and prices. He has also made arrangements by which he will receive all of the latest styles of Jewelry that are manufactured.

ALSO,

Constantly on hand, a full assortment of MASONIC and ODD FELLOWS' REGALIAS and JEWELS.

**JAMES E. SPEAR.**

**CHARLESTON HAT MANUFACTORY,  
240 KING-STREET.**

THIS establishment, the only one of the kind in the Southern States, is now in successful operation, and the proprietor is ready to furnish, at the shortest notice, a superior article of

**Fine Beaver, Moleskin, Silk and Cassimere Hats,**

of his own manufacture, in quality surpassed by none.

All the latest styles of Gentlemen's Undress Felt Hats and Caps constantly on hand; also, an excellent assortment of Boys', Misses' and Infants' Hats and Caps, of every variety.

A very choice lot of Gold and Silver Headed Canes, Fancy Sticks, Silk Umbrellas, Leather Hat Cases and Caps for travellers, &c.

Call at 240 King-street, and examine our stock.

JAN. 1, 1854.

**R. HAWLEY.**



CHARLESTON BUSINESS CARDS.





# HOUSE-KEEPING

# ARTICLES.



## AT THE MANUFACTURING WAREROOMS OF **CORTLAN & CO.,**

WHERE THOSE COMMENCING OR ABOUT REPLENISHING will find everything that may be needed from the commonest kitchen utensil to the finest Parlor Ornament. Importing direct all Foreign Goods from the manufactories, and being engaged largely in the manufacture of many articles ourselves, purchasers may rely upon obtaining all they may desire upon the very best terms, and at very small profits.

**BLOCK TIN GOODS**—Chaffing Dishes, Coffee Urns, Coffee and Tea Pots, Egg Boilers, Plate Warmers, Oyster Tureens, Dish Covers, Nursery Lamps, etc., in great variety on hand, and any article made to order or altered to suit the purchasers.

**ENGLISH ENAMELED WARE**—Saucepans with covers, Preserving Kettles, Porringers, Tea Kettles, Gridirons, Frying Pans, Coffee Mills, etc.

**IVORY TABLE CUTLERY**—Table and Dessert Knives, with and without Forks; Knives and Forks in dozens and sets of 51 and 53 pieces; Game and Beef Carvers and Steels. These goods we have from the best makers known.

**TABLE AND DOOR MATS**—Oil Cloth Table Mats, Grass Mats, Chinese Willow and French Mats, Lamp Mats, Manilla, Sheepskin, Cane, Ambrosial and Rope Door Mats.

**WOODEN WARE**—Wash Tubs, Flour and Sugar Pails, Barrel Covers, Clothes Horses, Salt and Spice Boxes, Knife Boards and Boxes, Buckets, Butter Prints.

**BRUSHES**—Feather Dusters, Furniture Brushes, Velvet, Sweeping, Wiping, Plate, Window, Shoe, Hearth, Crumb, Stair, Horse and Carriage Brushes.

**COMMON TIN AND SHEET IRON WARE** of every description, and Japanned Chamber Buckets, Water Cans, Toilet Jars, Basins and Pitchers, Wine Coolers, Spittoons, Knife Boxes, etc.

**BRONZED IRON GOODS**—Hat Racks, Umbrella Stands, Marble Top Tables, Spittoons, Fenders, Andirons, Chairs, Settees, etc.

**GAS FIXTURES**—Chandeliers, Hall and Dining Room Pendants, Mantle Ornaments, plain and ornamented Brackets, Shades, etc.

**TEA TRAYS AND WAITERS**—Gothic, Eliptic, Victoria, Albert and oval patterns, in dozens, sets or singly, from 10 to 30 inches.

**PLATED ALBATA WARE**—Fine Tea and Coffee Sets, Castors, Waiters, Candlesticks, Cake Baskets, Coffee Urns, Napkin Rings, Pickle Stands, Butter Coolers, Toast Racks, Pitchers, Salt Stands, Spoons, Forks, Salt and Mustard Spoons, Soup Ladles.

**ENGLISH BRITANNIA WARE**—Tea and Coffee Sets, Coffee Urns, Castors, Tea Kettles, Dish Covers.

**SCISSORS**—Pocket Scissors, Nail and Button-hole do., Tailors' and Banking Shears, Ladies' Work and Cutting-out Soissors, etc., etc.

We have mentioned above a few articles, merely to show the description of goods we deal in, asking an examination of our stock, feeling assured that it will be found one of the most complete in the country. Persons out of the city may rely upon having their orders filled as correctly as if they were here in person.

CORTLAN & CO., 203 Baltimore-st., Baltimore.

Importers of Foreign, Fancy and Staple Goods, and manufacturers of Scott's Patent Refrigerators and Bathing Apparatus of all descriptions.



# BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.

---

## GRANT & BROTHER,

*Commission Merchants,*

67 EXCHANGE PLACE.

GRANT & BRO. pledge themselves to sell Adamantine Candles, in any sized lots, all qualities and style of packages, as low as any Factory or Candle house in the United States, we being regular "Agents for Manufacturers."

---

## WARWICK & ARMISTEAD,

*Commission Agents for the sale of Manufactured and Leaf Tobacco,*

51 LOMBARD STREET.

Southern dealers will find the largest and best assortment of bright Tobacco in the market, at their warehouse.

---

## DUER & JOHNS,

*Flour and General Commission Merchants,*

HOLLINGSWORTH STREET, NEAR LOMBARD.

---

## L. H. MILLER,

**Commission Merchant,**

24 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

## SUPERIOR SALAMANDER SAFES,

Warranted Fire and Thief Proof. Agents for E. F. Miller & Son's superior, &c.

---



## R. R. GRIFFITH & SON,

*Agents and General Commission Merchants for the sale of Mace, Cloves, Pepper, Ginger Mustard, Allspice, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Dairy and Table Salt, Cocoa, Chocolate, Candles, Starch, Soap, Refined Sugars, Syrups, Molasses, &c.*

50 SOUTH STREET.

---

## S. & R. HOUGH,

*Wholesale Grocers and Commission Merchants,*

125 PRATT STREET WHARF, AND 1, 2 AND 3 ELLICOTT STREET.

---

## HISS & COLE,

*American and Foreign Hardware Commission Merchants,*

27 AND 29 SOUTH CHARLES STREETS, (UP STAIRS.)

Agents for the sale of Fairbanks' Platform Scales, Machine Leather Belts, American Eagle Anvils, Parallel Chain Vices, &c.

---

## R. EDWARDS, JR.,

*General Commission Merchant,*

24 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

Agent for the Boston & Sandwich, and New England Glass Company; as also Agent for U. S. Pottery Company, and Phoenix Glass Works, of Philadelphia. Importer of Earthenware, Demijohns and Wine Bottles. Agent for N. E. Glass Company's Red Lead and Litharge.

**BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.**

**BELT & BOWIE,**

*Tobacco and General Produce Commission Merchants,*

1 ELLICOTT STREET.

REFERENCES.—Daniel Spriggs, Esq., Cashier Merchants' Bank; Duvall, Rogers & Co.; Aquilla Giles, Esq., Cashier Franklin Bank; Trueman Cross, Esq., Cashier Commercial and Farmers' Bank; Fitzgerald & Magruder; Long & Byrn, Baltimore.

---

**THURSTON & FRYE,**

*Commission Merchants for the sale of Straw Goods, Hats and Caps.*

5 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

---

**ELLICOTT & HEWES,**

*General Commission Merchants, and Dealers in Butter, Cheese and Fruit,*

69 EXCHANGE PLACE.

---

**OTIS SPEAR,**

*Commission Merchant and Wholesale Paper Dealer,*

21 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

---

**M. KEITH, JR. & SON,**

*Commission Merchants for the sale of American Hardware, Iron, &c.,*

28 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

---

**CAPRON & GWYN,**

*Commission Merchants,*

74 BOWLEY'S WHARF, (UP STAIRS.)

---

**WILLIAM WOODWARD & CO.,**

*Dry Goods Commission Merchants,*

9 AND 11 HANOVER STREET.

---

**MITCHELL, SEARS & CO.,**

*Tobacco Commission Merchants and Importers and Manufacturers of Segars, Leaf Tobacco, Snuffs, &c.*

16 SOUTH CHARLES STREET, NEAR BALTIMORE STREET.

---

**J. LANDSTREET & SON,**

*General Commission Merchants and Grocers,*

10 SOUTH HOWARD STREET.

---

**BALL & ROY,**

*Grocers, Produce and General Commission Merchants,*

101 SOUTH STREET, BOWLY'S WHARF.

---

**BECK & LEMCKE,**

*General Commission Merchants and Importers of Segars, Wines, &c.*

118 WEST LOMBARD STREET.

---

**MCPHERSON & THOMAS,**

*Produce Commission Merchants,*

73 SOUTH STREET.,

Give particular attention to sales of Flour, Grain and Tobacco, and purchases of Guano and other Manures, exclusively on Commission. Respectfully solicit Consignments and Orders, and refer to Messrs. William G. Harrison, John M. Buck, Michael Herr, Courtney & Cushing, Murray & Hazlehurst, Baltimore. Dr. Allen Thomas, Howard County. Dr. William B. Tyler, Col. John McPherson, Dr. William S. McPherson, Dr. M. Davis, Frederick County.

**BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.**

**BRINTON & REDGRAVE,**

*Commission Merchants,*

77 BOWLY'S WHARF.

Particular attention paid to the sale of Lumber and Naval Stores.

REFERENCES.—G. M. Troutman, Cashier Western Bank; McFarland, Evans & Co.; M. Trump & Sons, Lumber merchants, Philadelphia. John Clark, Esq., Cashier Citizens' Bank; Baldwin & Price; F. L. Brauns & Co., Baltimore.

---

**J. C. WILSON & CO.,**

*Grocers and Commission Merchants,*

EXCHANGE PLACE.

---

**H. R. & J. M. ROBERTSON,**

*General Commission Merchants,*

69 BOWLY'S WHARF.

---

**JOHN R. CONWAY & SON,**

*Wholesale Grocers and Commission Merchants,*

81 CHEAPSIDE.

---

**ANDREW ARMSTRONG,**

*Wholesale Grocer and Commission Merchant,*

56 SOUTH STREET.

---

**TINGES & ALLNUTT,**

*Commission Merchants for the sale of Shoes, Hats, Straw Goods and Metallic Rubber Boots and Shoes, by the package.*

9 GERMAN STREET.

---

**McCONKEY, PARR & CO.,**

*Grocers and Commission Merchants,*

87 AND 89 BOWLY'S WHARF.

---

**S. PARKHURST,**

*Importer of Foreign Liquors, Wines, Brandies, Gin, &c., Dealer in Domestic Liquors, and General Commission Merchant,*

72 BOWLY'S WHARF.

REFERENCES.—Messrs. Drakely & Fenton and J. C. Wilson & Co., Baltimore.

---

**WILLIAM CHILD,**

*Commission Merchant and Coal Dealer,*

82 SOUTH STREET, BOWLY'S WHARF.

---

**JOHN E. WILSON,**

*General Commission Merchant,*

97 LOMBARD STREET.

REFERENCES.—Robert Lemon, Esq.; Messrs. F. W. Brune & Sons; John Hopkins, Esq., President Merchants' Bank; John C. Brune, Esq., President Board of Trade; Charles B. Taylor, Esq., Bank of Commerce, Baltimore. Samuel Smyth, Esq., Philadelphia.

---

**JAMES HAZLITT,**

*Importers of French Brandies, Holland Gin, Wines, &c., Irish and Scotch Malt Whiskey, Havana Segars, &c.*

4 COMMERCE STREET.

BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.

W. T. WALTERS & CO.,

*Importers of and Dealers in Wines and Liquors,*

68 EXCHANGE PLACE.

---

EDWARD HYATT & CO.,

*Importers of Liquors and Segars, and Sole Agent for the sale of the Old Monongahela Whiskey of the "Hammond," "James Barton" and "Morris" brands.*

39 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET.

---

GRAFF & CO.,

*Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Liquors,*

38 SOUTH STREET, OPP. EXCHANGE PLACE.

G. & Co. desire to call particular attention to their very large stock of pure Old Rye Whiskey, which cannot be surpassed. Every article not proving as represented, will be taken back and all charges paid.

---

THOMAS ROBINSON,

*Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Wines, Brandies, Segars, &c.,*

58 SOUTH STREET.

---

McCAY, BRO. & CO.,

*Importers and Wholesale Dealers of Wines, Liquors, &c.,*

45 S. CALVERT STREET, CORNER OF LOMBARD STREET.

---

J. T. TREGO & CO.,

*Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Liquors and Segars,*

117 LOMBARD STREET, BETWEEN LIGHT AND CHARLES.

---

PERKINS & TRAVERS,

*Grocers,*

55 CHESAPE, NEAR LOMBARD STREET.

---

THOMAS V. BRUNDIGE,

74 BOWLY'S WHARF.

Keeps constantly on hand a complete assortment of Oils, Candles, Starch, Soaps, Chocolates, Cocoa, Ground Spices, &c., at lowest market prices.

---

NORRIS, CALDWELL & CO.,

*Wholesale Grocers and Importers of and Dealers in Teas, Wines, Liquors, Havana Segars, &c.,*

322 MARKET STREET.

~~See~~ Country Produce sold.

---

O'BRIEN, GRAFFLIN & HANSON,

*Jobbers of Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods,*

5 HANOVER STREET, NEAR MARKET.

---

JACOB TRUST,

*Importer and Dealer in German, French, English, and Domestic Fancy Goods, Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, Outlery, Brushes, Combs, Fancy Hardware, and Toys of every Description,*

812 BALTIMORE ST., BETWEEN LIBERTY & HOWARD.

---

BALL, CRISS & CO.,

*Importers and Jobbers of Dry Goods,*

10 HANOVER STREET.

**BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.**

**DUVALL, KEIGHTLER & DORSEY,**

*Agents for the sale of Domestic, Cotton and Woollen Goods, and Importers of Foreign Goods of all classes of Goods suited to the Southern Trade,*

275 BALTIMORE STREET

**DUGAN & JENKINS,**

SUCCESSORS TO CUMBERLAND DUGAN,

*Manufacturers' Agents for the Sale of all Kinds of American Hardware, keep constantly on hand large and well assorted stock at Manufacturers' Lowest Prices,*

21 SOUTH CHARLES STREET

**EDWARD MAY,**

*Dealer in Foreign and Domestic Hardware,*

160 FRANKLIN STREET

**BENJAMIN WASKEY**

*Wholesale and Retail Chair Manufacturer, Cabinet Furniture, Feather Beds, Mattress, Looking Glasses, &c., &c.*

45 SOUTH STREET

**James R. Ward & Co.,**

*Furniture and Chair Warerooms, Feather Bed and Mattress Depot,*

**48 SOUTH CALVERT STREET.**

*All orders promptly attended to. Looking-Glasses all sizes.*

**MEACHAM & HAYWOOD,**

*(Successors to Hart, Ware & Co.)*

10 NORTH CHARLES STREET.

*Manufacturers and Dealers in Plain and Ornamental Cottage Furniture,*

COTTAGE BEDSTEADS, CHAIRS,	:	SPRING, HAIR AND HUSK
EXTENSION DINING TABLES,	:	MATTRESSES,
OAK AND WALNUT ARM CHAIRS,	:	PATENT SELF-ROCKING CRADLES,
" " SIDEBOARDS,	:	

*With a general assortment of Rosewood and Walnut Parlor, Dining & Bedroom Sets*

**S. S. STEVENS,**

27 & 29 HANOVER STREET,

*Manufacturer of Cabinet Furniture, Chairs, Mattresses, Feather Beds. Also, Enamelled Chamber Cottage Sets. Dealer in Carpets, Rugs, Straw Matting, Gilt and Mahogany Frame Looking Glasses.*

N.B.—All Orders from abroad executed on accommodating terms.

PAPER WAREHOUSE, 5 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

**JAMES S. ROBINSON,**

*Has in Store, for Sale at Manufactory Prices, Printing, Writing and Wrapping Paper, Printed Cards, Box, Bonnet and Straw Boards.*

**PETER B. HOFFMAN,**

*Paper Manufacturer, Wholesale and Retail,*

95 LOEBARD STREET, TWO DOORS ABOVE LIGHT.

*Rags, Rope and Paper Stock bought at the usual prices.*

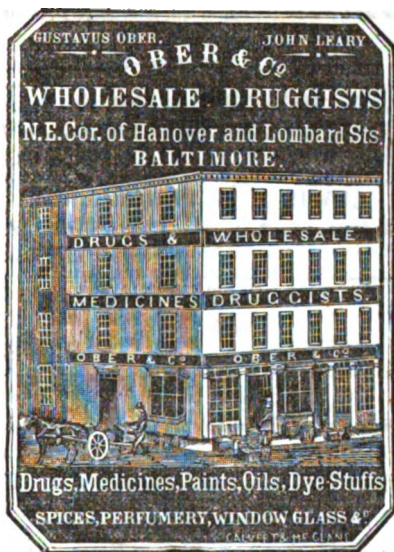
**WHEELWRIGHT & MUDGE,**

*Commission Paper Warehouse,*

14 HANOVER STREET, CORNER OF GENERAL



**BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.**




---

**JOHN & JOSEPH WALKER,**

*Wholesale Druggists, Dealers in Paints, Oils, Window Glass, Dye Stuffs, Perfumery, &c.*

*Sign of Celsus, Golden Head,*

**41 SOUTH CHARLES STREET, NEAR LOMBARD STREET.**

---

**J. IRWIN SMITH,**

*Wholesale Druggist,*

**152 PRATT STREET WHARF.**

---

**WM. DAVISON & CO.**

*Manufacturers of Chemicals, Paints, Varnishes, &c.*

**104 LOMBARD STREET.**

---

**G. D. SMITH & CO.**

*Manufacturers and Dealers in Alcohol, Camphene, Etherial Oil, &c.*

**84 S. CALVERT STREET, OPPOSITE WATER STREET.**

---

**GEO. W. HERRING & CO.**

*Importers of China, Glass and Crockery Ware,*

**7 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.**

---

**JOS S. HASTINGS, JR.**

*Importer, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in China, Glass and Queen's Ware,*

**202 BALTIMORE STREET.**

---

**W. B. HOLLINGSWORTH & Co.**

*Agents of Union Glass Co.*

**Gumblers, Jars, Goblets, Wappies, Dishes, &c., &c. Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Chemists' and Druggists', Glass and Porcelain Wares. Importers of Tooth, Hair and Shaving Brushes, Buffalo Combs, Pres. Scales, Pallett Knives, &c.**

**86 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.**

BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.

MRS. M. A. WONDERLY'S

*Wholesale and Retail China, Glass and Liverpool Warehouse,*  
43 SOUTH STREET.

Stone Ware at Manufacturers' Prices.

SHIRLEY & COOK,

*China, Glass and Queen's Ware, Wholesale and Retail,*  
11 & 18 SOUTH CALVERT STREET.

LEWIS M. WARNER & CO.

*Wholesale Dealers in Boots, Shoes, Hats, Caps and Bonnets,*  
248 BALTIMORE ST., UP STAIRS.

ISAAC STARTZMAN,

*Leather Store,*  
56 SOUTH CALVERT STREET.

ROBERT G. WARE,

*Manufacturer and Wholesale Dealer in Boots and Shoes,*  
18 SOUTH CHARLES ST., AND 159 LEXINGTON ST.

TAYLOR & WILLIAR,

*Wholesale Boot and Shoe Manufacturers,*  
BALTIMORE STREET, SECOND STORY.

GABRIEL D. CLARK,

*At his old established Watch and Jewelry Store,*  
CORNER OF CALVERT AND WATER STREETS,

Inform his friends, that he now offers for sale a fine assortment of superior Gold and Silver Watches, Gold Chains, Keys, Breastpins, Finger Rings, Ear Rings, Pencil Cases, SILVER WARE, &c.

Gabriel D. Clark, is sole Agent for the Sale of W. Dixon's celebrated London Watches, in the city of Baltimore.

CANFIELD, BROTHER & CO.

*Importers of and Dealers in Watches, fine Jewelry, Silver and Plated-Ware, Pistols and fine Fancy Goods,*  
229 BALTIMORE ST., CORNER OF CHARLES ST.

J. THOMSON LAWS'

*Chronometer, Watch and Jewelry Establishment,*  
188 BALTIMORE STREET.

Chronometers rated by transit observations.

SAMUEL E. TURNER,

(LATE TURNER & MUDGE,)

*Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Staple and Fancy Stationery, Writing, Printing and Wrapping papers, Printer's Cards, &c.*

8 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

Account Books manufactured to order.

A. SEEMULLER & SONS,

*Importers of and Dealers in Havana, German and Domestic Cigars, Chewing Tobacco and Snuffs,*  
44 LOMBARD STREET, OPPOSITE PUBLIC STORE.

FRICK & BALL,

*Commission and Wholesale Dealers in Manufactured and Leaf Tobacco, Cigars, &c.*  
2 HANOVER STREET.

## TO PURCHASERS OF BOOKS SOUTH OF BALTIMORE CITY.

---

### BOOKS, MUSIC, PRINTS, INSTRUMENTS, SCIENTIFIC APPARATUS, &C. &C.

Can be obtained from any part of Europe through the agency of the subscriber, on as favorable terms and with as great dispatch as through any house in the United States.

#### HIS ORDERS

Are forwarded DIRECT EVERY WEEK to Special Agents in LONDON and PARIS, and buying in those markets exclusively for cash, and frequently less than the regular prices, he is enabled to give his customers the advantages thus obtained, as well as saving to them the extra commission paid by those who order through an Eastern house.

#### THE OBJECT

of several years' assiduous attention to this branch of the business has been to afford the South the same facilities for the execution of their orders that are enjoyed by the Atlantic cities, and the success of our business attests the success of our efforts.

#### THE SAME ATTENTION

will be given to an order for a single book, or article of small value, as to larger orders, and we guarantee to supply all wants for as small a commission as any importer in the country.

We solicit the attention of gentlemen who have been accustomed to send their orders to Philadelphia and New York, and ask them to give us a trial.

We are in the monthly receipt of the "cheap lists" published by the second hand dealers of London, which we distribute gratuitously to all who desire them.

Books, &c., for incorporated institutions imported free of duty.

Catalogues of a portion of our valuable stock can be had on application.

JAS. S. WATERS, Importer of Books, &c.,  
244 Baltimore Street.

---

### TO MEDICAL STUDENTS AND THE PROFESSION GENERALLY.

JAMES S. WATERS, 244 Baltimore Street, Baltimore, solicits an examination of his very large assortment of MEDICAL WORKS, purchased mostly at the auction sales for the trade, and which he sells at unusually low prices.

#### FRENCH AND ENGLISH EDITIONS

of MEDICAL BOOKS, ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, &c., imported to order, by every steamer at low rates. Full catalogues can be consulted at his Store.

244 Baltimore Street.

Through his connection with the house of H. Bailliere, at Paris, he is enabled to supply all French Works, Surgical Instruments, &c., at the lowest prices, and with unusual despatch.

Agent for the "Southern Quarterly Review," in Baltimore.

---

### CUSHINGS & BAILEY,

*Booksellers & Stationers,*

262 MARKET ST., OPPOSITE HANOVER ST.

---

### WALKER & MEDAIRDY,

*Wholesale and Retail Booksellers and Stationers,*

810 BALTIMORE STREET, (Store formerly occupied by Allen Paine.)

The highest market price paid for Rags, or taken in Exchange for Goods.

---

### HENRY E. THOMAS & CO.

*Manufacturers, Importers, and Wholesale Dealers in Leaf and Manufactured Tobacco, Cigars and Snuffs,*

20 SOUTH CALVERT STREET.

---

### ELIAS MAGERS,

*Dealers in Leaf and Manufactured Tobacco and Segars,*


70 EXCHANGE PLACE.

BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.

**WILLIAM BUEHLER,**

*Wholesale and Retail Manufacturer and Dealer in Segars, Tobacco and Snuff,*

157 FRANKLIN STREET, (between Paca Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.)

 Superior Imported Segars, fine Chewing Tobacco, and Leaf of every description, with a general assortment of Pipes, Snuff Boxes, Fancy Articles, &c.

---

**W. A. BOYD,**

*Importer, Jobber, and Manufacturer of Tobacco, Segars and Snuff,*

92 LOMBARD STREET.

---

**E. WHITMAN & CO.s,**

*New Agricultural and Seed Warehouse,*

68 EXCHANGE PLACE.

---

**R. SINCLAIR, JR., & CO.,**

*Agricultural Implement Manufacturers and Nursery Seedsmen,*

Nos. 58, 60 and 62 LIGHT STREET.

---

**G. W. WAIT & SON,**

*Manufacturers,*

72 BOWLY'S WHARF,

Proprietors of Paca's Mills. G. W. Watt. Established 1812.

Mustards, standard qualities. Ground Spices in every variety of Styles. Racahout des Arabes.

Flour of Rice, Table Salt, Currie Powder, Chocolate, Mustard-Seed Oil, &c. Prepared with the greatest care and attention.

---

**PHOENIX SPICE MILLS,**

WAREHOUSE 58 SOUTH STREET.

We are prepared to furnish the Southern Trade with all articles of Crude and Ground Spices, Mustards, Chocolate, Cocoa, &c., at as low prices as in New York or Boston.

Wholesale dealers will find it to their advantage to give us a call before going North.

CRAWFORD & BARRY, Proprietors.

---

**ROBERT TURNER,**

*Flour, Grain, Seed and Guano Dealer,*

470 FREDERICK STREET.

---

**B. M. RHODES,**

*General Commission Merchant,*


122 W. LOMBARD STREET, NEAR CHARLES.

PERUVIAN GUANO, No. 1, furnished as usual at the Government Price, \$50 the ton of 2240 lbs., with a charge of \$1 commission for purchasing and forwarding.

The same rate of Commission will prevail whatever may be the established Government price of the article.

MEXICAN GUANO furnished at the importer's price, and at same rate of Commission. Also, PLASTER and other fertilizers.

Orders PROMPTLY FILLED at the Guano Wharf, or at my Warehouse up town. Expenses avoided if possible, and made light when unavoidable.

 Having an experienced person constantly on the spot, parties procuring their own orders from the Agent, can make arrangements to have their several lots forwarded and marked separate.

---

**J. WEATHERBY & CO.,**

*Agents for the sale of Chilson's Air-Warming Furnaces Emerson's Patent Ventilators.*

A large assortment of STOVES of every variety constantly kept on hand. Also Ranges, Grates, Registers, &c.

40 LIGHT STREET, ONE DOOR BELOW LOMBARD.

**BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.**

**BALLORD, CHADBOURN & CO.,**

*Iron Commission Merchants,*

CHARLES STREET, BETWEEN PRATT AND CAMDEN.

IMPORTERS of English Refined and Common Bar Iron; Hoop, Band, Sheet, Scroll, Small Round and Square, and Horse Shoe Iron; Cast, Shear, Spring and German Steel.

DEALERS in American Rolled Iron; Norwegian and American Nail Rods.

AGENTS for the sale of American Pig Iron and Blooms; Charcoal and Puddled Boiler Plate; Boiler Rivets; Hammered Car Axles; Hollow-Ware Castings, &c.

---

**ROBINSON, LORD & CO.,**

*Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Wooden Ware, Cordage, &c.*

88 & 90 LOMBARD STREET.

---

**MANN & RICHARDSON,**

*Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Clocks, Time Pieces, Gilt and Mahogany Frame Looking Glasses, Picture Frames and Window Glass, and Importers of French and German Looking-Glass Plates.*

44 S. CHARLES STREET, CORNER OF LOMBARD.

Clock and Frame Factory, 368 W. Pratt Street.

---

**SAMSON CARISS & CO.,**

140 BALTIMORE STREET,

*Importers of French and English Hardware, Plated Ware, Japanned Ware, Cutlery, French and German Looking-Glass Plates,—and Manufacturers of Looking-Glass, Portrait and Picture Frames, Cornices, and every description of Gilt Work,*

A supply of which always on hand, and made to order, Wholesale and Retail.

---

**C. BRYAN,**

*Manufacturer of Stoves and Sheet Iron Ware,*

58 S. CALVERT STREET, BETWEEN PRATT AND LOMBARD.

---

**J. HOPKINSON SMITH,**

(SUCCESSOR TO SMITH & TYSON,)

*Manufacturer of Hook and Flathead Railroad Spikes, Wrought Iron Chairs, Plates and Fastenings of all kinds Boiler Rivets, Bolts, &c.,*

25 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

 Orders promptly executed, and at the lowest prices.

---

**ALEXANDER MCOMAS,**

*Maker and Importer of Guns, Rifles and Pistols,*

51 CALVERT STREET.

---

**E. LARABEE'S,**

*Depot for Refrigerators and Shower Baths,*

24 SOUTH CALVERT STREET.

The above Baths and Refrigerators are of a peculiar construction. The Baths are so arranged as to permit a tall or short person to wet the head or not, as may be preferred. The Refrigerators are of the upright and horizontal combined, having three separate apartments. The opening of one part does not expose the other. With Water Jars, to cool water.

---

**ROBERT W. CLIFFE,**

*Dealer in Anthracite and Bituminous Coal of every description,*

1 EXCHANGE PLACE.

---

**LANDSDALE & BROTHERS'**

*Pickling and Preserving Establishment and Vinegar Depot,*

119 LOMBARD STREET, BETWEEN CHARLES AND LIGHT STS.

BALTIMORE BUSINESS CARDS.

**M. SHULTZ & CO.,**

*Foreign Exchange Brokers,*

Baltimore—10 EXCHANGE BUILDINGS. Philadelphia—13 CHESTNUT ST. New York—87 WALL ST.

---

**MURDOCH'S**

*Improved Patent Platform Scales Manufactory,*

46 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

Those in want of Scales of any descriptions, will find it to their advantage to examine the qualities and prices of these Scales, which are of the very best construction, material and workmanship, and which, in strength, accuracy, and durability cannot be excelled, as the unqualified approval of those using them in this and other States proves. Also, Counter Scales, Patent Balances and Apparatus Scale Beams, &c., wholesale and retail, at lowest prices, and warranted correct, or the money returned.

**RICHARD MURDOCH.**

Scales of every description, size or capacity made at short notice.

---

**J. J. WISE & BROTHER,**

*Patent Elastic Universal Touch Piano Manufacturers,*


81 HANOVER STREET.

---

**ROBERT LAWSON,**

*Saddle Trunk Harness and Collar Manufacturer, wholesale and retail,*

44 SOUTH STREET.

 Will duplicate any Bill made in the Northern or Eastern cities.

---

**BALTIMORE GLASS WORKS.**

**BAKER & BROTHER,**

82 & 84 SOUTH CHARLES STREET.

*Manufacturers, Importers and Agents for the sale of Baltimore, French and New Jersey Window Glass, Druggist Glassware, Vials, Bottles, Jars, &c.*

---

**SPRING GARDEN GLASS WORKS.**

**F. SCHAUM & CO.,**

Lower end of SOUTH EUTAW Street; and 47 S. Calvert St., near Lombard St.

*Manufacturers of Druggists' Glassware of Every Description.*

Porters, Ales, Ciders, Minerals, Lemon Syrups, Wine Bottles; Half-Pint, Pint, and Quart Flasks, Specie, Preserve and Pickling Jars—together with a general assortment of Glassware—blown to order. Particular attention paid to Private Moulds.

---

**BALTIMORE SCALE AND SAFE WAREHOUSE.**

Having disposed of our entire Stock of Scales in the Southern States to Messrs. SPEAR, WESTON & Co., of Baltimore, Md., with the exclusive right of supplying that territory hereafter with our Scales, we hereby commend them to the patronage of the business public.

**E. & T. FAIRBANKS & Co.**

St. Johnsbury, Vt., July 1, 1854.

---

**SPEAR, WESTON & CO.,**

Having secured the exclusive right of supplying the Southern States with FAIRBANKS' PATENT SCALES, have taken Warehouse No. 141 WEST PRATT STREET, where they will constantly keep on hand, a full assortment of all sizes and descriptions, and be prepared to receive and execute all orders at Manufacturers prices.

Also, Sole Agents in Baltimore for EVANS & WATSON'S Tried Patent SALAMANDER SAFES, IRON CHESTS, BUTTERWORTH'S Patent BANK LOCKS, &c.

Baltimore, July 1, 1854.

LOCAL AGENTS—J. & F. DAWSON, Charleston, S. C.

# NEW YORK BUSINESS CARDS.

---

**A. T. STEWART & CO.,**

Importers, Jobbers and Retailers of French and English Dry Goods.  
Broadway.

---

**GEORGE BLISS & CO.,**

Importers and Jobbers of British, French and German Dry Goods,  
22 Park Place and 17 Barclay-st.

---

**GREENWAY, BROTHER & CO.,**

Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods,  
24 Park Place and 19 Barclay-st.

---

**ALFRED EDWARDS & CO.,**

Importers and Jobbers of Silk and Fancy Goods,  
9 and 11 Park Place and 6 Murray-st., between the Astor and Irving Houses, west side of  
Broadway.

---

**HOPKINS, ALLEN & CO.,**

Importers and Jobbers of Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods.  
115 Broadway, City Hotel Buildings.

---

**TOWNSEND, ARNOLD & CO.,**

Importers and Jobbers of Dry Goods,  
95 Chambers-st., in the rear of the Irving House.

---

**SAMUEL COCHRAN, & CO.,**

Importers of Laces and Embroideries, Linen Cambric Handkerchiefs, Taffeta and Satin Ribbons,  
Muslins, Crapes, Filet Mitts, Silk Handkerchiefs and Cravats,  
53 Chambers-st., opposite the Park.

---

**GARDNER, GREENE & CO.,**

Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Ready-Made Clothing,  
12 Vesey-st., adjoining the Astor House.

---

**BATES, TAYLOR & CO.,**

Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Clothing,  
23 and 25 Dey-st.

---

**JAMES WILDE, JR.,**

Clothing Warehouse,  
27 Park Place and 24 and 26 Murray-st., cor. of Church-st.

---

**LEVI COOK & CO.,**

Importers and Dealers in Combs, Brushes, Buttons, Linen and Cotton Thread, Sewing Silk, and a  
general assortment of English, French and German Small Wares; also, Dealers in  
Ivory and Tortoise Shell,  
71 Broadway.

---

**CHANDLER, FOSTER & CO.,**

Wholesale Dealers in Fancy Goods, Combs, Brushes, Buttons, Wooden Ware, Perfumery, &c.,  
81 Maiden Lane.

NEW-YORK BUSINESS CARDS.

**WM. H. LYON & CO.,**

Importers and Jobbers of Foreign and Domestic Fancy Goods, Cutlery, Silver Ware, Jewelry,  
Combs, Buttons, Silk, Thread, &c.,

4 Dey-street.

---

**HANFORD & BROTHER,**

Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in all kinds of Clothing, Shirts, Drawers, and  
Furnishing Goods,

29 Park Row, opposite the Astor House.

Orders promptly filled. Clothing made to order for the Trade. We are the largest manufac-  
turers of Clothing, Oiled Clothing, and Covered Hats in the Union.

---

**WM. H. DEGROOT & SON,**

Oak-Hall Clothing Warehouse,

84 and 86 Fulton-street, extending through to 47 and 49 Gold-st.

---

**TROWBRIDGE, DWIGHT & CO.,**

Manufacturers of and Wholesale Dealers in Clothing,

115 Broadway.

---

**A. WESSON & CO.,**

Wholesale Dealers in Boots and Shoes,

9 Park Place and 6 Murray-street, near Broadway.

---

**STARR, SON & CO.,**

Wholesale Dealers in Hats, Caps and Straw Goods,

5 Barclay-st.

---

**SAMUEL ROOSEVELT,**

Importer of Hardware and Cutlery, and Manufacturer of Looking Glasses,

8 Platt-st., two doors from Pearl.

---

**INGOLDSBY, HALSTED & CO.,**

Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Hardware, Cutlery, Guns, &c.,

119 Maiden Lane.

---

**LOUIS F. FELLOWS & SCHELL,**

Importers and Dealers in Watches, Watch Materials, Jewelry, Cutlery and Plated Wares,

21 Maiden Lane.

---

**FRANCIS TOMES & SON,**

Importers of Cutlery, Fine Guns and Sporting Articles of every description,

6 Maiden Lane.

Guns made by Westley Richards, Marston, Greener, and other celebrated makers, on hand and  
imported to order. Sole Agents for Eley's Wire Cartridges and Heifor's Army Razor.

---

**EDWARD P. HEYER & CO.,**

Importers of Hardware, Guns and Cutlery,

85 Maiden Lane.

---

**WM. BRYCE & CO.,**

Importers of Hardware, Cutlery, Guns, &c.,

29 Chambers-st., opposite the Park.

---

**WRIGHT, BETTS & CO.,**

Successors to Smith, Wright & Co.,

Wholesale Dealers in Saddlery,

99 Liberty street.



**DANIEL BURGESS & CO.,**  
Publishers, Wholesale Booksellers and Stationers,  
60 John street.

---

**IVISON & PHINNEY,**  
Successors of Mark H. Newman & Co., Wholesale Booksellers, and Publishers of the  
American Educational Series of School Books. Catalogues sent by mail gratis.  
178 Fulton street.

---

**LEWIS & BLOOD,**  
Law Booksellers and Publishers. Old Libraries bought or exchanged.  
78 Nassau street, one door North of John street.

---

**JOHN COX & CO., LATE J. & J. COX,**  
849 Broadway,  
IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN GAS FIXTURES,  
French, English and American, adapted to the various styles of ancient and modern ornament.  
Rich Mantle Clocks, Candelabras, Girandoles, Flower Vases, Parian Marble Figures, &c.,  
Manufacturers of Silver Ware, in all its branches, in the first style of the art.  
Sheffield and Birmingham Plated Wares, Table Cutlery, Japannery, &c.

---

**WESTERN HOTEL,**  
D. D. WINCHESTER, BENJ. F. WINCHESTER,  
THOMAS D. WINCHESTER,  
**Nos. 9, 11, 13 and 15 Cortlandt street,**  
THREE DOORS FROM BROADWAY.

---

**THOMAS E. BISHOP,**  
Importer of Hardware, Cutlery, Guns, and dealer in American Hardware,  
89 Maiden Lane.

---

**GEORGE W. & JEHAL READ,**  
Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Hats, Caps, and Straw Goods, Umbrellas and Parasols,  
100 Chambers street, near Stewart's, the Irving House, and  
West of Broadway.

---

**THOMAS BRUNS,**  
Card Engraver and Printer, Seals, Door Plates, &c., neatly engraved and sent by Express to any  
part of the United States.  
206 Bowery.

---

**GEORGE C. DUNBAR,**  
Manufacturer and Wholesale Dealer in Boots, Shoes, and Brogans,  
200 Broadway.

---

**GAS! GAS! GAS!**  
The largest assortment, probably in the world, of  
**GAS FIXTURES,**  
Both modern and antique, will be found at the great Manufacturing Depot of  
**ARCHER, WARNER & CO.,**  
876 Broadway, New York, and 119 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

# VALUABLE

# MEDICINES.

Read this notice with  
trial, and inform your



care, give the remedies a  
friends of the result.

## Stabler's Anodyne Cherry Expectorant

Is confidently recommended to Invalids, as unsurpassed by any known preparation, for the cure of Coughs, Hoarseness, and other forms of Common Colds; Bronchitis, Asthma, Croup, Consumption in an Early Stage, and for the Relief of the Patient even in advanced stages of that fatal disease. It combines, in a scientific manner, remedies of long esteemed value, with others of more recent discovery, and besides its *soothing* and *tonic* qualities, acts through the skin gently, and with great efficacy, for the cure of this class of diseases. Price 50 cents, and \$1 a bottle.

## Stabler's Diarrhœa Cordial

Is a pleasant Mixture, compounded in agreement with the rules of Pharmacy, of therapeutic agents, long known and celebrated for their peculiar efficacy in curing Diarrhœa, and similar affections of the system. In its action, it allays nausea, and produces a healthy condition of the Liver, thus removing the cause at the same time that it cures the disease, *leaving the system in the natural state, not requiring purgatives after its use*—being a desideratum never before obtained. Price 50 cents a bottle.

The valuable medicines above named, are not empirical, but are prepared in agreement with the experience of some of the most learned and judicious practitioners, and are not secret, further than is necessary to protect the proprietors and those who use them, from loss and imposition, as the component parts have been made known, *confidentially*, from time to time, to more than

500 PHYSICIANS!!!

in different parts of the United States, *all of whom without a single exception*, have not only approved of the formula by which they are prepared, but most of them have freely stated that they are the *best* remedies they have ever known for the cure of the diseases for which they are prescribed.

Our confidence in the excellence of these medicines added to the desire to avoid the just prejudice of the medical profession against *secret* and *quack* nostrums, induced us to adopt this candid course

Space here will only admit of the insertion of a single letter from one eminent physician, out of the abundant written evidence respecting the merits of these unique remedies, received by us from PHYSICIANS of high standing, from sixteen of the best APOTHECARIES of the city of Baltimore, and from a great number of MERCHANTS in the interior, who have used them and sold them extensively, testifying in the strongest manner to their good effects, we must refer all inquirers to the descriptive pamphlets and circulars to be had gratis, of those who keep the medicines for sale, or *what is better*, we advise invalids to TRY THEM, they are *perfectly safe*, and can do no injury to any if the directions are obeyed.

Letter from Dr. William H. Farrow, of Snow Hill, Maryland:

Gentlemen—I have frequently in my practice prescribed your "Stabler's Anodyne Cherry Expectorant" and "Diarrhœa Cordial," with great satisfaction to myself, and to the *entire relief* of such diseases as they profess to cure. I consider them happy combinations of some of our most valuable and *safe* therapeutical agents, and must be of infinite worth to the afflicted and mankind at large. In furnishing the medical profession with these active and concentrated preparations, so convenient for administration, and of a standard quality, you have rendered them an eminent service, and I can do no less than *earnestly recommend* these preparations to practitioners, and especially in the country, where the impurity of commercial Drugs is one of the greatest obstacles to the success of the Physician.

E. H. STABLER & CO.,

Proprietors of the above Medicines, Wholesale Druggists and Importers, Baltimore, U. S. of America.

The above named Valuable Medicines may be had of the principal Druggists and Apothecaries in this City, and sold wholesale by the principal Druggists in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, and other large places.

983  
13

EDUC

is, give it

and of it

section

operation  
from the  
of stages  
of which, r  
range of  
is, and it.

al

may, r  
and, it  
likely  
may be  
for her

system  
of the  
and it  
is, it

it is  
it is  
it is  
it is

it is  
it is  
it is





